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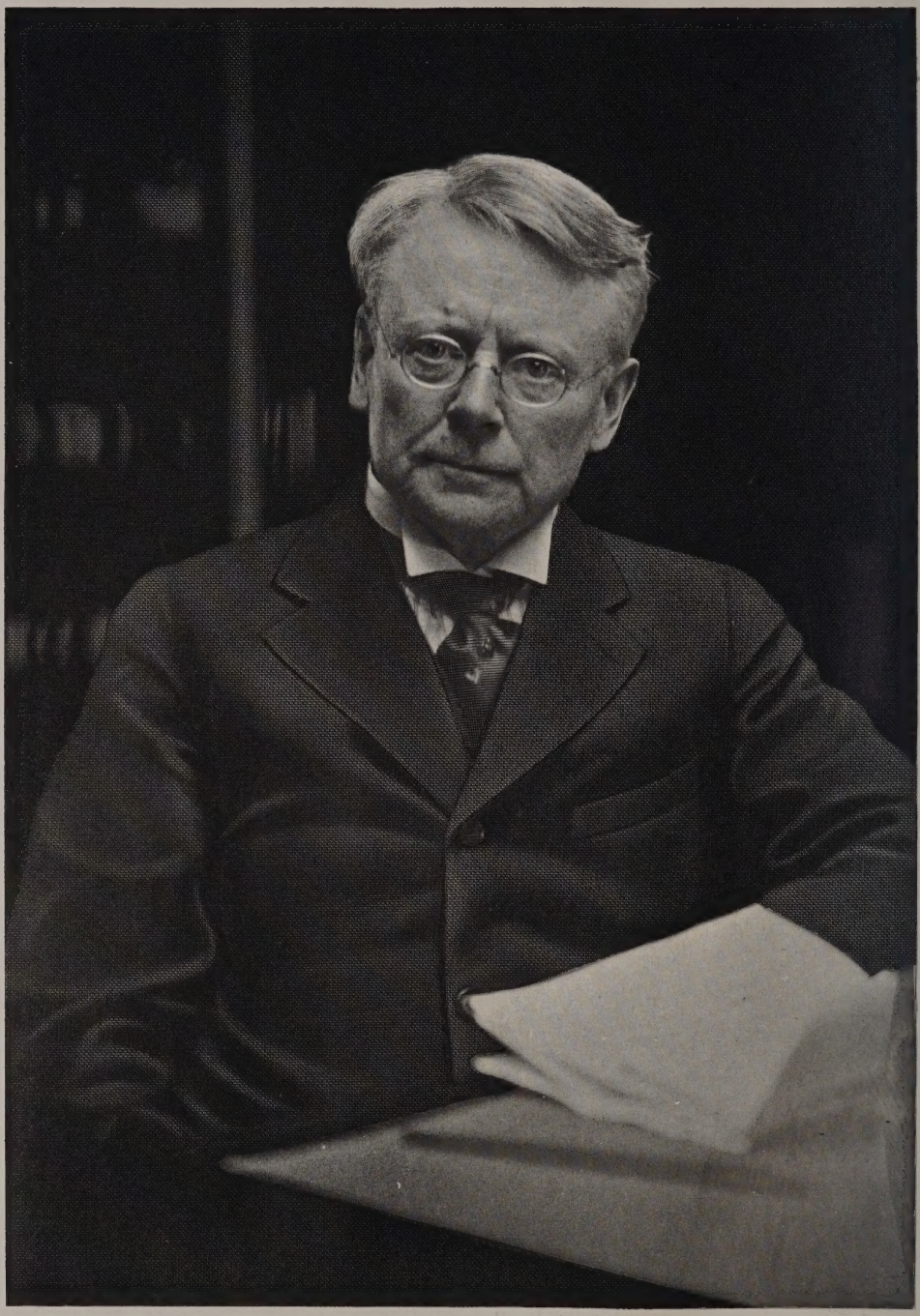

John G. Gregory

HISTORY

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MILWAUKEE
WISCONSIN

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JOHN G. GREGORY

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Profusely Illustrated

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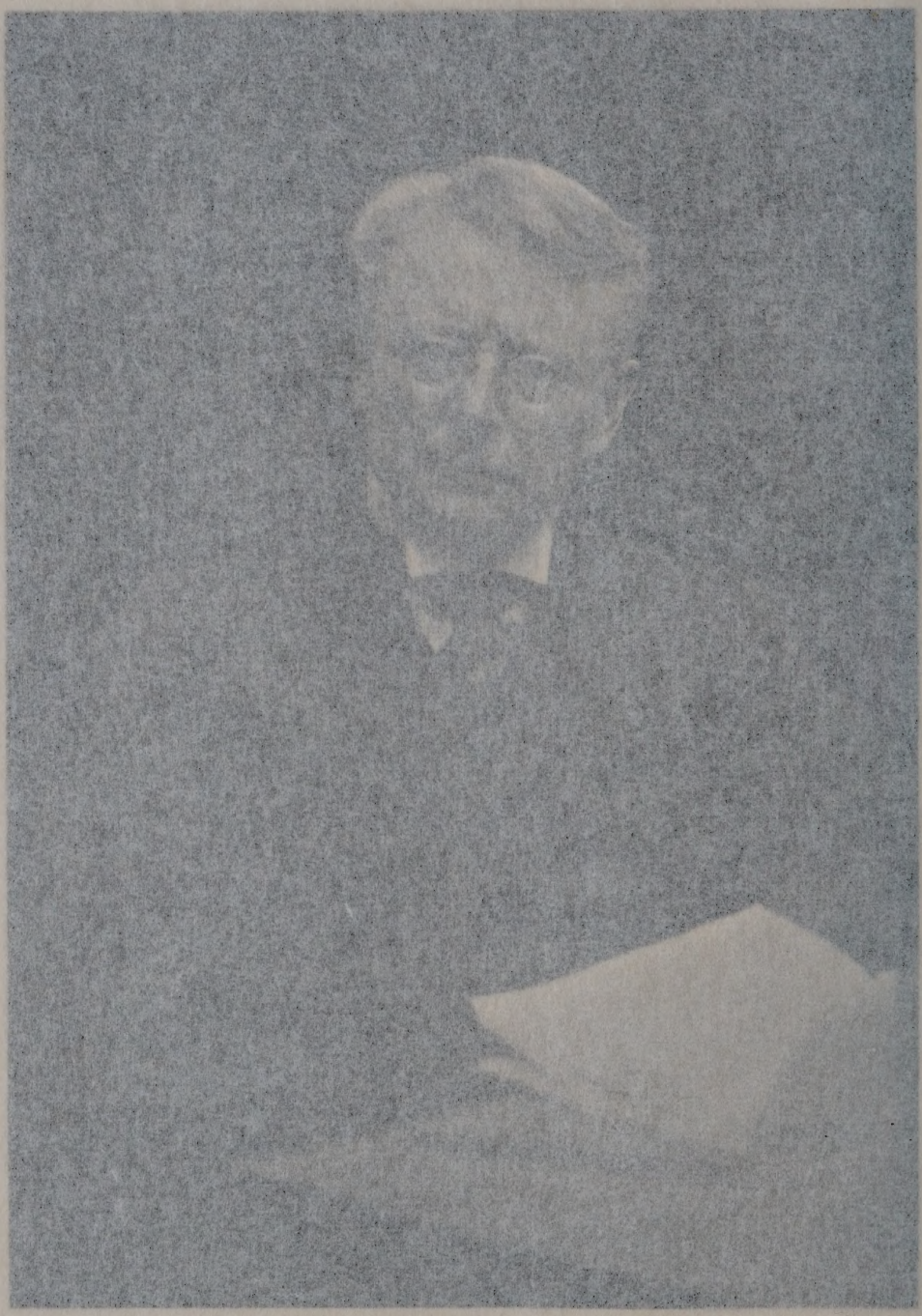

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FOREWORD

Two hundred and thirty-five years are covered in the history of Milwaukee which presents a wide variety of human actors and striking changes in scenic setting.

For the opening chapters the environment is the wilderness and the characters are Indian savages. Across the scene pass picturesque figures —the devoted missionary priest, the daring explorer, the hardy trader. Dramatic incident is plentiful, for warfare was incessant among the tribes, and more than once the native population underwent total change. Father Marquette found Mascoutins and Foxes in possession; when Juneau dwelt here for many years his only neighbors were Menomonees and Pottawatomies. Milwaukee Indians sent forth mighty warriors who went far afield. They participated in the massacre at Fort William Henry; they brought home scalps and scarlet coats after the defeat of Braddock; they came within an ace of ambushing the force of Wolfe before the Heights of Abraham—which would have postponed the fall of Quebec. As circumstances altered they allied themselves sometimes with the French and sometimes with the British; yet so strong was their sympathy with the cause of George Rogers Clark as to provoke from the British commander the amusing stigma, "Those runagates (renegades) of Milwacky!" In the War of 1812 they were against the Americans. Milwaukee Indians took part in the massacre at Fort Dearborn on the present site of Chicago, and fought by the side of Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames.

Though conceded to the United States by the treaty of 1783, possession of the country west of Lake Michigan was not relinquished by the British till 1816, when American military occupation was marked by the landing of troops at Green Bay. In 1818 what is now Wisconsin became a portion of the Territory of Michigan, whose Legislature in October designated the eastern half of the present State of Wisconsin as Brown County. This was the year when Solomon Juneau arrived—last and greatest of the fur traders on the site of Milwaukee, in which capacity he carried on till well into the second quarter of the Nineteenth Century. Then began the movement which settled the region with white inhabitants, dotting the landscape with smiling farms and prosperous villages and towns.

Sharply contrasting with what went on while the Indians were masters of the soil, the history of Milwaukee following 1833 presents with constantly varying details a picture of civilized enterprise and achievement, beginning with the advent of the Pioneers, who razed the forests and cut down the hills and filled the swamps, transforming the face of nature to suit the needs of modern man. Swiftly Milwaukee was equipped with comfortable if not costly dwellings, with shops and warehouses and landing-places for ships; almost at the outset it boasted a courthouse and churches and rudimentary schools. Newspapers supplied its residents with intelligence of the world's events and carried to distant readers the story of a rising community's advantages and progress. Milwaukee had a reliable bank during a period when such institutions were very rare. The construction of bridges and of wagon-roads into the interior received attention. Eager interest in railroads was manifested long before means to build them were procurable in the West. Natural advantages count for much, but at the outset of the railroad-building era Milwaukee's greatest asset was citizens whose piercing vision, splendid courage and indomitable energy brought those arteries of business to her door.

The foundations of civil government and material development in Wisconsin and Milwaukee were laid by Americans from the older States. These, with an admixture of English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh, and a sprinkling of Canadians, were Milwaukee's first settlers. Solomon Juneau, born in Canada, a citizen of the United States by naturalization, was the son of French parents who had left their native country to escape the "reign of terror." Byron Kilbourn came from Connecticut by way of Ohio. George H. Walker was a Virginian. New York and the New England States furnished a majority of the earliest leaders in business and affairs. The influence of New York and New England is apparent in methods of legal procedure, statutory provisions in general, and the underlying features of the Constitution of the State.

Wisconsin had not proceeded far upon its career when it began to attract large numbers of home-seekers from continental Europe, the majority landing at the port of Milwaukee, and many of them remaining to ply their various callings in the growing city, while others proceeded to pick out land in the interior and develop farms. In the main these new arrivals were Germans, Scandinavians, Hollanders and Swiss—preponderantly Germans, of whom there was a greater influx after the uprising of 1848, and who continued to come in considerable numbers for many years; also there were many from the Austrian dominions, notably Bohemians. Jewish residents of Milwaukee came principally from Germany and Austria in the early days, but beginning with 1882 there was a large immigration of Jews from Russia. As early as 1844 Milwaukee had a German newspaper. As late as 1890 more than one half of the residents of Milwaukee were of German nativity or German parentage. Poles began arriving in the '60s and grew to be a prominent element in the population. Since the'90s there have been added a large contingent of Italians and many representatives of other lands.

Milwaukee is a cosmopolitan city, but it is American in its cosmopolitanism—patriotically American—as was supremely demonstrated by its record in the World war. Statistically it is more American than is realized by many who in general are well informed, and this must serve as apology for the presentation of the following table, whose basis is the federal census table of 1920 showing the percentage of foreign-born population in each of the fourteen largest cities of the United States:

New York	36.1	Boston	32.4
Chicago	29.9	Baltimore	11.6
Brooklyn	33.0	Pittsburgh	20.5
Philadelphia	22.0	Los Angeles	21.2
Detroit	29.3	Buffalo	24.0
Cleveland	30.1	San Francisco	29.4
St. Louis	13.4	Milwaukee	24.1

In only two of these cities—St. Louis and Baltimore—it will be noted, was the percentage of foreign-born conspicuously lower than in Milwaukee at the time of that official enumeration, while in seven it was conspicuously higher.

Milwaukee's experience with immigrants has been worthy of record, not only for its intrinsic interest, but also as a contribution to the data of political and social science. They found welcome at the outset. They benefited by coming. The city has profited by their presence within its fold. Yielding obvious and permanent advantage eventually, the policy of inviting the world was certain to be attended with transient minor infelicities, for human nature is not so constituted that harmonious adjustment

of diverse nationalities to one another and to unfamiliar surroundings can be perfected in a day. Often, though not always, recruits from overseas who had sought escape from conditions of rancorous contention in their former homes brought inherited misunderstandings and prejudices which tended for a time to separate them into mutually distrustful groups. Occasionally there were individuals endowed with intelligence, education, high capacity for usefulness, and effervescent devotion to preconceived ideals of liberty, who evinced a disposition to volunteer captious criticism of matters which at the moment they did not fully understand. All of the various units in the composite society of the growing city, including those pluming themselves on distinctive Americanism because their ancestors for several generations had resided on this side of the Atlantic, were destined to undergo a process of modification by environment. Generous economic opportunity, and the benignant influence of free institutions, together with the expansion of virtues inherent in the various racial elements themselves, ameliorate asperities as the years go by. Convergent interests contribute to improved acquaintance; improved acquaintance promotes mutual respect. Out of a welter of factions eventually emerges wise, tolerant, coöperative, public-spirited citizenship, functioning efficiently not only for the material progress of the community as a whole, but also for its cultural development and its moral stability and uplift.

Year by year the city has gained in population, and nearly every year in volume of manufacturing and commerce combined if not in each of these sources of income separately appraised, its progress on the whole being steady, symmetrical and substantial. The diversity of its interests has enabled it to make readjustments to changing conditions of trade and industry which in some instances were revolutionary in character and extent, yet accomplished without the wrenching of other interests than those immediately involved which ordinarily is inescapable in crises of that description. Prudence and farsighted wisdom have distinguished the general conduct of its affairs. More than once it has passed through periods of financial distress in the nation at large with comparative immunity from calamitous consequences suffered elsewhere.

Its people are orderly, industrious and thrifty. Visitors from other large cities remark upon its freedom from slums, one reason for which phenomenon is exemption from causes that commonly tend to produce them, such as irremediable congestion arising from geographical limitations, abnormal pressure of floating population from outside, and chronic unemployment. In general there is work for all who seek it, an outcome in part of the diversity of industries to which reference has been made, and which at many stages of Milwaukee's career has been a factor in its ability to maintain continuity of progress amid the shifts of circumstance in a changing world.

In beauty and healthfulness of situation Milwaukee has been signally favored by nature. To a commendable extent its natural advantages have been turned to avail for the common good.

It is not purposed in this disquisition to complete an outline of the history of Milwaukee. What has been aimed at is broadly to indicate some of the ground that such an outline would cover, with a view to suggesting the richness of the subject as a whole and its suitability for development in narrative form, with fulness of pertinent details, with scrupulous regard for accuracy and orderly arrangement, with popular and sympathetic treatment, and with respect for the significance of history.

JOHN GOADBY GREGORY.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I—A PLACE ON THE MAP

CARTOGRAPHIC RECOGNITION OF THE SITE—COMING OF MISSIONARIES AND EXPLORERS—FATHER MARQUETTE—LA SALLE AND HENNEPIN—FATHER DE ST. COSME—THE NAME OF MILWAUKEE ---- 1

CHAPTER II—FUR TRADERS AT MILWAUKEE

MARIN, ST. PIERRE, MC KAY AND ALLEN, THE BROTHERS LA FRAMBOISE, CHAPPEAU—TROUBLES OF TRADERS WITH THE INDIANS—JOHN B. BEAUBIEN, LAURENT FILY, JACQUES VIEAU, ANTOINE LE CLAIRE, JOSEPH LA CROIX, THOMAS GUMMERSALL ANDERSON, THE KINZIES—SOLOMON JUNEAU'S LONG AND PICTURESQUE CAREER ---- 19

CHAPTER III—WHITE SETTLEMENT BEGINS

WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF AMERICAN POPULATION IN THE '30S—MEN OF VISION WHO HELPED TO ATTRACT ATTENTION TO MILWAUKEE—PIONEER ARRIVALS FROM THE EAST—SPECULATIVE CRAZE AND RESULTANT MISERY—HARD TIMES, HARD WORK AND SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS ---- 57

CHAPTER IV—REGIONAL VICISSITUDES

CONDITIONS, SOME OF THEM CASUAL, WHICH OPERATED TO THE ADVANTAGE OF MILWAUKEE—WHAT HANDICAPPED GREEN BAY—LAND SPECULATION INCUBUS IN THE LEAD REGION—OTHER INTERESTING FACTORS—PUBLIC-SPIRITED CITIZENSHIP FUNCTIONING IN TIMES OF CRISES—TEMPORARY SETBACKS EVENTUALLY OVERCOME ---- 95

CHAPTER V—FOUNDERS OF MILWAUKEE

MEN WHO LOOMED AS LEADERS DURING THE CITY'S INFANCY—STRONG AND INTERESTING PERSONALITIES, DIFFERING GREATLY IN CHARACTERISTICS AND METHODS OF PROCEDURE ---- 119

CHAPTER VI—ACQUIRING POSSESSION

GOVERNMENT LAND SALES OF 1835 AND 1839—PRE-EMPTION RIGHTS AND "FLOATS"—SETTLERS' PROTECTIVE ORGANIZATION —HOW THE PIONEERS OF MILWAUKEE LIVED WHILE THEY WERE FITTING THE LOCATION FOR A METROPOLITAN FUTURE ---------- 145

CHAPTER VII—EARLY MEDIA OF EXCHANGE

THE CURRENCY PROBLEM A VITAL ONE IN THE WEST, AND DIFFICULT TO MEET—HOW IT WAS SOLVED FOR MILWAUKEE—"THE BANK OF MILWAUKEE" A PERIL THAT WAS ESCAPED—GEORGE SMITH A HELPFUL FACTOR IN THE SITUATION, AIDED BY DANIEL WELLS, JR.—THE ADVENT OF ALEXANDER MITCHELL ------ 181

CHAPTER VIII—AS NATURE MADE IT

EARLY SETTLERS' ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGINAL TOPOGRAPHY OF MILWAUKEE—A PLACE OF HILLS AND DALES AND WOODS AND SWAMPS, DELIGHTFUL IN SOME OF ITS ASPECTS, AND IN OTHERS PRESENTING MANIFEST POSSIBILITIES OF IMPROVEMENT—SOME OF THE TRANSFORMATIONS EFFECTED AS THE CITY GREW --- 193

CHAPTER IX—BRIDGES

THE PROBLEM OF GETTING ACROSS THE MILWAUKEE RIVER, AND HOW IT WAS MET IN THE EARLY DAYS—THE "BRIDGE WAR," WHICH PRODUCED AN INTOLERABLE SITUATION THAT HASTENED APPLICATION FOR A CITY CHARTER ---------- 211

CHAPTER X—ORGANIZED LOCAL GOVERNMENT

SEPARATE SETTLEMENTS OF 1835 BECOME VILLAGES, COALESCE, AND IN 1846 ACQUIRE A MUNICIPAL CHARTER—SUFFRAGE ISSUE OF THE 'FORTIES—THE BRIDGE WAR—BENEFITS THAT RESULTED FROM ORGANIZED CO-OPERATION ---------- 237

CHAPTER XI—PIONEER WAGON ROADS

HARDSHIPS OF TRAVEL IN THE EARLY DAYS—HOW BUFFALO TRACKS BECAME INDIAN TRAILS, AND HOW THESE OFTEN FIXED THE COURSE OF ROADS—MILWAUKEEANS SHOWED ENTERPRISE AS HIGHWAY-BUILDERS—THE OX-CART AND THE STAGE-COACH 263

CHAPTER XII—MILWAUKEE AND ROCK RIVER CANAL

PROJECT TO FACILITATE TRANSPORTATION BETWEEN LAKE MICHIGAN AND THE MISSISSIPPI THAT ENDED IN THE PROVISION OF A WATER-POWER FOR EARLY-DAY MANUFACTURERS—COMPLICATIONS ARISING FROM A FEDERAL LAND GRANT ---------- 289

CHAPTER XIII—THE CITY'S FRONT DOOR

HARBOR PROBLEMS OF THE EARLY DAYS—WHAT ALBERT ORRENDORF STARTED—JUNEAU AND THE STEAMBOAT MILWAUKEE—FIRST FEDERAL APPROPRIATION FOR HARBOR IMPROVEMENT, AND WHY IT FAILED TO PLEASE—EXPERIMENT OF PIERS INTO THE LAKE—INAUGURATION OF THE STRAIGHT-CUT ---------- 299

CHAPTER XIV—SHIPBUILDING AT MILWAUKEE

AN INDUSTRY THAT STARTED EARLY AND ATTAINED LARGE PROPORTIONS, DECLINING WITH THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SAILING VESSELS FROM THE LAKES—THE SCHOONER SOLOMON JUNEAU—GEORGE BARBER—FARMIN AND THE MERRILLS—CAPT. JAMES MONROE JONES—ALLAN, MC CLELLAND & CO.—WOLF & DAVIDSON—MILWAUKEE DRY DOCK COMPANY—TYPICAL FAST SAILERS OF LONG AGO ---------- 323

CHAPTER XV—DIRECT TRADE OVERSEAS

PICTURESQUE INCIDENTS IN THE HISTORY OF MILWAUKEE AS AN OCEAN PORT—FIRST DIRECT SHIPMENT FROM THE GREAT LAKES TO EUROPE, ON THE DEAN RICHMOND, IN 1856—THE M. S. SCOTT'S TRIP TO HAMBURG—THRILLING NARRATIVE OF THE VOYAGE OF THE HANOVER, BUILT IN MILWAUKEE, WHICH WENT TO BREMEN IN 1863—SOME OF THE VESSELS FROM DISTANT PARTS THAT HAVE CALLED AT THE PORT OF MILWAUKEE ---- 333

CHAPTER XVI—THE STRUGGLE FOR RAILROADS

HOW THE CITY AND ITS LEADING RESIDENTS CONTRIBUTED TOWARD THE PLANNING AND BUILDING OF PIONEER RAILROADS IN THE NORTHWEST—THE COLLAPSE OF 1857 AND ITS EFFECT—ALEXANDER MITCHELL'S EFFICIENT LABORS—OTHER IMPORTANT FIGURES IN THE TRANSPORTATION HISTORY OF MILWAUKEE 345

CHAPTER XVII—EVOLVING MACHINERY OF FINANCE

WISCONSIN'S BANKING LAW OF 1852—BANK RIOT OF 1861—HONEST AND ABLE BANKING A PRIMARY CONTRIBUTION TO THE UPBUILDING OF MILWAUKEE ---------- 389

CHAPTER XVIII—EARLY DAY MERCHANTS

EXPANSION OF RETAIL AND JOBBING BUSINESS MARKING THE TRADE REVIVAL AFTER THE PANIC OF 1837—PRIMITIVE CONDITIONS AND MEN WHO MADE THE MOST OF THEM—WORTHY SUCCESSORS OF THE PIONEERS, AND A HASTY GLANCE AT SOME OF THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS ---------- 415

CHAPTER XIX—WHEN WHEAT WAS KING

MILWAUKEE AS THE WORLD'S GREATEST PRIMARY MARKET FOR THE STAFF OF LIFE—CRUDE BEGINNINGS FOLLOWED BY EXPANSION AND IMPROVEMENTS—RISE OF THE ELEVATOR SYSTEM—THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—NOTABLE CHARACTERS ON 'CHANGE, AND TRANSACTIONS IN WHICH THEY HAD A HAND ---------- 453

CHAPTER XX—TEAM-WORK THAT HELPED

THE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION, AND HOW IT WROUGHT FOR THE GENERAL GOOD—ITS ULTIMATE EXPANSION—THE INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION—THE MILWAUKEE ADVANCEMENT ASSOCIATION, THE CITIZENS' BUSINESS LEAGUE—OTHER ENERGETIC AND USEFUL GROUPS—CONSOLIDATION AND COOPERATION PROMOTIVE OF CONSERVATION AND INCREASED EFFICIENCY—THE MILWAUKEE ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE ---------- 489

CHAPTER XXI—A CENTER OF INDUSTRIES

MILWAUKEE'S RISE FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS TO A POSITION OF COMMANDING IMPORTANCE IN THE MANUFACTURING WORLD—HOW SOME OF ITS VAST INSTITUTIONS STARTED—TRUE STORIES THAT ARE AS INTERESTING AS FICTION ---------- 509

CHAPTER XXII—INDIANS AS NEIGHBORS

HOW WHITE MEN AND RED MEN GOT ALONG TOGETHER AT MILWAUKEE IN THE EARLY DAYS—FRICTION AT TIMES, BUT NO SERIOUS COLLISION—INDIAN VILLAGE LIFE—CHIEFS ONAUGESA AND WAUPEKA—RECOLLECTIONS OF WHITE BOYS WHO HAD

INDIAN PLAYMATES—REMOVAL OF TRIBESMEN TO THE WEST—THE "INDIAN SCARE" OF 1862 ____ 565

CHAPTER XXIII—MILWAUKEEANS FROM OVERSEAS

IMMIGRANTS FROM IRELAND IN NUMERICAL ASCENDANCY FOR A TIME, BUT SUBSEQUENTLY FAR OUTNUMBERED BY ARRIVALS FROM GERMANY—WHY SOME OF THE GERMANS LEFT THEIR NATIVE LAND—OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE COSMOPOLITANISM OF MILWAUKEE ____ 597

CHAPTER XXIV—OLD MILWAUKEE STREETS

HISTORIC IMPLICATIONS CONVEYED IN SOME OF THEIR NAMES—FAMILIAR LONG AGO, MANY WERE ALTERED AND NOW ARE FORGOTTEN, WHILE OTHERS ENDURE IN A CHANGING WORLD—THE STORY OF WISCONSIN AVENUE—ODDS AND ENDS OF ANECDOTE SUGGESTED BY WELL-KNOWN THOROUGHFARES ____ 643

CHAPTER XXV—OLD-TIME HOTELS

ENTERTAINMENT FOR TRAVELERS IN THE MILWAUKEE OF OTHER DAYS—CRUDE AT FIRST, IT UNDERWENT STEADY IMPROVEMENT—EVOLUTION FROM THE TRIANGLE AND THE SHANTY TAVERN TO THE UNITED STATES, THE NEWHALL AND THE PLANKINTON ____ 679

CHAPTER XXVI—WATERFRONT HISTORY

EVENTS THAT RECUR TO THE MEMORIES OF MILWAUKEEANS VIEWING THE PANORAMA OF THE BAY—KILBOURN'S WELCOME OF THE STEAMBOAT WISCONSIN—PERILS, HEROISM AND PERSISTENT PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAKE NAVIGATION—OUTSTANDING INCIDENTS IN A RECORD OF SUBSTANTIAL ACHIEVEMENT ____ 695

CHAPTER XXVII—WHEN FEELING RAN HIGH

RISE OF ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN MILWAUKEE—THE FIRST "UNDERGROUND RAILROAD" INCIDENT—TERRITORIAL LIBERTY ASSOCIATION—A BIT OF CHURCH HISTORY—THE GLOVER RESCUE AND WHAT FOLLOWED—COLONISTS FOR "BLEEDING KANSAS"—ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S VISIT—CAPTAIN BARRY AND THE UNION GUARDS ____ 741

CHAPTER XXVIII—VOLUNTEER FIREMEN

PUBLIC-SPIRITED CITIZENS WHO IN VILLAGE DAYS AND LONG THEREAFTER PERFORMED A FUNCTION LATER TAKEN OVER BY THE MUNICIPALITY—THEIR GENEROUS AND CHEERFUL CONTRIBUTION TO THE GENERAL WELFARE—A DASHING AND HEROIC PHASE OF CIVIC SERVICE UNDER CONDITIONS THAT SEEM PRIMITIVE TODAY—HOW THEIR ORGANIZATION SERVED AND FLOURISHED—HOW IT PASSED INTO OBSOLESCENCE AS THE CITY GREW ---- 791

CHAPTER XXIX—CITIZEN SOLDIERS

MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE FLOURISHED IN MILWAUKEE SINCE 1844—THE WASHINGTON GUARDS, THE OLD LIGHT GUARD, THE SHERIDANS, THE LIGHT HORSE SQUADRON, THE FIRST LIGHT BATTERY, AND MANY OTHERS—TRAINING THAT HELPED IN TIME OF NEED ---- 813

CHAPTER XXX—MILWAUKEE CHURCHES

PROSPERITY OF RELIGION UNHAMPERED BY THE STATE—DIVERSE DENOMINATIONS FLOURISHING SIDE BY SIDE—INNUMERABLE GOOD WORKS OF VARIOUS DESCRIPTIONS AUXILIARY TO THE CHURCHES ---- 837

CHAPTER XXXI—BENCH AND BAR

STARS THAT HAVE SHONE IN THE LEGAL FIRMAMENT OF MILWAUKEE—THE GENERALLY HIGH CHARACTER OF THE MILWAUKEE BAR—ITS VALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PUBLIC LIFE OF THE STATE AND THE NATION ---- 913

CHAPTER XXXII—THE DOCTORS

OUTSTANDING NAMES IN THE EARLY MEDICAL HISTORY OF MILWAUKEE—DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE OF MEDICAL ORGANIZATION—HOSPITALS—MEDICAL EDUCATION ---- 947

CHAPTER XXXIII—THE PRESS

A GLIMPSE OF NEWSPAPERS AND NEWSPAPER MEN CONSPICUOUS IN THE LIFE OF MILWAUKEE DURING THE CHANGING CONDITIONS OF ITS CENTURY OF EXISTENCE ---- 1005

CHAPTER XXXIV—HOW WOMEN HELPED

MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE PIONEERS—SOCIAL LIFE IN THE VILLAGE PERIOD AND THE EARLY DAYS OF CITYHOOD—ORGANIZED WORK OF CHARITY AND PATRIOTISM IN WHICH WOMEN TOOK THE LEAD ---- 1021

CHAPTER XXXV—LIFE'S LIGHTER SIDE

HUNTING AND FISHING IN THE EARLY DAYS—OUTDOOR RECREATION FACILITIES IN PIONEER TIMES AND LATER—FAMOUS PICNIC GROUNDS—BEER GARDENS THAT PRECEDED THE PUBLIC PARKS—SPEEDWAYS IN THE ERA OF HORSES—SKATING, CURLING, BOATING, TARGET-SHOOTING — THE TURNERS — SOMETHING ABOUT RECREATION INDOORS — THEATERS — LITERARY AND DEBATING ORGANIZATIONS — THE MUSICAL SOCIETY — THE ARIONS—THE OLD SETTLERS' CLUB—NOTABLE SOCIAL GROUPS ---- 1055

CHAPTER XXXVI—MAYORS OF MILWAUKEE

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF THE CITY'S CHIEF MAGISTRATES, WITH INCIDENTAL REFERENCE TO OCCURRENCES DISTINGUISHING THEIR RESPECTIVE TERMS ---- 1099

CHAPTER XXXVII—OUT OF ACORNS, OAKS

CRAMPED QUARTERS OF EARLY-DAY OFFICIALS CONTRASTED WITH ELABORATE ACCOMMODATIONS NOW—EVOLUTION OF POLICE AND FIRE DEPARTMENTS ---- 1119

CHAPTER XXXVIII—PUBLIC HEALTH

GENERAL PROGRESS IN SANITARY SCIENCE SINCE MILWAUKEE'S EARLY DAYS—RISE OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT—THE SEWERAGE COMMISSION AND ITS IMPORTANT WORK—A CITY NOTABLE FOR ITS CLEANLINESS AND ITS LOW DEATH-RATE ---- 1135

CHAPTER XXXIX—EDUCATION

CONDITIONS OF THE PIONEER PERIOD—RISE AND PROGRESS OF MILWAUKEE'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS—AN INSPIRING DEVELOPMENT—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CAUSE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION WHICH BEGAN IN A SMALL WAY AND LED TO GREAT RESULTS ---- 1147

CHAPTER XL—INCIDENTS OF PROGRESS

HOW THE TELEGRAPH CAME TO MILWAUKEE—THE FIRST GASLIGHT—EARLY STREET RAILWAYS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN TRANSIT FACILITIES—THE TELEPHONE ---- 1191

CHAPTER XLI—MILWAUKEE TODAY

EQUIPMENTAL ACQUISITIONS DISTINGUISHING THE IMPORTANT MODERN CITY WHICH HAS ARISEN WHERE PIONEERS FOUND PRIMEVAL NATURE LESS THAN A CENTURY AGO—A CHAPTER BEGINNING WITH BANKS AND ENDING WITH PUBLIC PARKS ---- 1207

CHAPTER XLII—MILWAUKEE'S YOUNGER SISTERS

CITIES AND VILLAGES IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY WHICH HAVE WAXED IN POPULATION AND IMPORTANCE DURING RECENT YEARS, AND WHICH, EXCEPT IN ORGANIZATION, ARE PARTS OF MILWAUKEE—WEST ALLIS, WAUWATOSA, SHOREWOOD, SOUTH MILWAUKEE, CUDAHY AND WHITEFISH BAY—THEIR INTERESTING AND VARIED HISTORIES ---- 1225

CHAPTER XLIII—EARLY SETTLERS' REMINISCENCES

CRUDE CONDITIONS OF THE PIONEERING ERA RECALLED BY EYE-WITNESSES—A BUDGET OF VERACIOUS NARRATIVES EMBODYING CURIOUS AND ENTERTAINING INFORMATION RELATING TO MILWAUKEE'S BEGINNINGS ---- 1241

CHAPTER XLIV—TRAVELERS' TALES

WHAT INTELLIGENT VISITORS FOUND TO SAY OF EARLY-DAY MILWAUKEE—VARYING POINTS OF VIEW, BUT GENERAL AGREEMENT IN PRAISE—HARRIET MARTINEAU, IN 1836—MARGARET FULLER, IN 1843—WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, HORACE GREELEY AND N. P. WILLIS—HENRY VILLARD AND CARL SCHURZ—ANTHONY TROLLOPE AND OTHERS ---- 1295

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I

John Goadby Gregory ..... *Frontispiece*
Robert Burns Monument 18
John Hustis 21
Milwaukee in 1820; Juneau's Location 25
Solomon Juneau Monument 45
Solomon Juneau Trading with the Indians 49
Lief Erickson Statue, Juneau Park 55
Milwaukee in 1853 56
Bronze Tablet, Juneau Cabin of 1825 87
Milwaukee, from Old Sixth Ward Hill, about 1859 94
Goethe-Schiller Monument at Washington Park 118
Morgan Lewis Martin 121
Micajah T. Williams 121
Copy of Letter Written by Solomon Juneau, 1838 125
Solomon Juneau, from Engraving preserved by Old Settlers' Club 131
Mrs. Josette (Vieau) Juneau, Wife of Solomon Juneau 133
Byron Kilbourn 137
The Kilbourn Residence, built in 1855 139
George H. Walker 143
The Old Dam at North Avenue and Upper Milwaukee River 157
Menominee Valley, Near End of State Street, 1866 180
A Bank Note that was not issued 192
When Milwaukee was a Village 195
Outline Map of Milwaukee in 1840 197
Key to Outline Map of Milwaukee 198
Milwaukee in the '40s 203
Old Prospect Avenue 209
Wisconsin Avenue Viaduct 210
Entrance to Lake Drive 235
Solomon Juneau, First Mayor, and City Council 236
Campaign Document of 1838 239
The Old City Hall and the Henry Bergh Fountain 251
Once a Hill, Now a Hollow 261
The Old Milwaukee Post Office 262
The Old Stock Yards 288
Bust of Christian Wahl, at Lake Park 298
Water Tower and Park 322
Down-town Milwaukee, 1920 344
Old Railroad Rate Table 347
First Railway Depot in Milwaukee, 1851 353
Officers and Employes of Milwaukee & St. Paul Ry. 371
Union Depot, Reed Street, 1877 381
Old Lake Shore Depot—C. & N. W. Ry. about 1872 381
Old Rufus King Residence 413
Milwaukee in 1873 414
Matthias Stein's Gun Shop 419
Wisconsin Street Looking from Corner Main, Now Broadway, Before Chapman's First Building was Erected 421
Old West Water Street, Looking North from Spring Street, Later Wisconsin Avenue, Now North Plankinton Avenue 423
Caleb Harrison's Residence, Built in the '30s 425
The Ludington Block, Corner Wisconsin and East Water Streets, in Early '70s 427

Old Abner Kirby Corner, East Water and Wisconsin, Showing Famous Clock ... 431
A Business House on Chestnut Street ... 441
John Pollworth's Home Restaurant, Est. 1846 ... 441
Pioneer Flour Mill ... 457
Daniel Newhall's Warehouse ... 457
Angus Smith's Elevator, S. E. of Broadway Bridge ... 461
The First Steam Flour Mill ... 461
C. M. & St. P. Ry. Company's Elevator A, about 1880 ... 467
Milwaukee River, Grain Elevators ... 467
Hibbard's Warehouse and Shipping, Milwaukee Harbor in the '60s ... 488
Cover Design, Plankinton House, 1884, Merchants' Association Banquet ... 491
Cover Design, Menu for Merchants' Association Banquet ... 493
Menu for Seventh Annual Banquet, Merchants' Association, 1884 ... 493
President Cleveland at Milwaukee, October 6, 1887 ... 497
The Milwaukee Industrial Exposition Building ... 499
Fourth of July Celebration, 1844 ... 505
John Mehl's German Cheese Factory, 1886 ... 529
John Plankinton Statue in Plankinton Arcade and Jeremiah Quinn ... 549
Milwaukee Iron Company's Rolling Mills, 1874 ... 557
Rolling Mills, from Jones' Island, late '80s ... 557

VOLUME II

Milwaukee County Courthouse ... *Frontispiece*
Layton Boulevard, Looking South from National Avenue ... 595
Kosciuszko Monument at Kosciuszko Park ... 596
Fifth Ward, 1866, Allis Reliance Iron Works ... 617
Looking Northwest to the Sixth and Ninth Wards, 1866 ... 617
Looking Down Astor Street Toward the Harbor, 1875 ... 617
Looking West from Mitchell Block, 1880 ... 617
Familiar localities as they appeared in earlier days ... 617
East Water and Wisconsin Streets, Looking South, 1867 ... 645
East Water Street in 1844 ... 645
Old Grand Avenue, West from the Bridge, Early '80s ... 649
Wisconsin Street in the '60s ... 649
Wisconsin Street in 1866 ... 649
Old Main Street, Now Broadway, Looking North from Wisconsin Street, 1867 ... 653
Michigan Street, 1866. Newhall House, Sailing Vessels ... 653
Northeast Corner Milwaukee and Wisconsin Streets, 1871, after big snowstorm ... 653
Looking East from Spring Street, 1867—Old Bridge in Center ... 657
Wisconsin Street—Site of N. W. Mutual Life Building ... 657
Old German Market ... 661
W. Water Street, Looking South from Spring Street, 1867 ... 661
E. Water Street, Looking North from Michigan Street, 1867 ... 661
W. Water Street, Looking North from Grand Avenue, in the '80s ... 665
Looking North on Main Street, Now Broadway, toward Mason Street, 1870 ... 665
A Historic Corner—from Roof of Miller Bldg., 1886 ... 678
The Milwaukee House ... 681
American House ... 685
United States Hotel ... 685
The Old Newhall House, burned 1883 ... 691
East Water Street Bridge and Axtell House, 1877 ... 693
South Shore Park Bathing Beach ... 694
Milwaukee Bay, as it looked in the '70s ... 699
Junction of Milwaukee and Menomonee Rivers, 1879 ... 707
Old Days of Sailing Craft ... 707
Old Time Schooner entering Milwaukee Bay ... 707
The Old John A. Dix, Sidewheel Steamer ... 713
View of Old Goodrich Dock, on River between Sycamore and Clybourn Streets ... 713
Steamer "Lady Elgin" at her dock ... 719
Sinking of the "Lady Elgin," September 8, 1860 ... 723
The Steamer Christopher Columbus passing through Broadway Bridge ... 735

The Car Ferry Grand Haven, of the Grand Trunk Line, Entering the Harbor 735
Washington Monument, Wisconsin Avenue 740
The Old Courthouse and Jail in the Early '60s 749
Where Abraham Lincoln Spoke, 1859 773
"Over the River," Looking East from Third and Galena Streets, 1866 789
Milwaukee Engine Co. No. 1, 1855 790
Milwaukee Hook and Ladder Co. No. 1, 1865 803
Soldiers' Monument, Wisconsin Avenue 812
Old Milwaukee Light Guard 817
Copy of the Army Call Issued in 1862 821
National Soldiers' Home, West of Milwaukee 835
Grand Terrace, Lake Park 836
Schroeder Hotel Site in 1870 843
Grand Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church 843
Old Seventh Ward, 1871—"Steamboat Church," etc. 849
Immanuel Presbyterian Church 849
Old Plymouth Church 857
First Unitarian Church 865
St. Paul's, showing old street car tracks 869
St. Paul's Episcopal Church 869
Grace Lutheran Church, Broadway and Juneau Avenue 883
Trinity Lutheran Church 885
Christian Science Church, Highland Boulevard 889
Christian Science Church, Prospect Avenue 889
Fourth Ward Park and Old St. Gall's Church, 1877 901
St. Stanislaus Church, Mitchell and Grove Streets, 1875 901
Gesu Church 903
St. Josaphat's Church, First and Lincoln Avenues 905
Old Temple Emanu-El 907
Lake Front in 1865, no railroad tracks or Juneau Park 912
Call for a Mass Meeting, 1848 919
Old County Courthouse, 1875, Showing Goddess of Liberty 933
Milwaukee County's $6,500,000 Courthouse, under Construction 933
West Shore of Jones' Island, Late '80s 945
Dr. E. B. Wolcott Monument, Lake Park 946
Water Tower and Old St. Mary's Hospital 971
The Kinnickinnic Basin, Looking South 1004
Lake Coal Carrier Unloading 1004
Seal Enclosure, Washington Park 1020
Pioneer Women of Milwaukee 1033
Soldiers' Home Fair, 1865 1041
North Point Lighthouse and Bridge 1053
Winter Scene at Washington Park 1054
Milwaukee Turners—only 6 survived in 1929 1067
Old Cream City Baseball Club, 1869 1071
Sunken Gardens, Mitchell Park 1071
The Old Academy of Music, Later the Schubert Theatre 1075
Group of Old Settlers—Photographed in 1911 1089
Some Familiar Faces—Past presidents of Old Settlers' Club, who were living in 1918 1089
Bathing Beach, McKinley Park 1097
Vessel Unloading Coal, Menomonee River 1098
Menomonee River—A Coal-shipping Center 1098
The Old City Hall, Photo taken January, 1892 1121
Milwaukee Public Library and Museum 1125
Jones' Island and Vicinity, Summer of 1921 1134
Administration Building, Mount Mary College 1146
Milwaukee-Downer College 1165
Milwaukee Female College, in the '60s 1165
Milwaukee Normal School 1165
Notre Dame Convent, 1850 1173
St. Mary's Convent 1173
Administration Building, Marquette University 1183

Layton Art Gallery 1189
Street Railway Car Barns, Farwell Avenue, 1880 1201
An Early Trolley Car 1201
Street Railway Car Barns, West Water Street, 1880 1206
Skyline of Milwaukee from the Bay, 1921 1211
Skyline of Milwaukee as seen from Lake Michigan, 1930 1211
Wisconsin Avenue, looking East, December, 1930 1215
Wisconsin Avenue, looking West, December, 1930 1219
Scenes in the Coal Receiving Center of the Menomonee River Area 1224
Old Presbyterian Church, Wauwatosa 1237
Old School, Wauwatosa 1237
Old Mill Pond Dyke, West of present Main Street, Wauwatosa 1239
Irvington Hotel, North Main Street, Wauwatosa 1239
Mrs. Milwaukee Smith Hockelberg 1255
View of Milwaukee, June 1, 1857 1291

CHAPTER I

A PLACE ON THE MAP

CARTOGRAPHIC RECOGNITION OF THE SITE—COMING OF MISSIONARIES AND EXPLORERS—FATHER MARQUETTE—LA SALLE AND HENNEPIN—FATHER DE ST. COSME—THE NAME OF MILWAUKEE.

In the year 1785 John Fitch of Connecticut brought out his "Map of the Northwest Parts of the United States of America," which was the first widely distributed publication in this country containing the name and indicating the location of Milwaukee. The popular American geographer of the period soon was to be the Rev. Jedediah Morse. Morse's "Map of the North Western Territory," published at Boston eleven years later, shows a number of streams entering Lake Michigan, without lettering for any on the west shore. The Fitch map names three of these, the longest being labeled "Milowogues R."

Fitch was not a cartographer by profession. He was an ingenious eccentric who had been apprenticed to a watchmaker in his youth and served as a gunsmith in the Revolutionary Army. After the war he went up and down the country mending clocks, surveying lands and turning his hand to anything that promised to yield an honest dollar. For years he had been nursing in his mind the idea of making the steam engine available in navigation, but was too poor to experiment at his own expense, and unable to procure aid, because people looked upon him as a dreamer. When Nathan Dane reported to Congress his famous resolution for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River, it occurred to John Fitch that a map of the region would supply a popular demand, and he proceeded to make such a map. He drafted it himself, engraved it with his own hand, and, having no press for plate-printing,

printed it on a cider press. Then he peddled it wherever he went, and he went far and wide. A capital of eight hundred dollars accumulated by this means enabled him to go forward with the scheme that was next his heart. In 1787, when the convention that framed the federal Constitution was in session at Philadelphia, he invited the delegates to witness on the Delaware River the demonstration of a boat propelled by steam. Though Fitch's steamboat failed to bring him financial success, and he died in penury and discouragement, drawings of his design, which together with those of James Rumsey, another avant-courier of the invention, came into possession of Robert Fulton, supplied that triumphant genius with valuable suggestions.

Copies of the Fitch map are rare today, but for many years after its publication they hung on the walls of taverns and in the kitchens of farmhouses throughout the Atlantic States, exerting a silent influence which no doubt had much to do with subsequent migration from the seaboard to the interior. Nor was it only as a cartographer or as one of the pioneers of a new mode of transit that Fitch contributed to "put Milwaukee on the map." He was the grandfather of Byron Kilbourn, of whom more will be said hereafter.

Two copper-engraved charts in Winterbotham's "View of the American United States," published in London, England, in 1795—a year earlier than Morse's map—represent the Milwaukee River with a settlement at its mouth. On one of these charts the settlement is called "Wilakie Village," and on the other "Willawaky." It is a frequent thing for engravers and others to mistake a w for an m or an m for a w. French explorers sometimes labeled the Wisconsin River "Mescousing." Winterbotham's book was a compilation rather than an original work, and its maps undoubtedly reflect information derived from earlier sources, of which probably none was more celebrated than the de l'Isle map of 1703. De l'Isle was a noted French geographer who in 1700 began the work of reconstructing the common fund of knowledge by publishing new and remarkably correct maps of every part of the world. His map of 1703—"Carte du Canada on de la France"—shows "Meleoki R." On his map of 1718—"Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi"—the notation is "Melleki R.," and at the mouth of the river there is a town to

which is appended the name "Miskoukiminia." It must be credited to de l'Isle that his first spelling—"Meleoki"—makes a closer approach to the sound of the city's name as pronounced by those who live in it today than was achieved by many who tried to write it long after he had made his meritorius attempt. When de l'Isle published his "Carte du Canada" Milwaukee had been known to travelers for nearly thirty years, its earliest white visitor of record being Father Jacques Marquette.

It was not in connection with the expedition in which he was associated with Joliet that Father Marquette set foot on the site of the future city whose important institutions were to include a University bearing his honored name. When proceeding to the Mississippi he followed the Fox and Wisconsin waterway, and returning he took the shorter course up the Illinois and Desplaines to the vicinity of Chicago, hurrying thence via Lake Michigan to Green Bay, and apparently keeping no detailed record of the concluding portion of his journey. At the end of September, 1673, he and Joliet reached the Mission of St. Francois Xavier, at De Pere, where both of them tarried till the following spring. Then Joliet went on to Quebec, Father Marquette remaining, because he had been transferred by the superiors of his order, and the Mission was now his home. The hardships of the great voyage to the southwest had undermined his health, but throughout the summer he kept in mind a promise he had made to revisit the Illinois Indians. Permission to fulfill this engagement came to him in the autumn of 1674. In the course of his journey from the Mission of St. Francois Xavier to the Illinois he spent three days at Milwaukee.

Still preserved as a precious relic, at St. Mary's College, in Montreal, is the blotted and weather-stained Diary in which the devoted missionary set down what happened from the time when he left the Mission till a few weeks before his death. Accompanying the Diary is an account of the journey, prepared by Father Dablon, partly from the manuscripts of Father Marquette and partly from conversations with Father Marquette's companions. These documents, of course, are written in French. It is upon both together that historians rely for the particulars of the great explorer and missionary's activities during the interval between

his departure from St. Francois Xavier and his death on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, on the 18th of May, 1675.

The time consumed in traveling from Green Bay to Chicago was more than a month. Accompanying Father Marquette were two faithful French-Canadians, one of whom is mentioned only by his Christian name of Jacques; the other was Pierre Porteret. At Sturgeon Bay the Father and his attendants joined a fleet of nine canoes—four filled with Illinois Indians and five with Pottawatomies—all bound for Kaskaskia, which place had been visited by Father Marquette the year before. Cold and stormy weather often impeded their progress. Sometimes the snow came down so thickly that they could not see their way; sometimes the roughness of the lake rendered navigation in canoes impracticable; often they were tossed in peril on the waves, while floating masses of ice made it almost impossible to land. However, the weather was not always tempestuous. There were times during the beginning of the journey when the Father walked along the beach, while the canoes made their way through water of mirror-like smoothness, their occupants keeping within easy calling distance, and putting in to receive him when he became fatigued. Little shelter was available for the voyagers while they were afloat, and a temporary hut of reeds was usually the best protection they could command on shore. The Father's sufferings from the rigors of the journey must have been painful to endure, but it was not his nature to complain.

From time to time there have been published what seem like fanciful assumptions as to localities in Wisconsin south of Green Bay visited by Father Marquette. His name has been associated with places as far in the interior as Holy Hill. Not all who allowed their imaginations to range on the subject have been aware of the fact that the missionary made his journey during an inclement season of the year, and was in feeble health, and anxious to reach his goal, and only casually interested in scenery by the way.

To serious investigators the text of a document is preferable to anybody's summary of what the document contains. The story in Marquette's own words of his journey to Chicago from the Door County peninsula has been translated into English on several occasions. It is readily accessible, unabridged, in "Early

Narratives of the Northwest," by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, senior research associate, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, she having taken it from Dr. Thwaites' "Jesuit Relations," LIX, 165, adding notes of her own.

People consulting records of pioneer journeys in the wilderness do not always find themselves in agreement as to the identity of localities referred to but not specified by name. Early explorers of Wisconsin were without atlases and unable to set down their itineraries in terms which invariably would be obvious to readers of later times. During the course of centuries the names of many places have changed. Identification of localities by their topography is possible frequently but not always. Often it is necessary to follow carefully every step in the progress of a journey in order to avoid confusion as to the places meant by the narrator when he is able to describe them only in general terms. Innumerable are the disputes regarding identity of localities which have arisen among students of the Jesuit Relations. For years there was controversy as to the region of northern Wisconsin hallowed by the martyrdom of Father Menard.

Taking into consideration, however, the circumstances of his journey, the following excerpt from Father Marquette's Diary, which has been made extensive enough to show not only the particular passage at issue, but also its original setting, may be submitted with a view to putting controversy at rest. It is premised that on October 25, 1674, Father Marquette set out from the Mission at De Pere, under orders to proceed to the Mission of La Conception, among the Illinois. With his attendants, he passed the night at the outlet of the lower Fox River. Here the Pottawatomies were assembling. The elders would not allow the young men to go in the direction of the Illinois, "lest, after collecting robes with the goods they brought from below, and after hunting beaver, they might seek to go down in the spring; because they have reason to fear the Naudowessi." Then follows the language of Father Marquette as rendered into English:

"We learned at the village that five canoes of Pottawatomies and four of Illinois had started to go to Kaskaskia.

"In the afternoon we had fine, calm weather, so that at Sturgeon Bay we joined the savages, who traveled ahead of us.

"October 28 we reached the portage. [Sturgeon Bay portage, across the Door County peninsula.]

"Snow fell.

"The portage nearly covers a league, and is very difficult in many places. The Illinois assemble in the evening in our cabin, and ask us not to leave them, as we may need them, and they know the lake better than we do. We promise this.

"30. The Illinois women complete our portage in the morning. We are delayed by the wind.

"31. We start with tolerably fair weather and sleep at a small river. The road by land from Sturgeon Bay is very difficult. Last autumn we were traveling not far from it when we entered the forest.

"Nov. 1. After I said holy mass we came for the night to a river, whence one goes to the Pottawatomies by a good road. Chacagwessiou, an Illinois, greatly esteemed among his nation, partly because he engages in the fur trade, arrived at night with a deer on his back, of which he gave us a share.

"2. After holy mass, we travel all day in very fine weather. We kill two cats which are almost nothing but fat.

"3. While I am ashore, walking on fine sand, the whole water's edge being covered with grass similar to that which is hauled up by the nets at St. Ignace, I come to a river which I am unable to cross. [Probably Manitowoc River.] Our people enter it in order to take me on board; but we are unable to go out, on account of the waves. All the other canoes go on, excepting one, which came with us.

"4. We are delayed. There seems to be an island out in the lake, for the game go there at night.

"5. We had considerable difficulty in getting out of the river at noon. We found the savages in a river [Sheboygan] where I seized the opportunity of instructing the Illinois, on account of a feast that Nawaskingwe had just given to a wolfskin.

"6. We performed a good day's journey. While the savages were hunting they discovered some tracks of men, and this compelled us to stay over on the following day.

"9. We landed about 2 o'clock, because there was a good camping ground. We were detained there for five days, on account of the great agitation of the lake, although without any

wind; and afterwards of the snow which was melted on the following day by the sun and a breeze from the lake.

"15. After proceeding a sufficient distance, we camp at a favorable place, where we are detained three days. Pierre mends a savage's gun. Snow falls at night and thaws during the day.

"20. We sleep near the bluffs, and are very poorly sheltered. The savages remain behind while we are delayed two days and a half by the wind. Pierre goes into the woods, and finds the prairie twenty leagues from the portage. He also goes through a fine canal, which is vaulted, as it were, to the height of a man, in which there is water a foot deep.

"23. After embarking at noon, we experienced some difficulty in reaching a river. [Milwaukee River.] Then the cold began, and more than a foot of snow covered the ground; it has remained ever since. We were delayed for three days, during which Pierre killed a deer, three bustards and three turkeys, which were very good. The others proceeded to the prairies. A savage discovered some cabins, and came to get us. Jacques went there on the following day, with him; two hunters also came to see me. There were Mascoutens, to the number of eight or nine cabins, who had separated from the others in order to obtain subsistence. With fatigues almost impossible to Frenchmen, they travel throughout the winter on very bad roads, the land abounding in streams, small lakes and swamps. Their cabins are wretched, and they eat or starve, according to the places where they happen to be. Being detained by the wind, we noticed that there were great shoals out in the lake, over which the waves broke continually. [Here follows a memorandum indicative of the Father's ill health.]

"27. We had some trouble in getting out of the river; then, after proceeding about three leagues, we found the savages, who had killed some cattle, and three Illinois, who had come from the village. We were delayed there by a wind from the land, by heavy waves from the lake, and by cold.

"December 1. We went ahead of the savages, so that I could say holy mass.

"3. After saying holy mass, we embarked, and were compelled to make for a point, so that we could land, on account of floating masses of ice.

"4. We started with a favoring wind, and reached the river of the portage, which was frozen to the depth of half a foot. There was more snow there than elsewhere, as well as more tracks of animals and turkeys.

"Navigation on the lake is fairly good from one portage to the other, for there is no crossing to be made, and one can land anywhere, unless one persist in going on when the waves are high and the wind is strong. The land bordering it is of no value except on the prairies. There are eight or ten quite fine rivers. Deer hunting is very good, as one goes away from the Poutewatamis."

This leaves Father Marquette at Chicago.

Citizens of Milwaukee and of all parts of Wisconsin always have revered the character of Father Marquette, and have contributed in many ways to keep his career of significant service green in the memory of mankind. His statue from the chisel of Gaetano Trentanove, placed there by the State of Wisconsin, stands in Statuary Hall in the Capitol of the United States at Washington. A county and a village in Wisconsin, as well as a city in Northern Michigan, are known by his name, which also is borne by the great and growing University in Milwaukee conducted by members of the Order to which he belonged. When he passed into eternity, near the site of the present city of Ludington, Michigan, he was buried on the bank of the Pere Marquette River by his faithful companions, who went on to the Mission of St. Ignace to convey the tidings of his death. Two years later a party of Ottawa Indians opened the shallow grave, recovering the bones and placing them in a birch bark box, which was reverently borne to St. Ignace and interred beneath the altar of the mission chapel. There what remained in 1877 was found by a member of the Jesuit Order, who sent a moiety of the cherished relics to Milwaukee—mere crumbling fragments—the "key-cold ashes" of a holy man,—and these are in the keeping of Marquette University.

Now for the story of the second recorded visit of white men to Milwaukee, in which outstanding figures were the Sieur de la Salle and Father Louis Hennepin.

The *Griffin*, built for La Salle near Buffalo, a little craft of sixty tons, the first sailing vessel that ever entered the waters of

the upper lakes, never came nearer to this city than Green Bay. From that place La Salle sent her back to the east with a cargo of furs, and on the way she foundered in a storm, carrying the fortune of her owner to the bottom. It was the 18th of September, 1679, when he and those of his followers who remained with him saw her depart. Parkman carries on the narrative from this point in his usual vivid style:

"La Salle, with fourteen men who remained, in four canoes, deeply laden with a forge, tools, merchandise and arms, put out from the island [in Green Bay] and resumed his voyage. The parting was not auspicious. The lake, glassy and calm in the afternoon, was convulsed at night with a sudden storm, when the canoes were midway between the island and the main shore. It was with difficulty they could keep together, the men shouting to each other through the darkness. Hennepin, who was in the smallest canoe, with a heavy load, and a carpenter for a companion who was awkward at the paddle, found himself in jeopardy which demanded all his nerve. The voyagers thought themselves happy when they gained at last the shelter of a little sandy cove, where they dragged up their canoes and made their cheerless bivouac in the drenched and dripping forest. Here they spent five days, living on pumpkins and Indian corn, the gift of their Pottawatomie friends, and on a Canadian porcupine brought in by La Salle's Mohegan hunter. The gale raged with relentless fury. They trembled when they thought of the *Griffin*. When at length the tempest lulled they re-embarked and steered southward along the shore of Wisconsin; but again the storm fell upon them, and drove them for safety to a bare, rocky islet. Here they made a fire of driftwood, crouched around it, drew their blankets over their heads, and in this miserable plight, pelted with sleet and rain, remained for two days.

"At length they were afloat again, but their prosperity was brief. On the 28th a fierce squall drove them to a point of rocks, covered with bushes, where they consumed the little that remained of their provisions. On the first of October they paddled about thirty miles without food, when they came to a village of Pottawatomies, who ran down to the shore to help them to land; but La Salle, fearing that some of his men would steal the merchandise and desert to the Indians, insisted on going three leagues

farther, to the great indignation of his followers. The lake, swept by an easterly gale, was rolling its waves against the beach like the ocean in a storm. In the attempt to land, La Salle's canoe was nearly swamped. He and his three canoe men leaped into the water, and, in spite of the surf, which nearly drowned them, dragged their vessel ashore, with all its load. He then went to the rescue of Hennepin, who, with his awkard companion, was in woeful need of succor. Father Gabriel, with his 64 years, was no match for the surf and the violent undertow. Hennepin, finding himself safe, waded to his relief, and carried him ashore on his sturdy shoulders; while the old friar, though drenched to the skin, laughed gayly under his cowl as his brother missionary staggered with him up the beach.

"When all were safe ashore, La Salle, who distrusted the Indians they had passed, took post on a hill, and ordered his followers to prepare their guns for action. Nevertheless, as they were starving, an effort must be risked to gain a supply of food; and he sent three men back to the village to purchase it. Well armed, but faint with toil and famine, they made their way through the stormy forest, bearing a pipe of peace, but, on arriving, saw that the scared inhabitants had fled. They found, however, a stock of corn, of which they took a portion, leaving goods in exchange, and then set out on their return."

Their reunion with their chief, and other incidents of their progress toward Chicago, are all in Parkman's account, which is chiefly derived from Hennepin. Parkman makes no question that most of the incidents here referred to occurred within or near the present city of Milwaukee. Henry Legler, in his "Leading Events of Wisconsin History," suggests that the hill on which La Salle posted his followers was the present site of Juneau Park.

Hennepin wrote more than one report of his adventures with La Salle. The following is translated from his "La Louisiane," published in 1683. After telling of the storm into the teeth of which the party ran after leaving Green Bay on the 19th of September, and the scantiness of food from which its members suffered, the recital proceeds:

"On the 25th we continued on our route all day and a part of the night, favored by the moon, along the western shore of Lake Dauphin [meaning Lake Michigan]; but, the wind coming up a

little too strong, we were forced to land on a bare rock, on which we endured the rain and snow for two days, sheltered by our blankets, and near a little fire, which we fed with wood that the waves drove ashore.

"On the 28th, after the celebration of the Mass, we kept on until far into the night, and until a whirlwind forced us to land on a rocky point covered with bushes. We remained there two days, and consumed the rest of our provisions—that is to say, the Indian corn and squashes we had bought of the Pottawatomies, and of which we had been unable to lay in a greater supply because our canoes were too heavily laden, and because we hoped to find some on our route.

"We set out the 1st of October, and, after making twelve leagues fasting, arrived near another village of the Pottawatomies. [This portion of the narrative is especially interesting, because beyond reasonable doubt the village was within the limits of what is now Milwaukee.] These Indians all flocked to the shore to receive us and to haul us in from the waves, which rose to an extraordinary height. The Sieur de la Salle, fearing that his men would desert, and that some of them would carelessly waste some of the goods, pushed on, and we were obliged to follow him three leagues beyond the village of the Indians, notwithstanding the evident peril, and he saw no alternative to take in order to land in safety than to leap into the water with his three canoemen, and all together take hold of the canoe and its load and drag it ashore in spite of the waves, which sometimes covered them over their heads. He then came to meet the canoe which I guided with the man who had no experience in this work [this was the ship's carpenter of the *Griffin*, who had not been sent back with that vessel,] and, jumping waist-deep into the water, we carried our little craft all at once, and went to receive the other two canoes in the same manner as the former. As the waves breaking on the shore formed a kind of undertow, which drags out into the lake those who think they are safe, I made a powerful effort, and took on my shoulders our good old Recollect who accompanied us, and this amiable missionary of St. Francis, seeing himself out of danger, though all drenched with water, never failed to display an extraordinary cheerfulness.

"As we had no acquaintance with the Indians of this village,

the commandant first ordered all the arms to be got ready, and posted himself on an eminence where it was difficult to surprise us, and whence he could with a small force defend himself against a greater number. He then sent three of his men to buy provisions in the village, under the protection of the Calumet of Peace which the Pottawatomies of the Island had given the Sieur de la Salle, accompanying the presentation with the dances and ceremonies which they use in their feasts and public solemnities. [An elaborate description of the Calumet which follows is here omitted.]

"The three men, with this safeguard and their arms, arrived at the little village of the Indians three leagues distant from the landing, but they found no one there. These Indians, at the sight of our canoes, perceiving that we had not landed on passing them, had taken fright and abandoned their village. Accordingly, the three men, after using all endeavors to speak to some of these Indians, took what Indian corn they could carry from their cabins, and left goods there in place of what they appropriated, and then took the road to return to us.

"Meanwhile, twenty of these Indians, armed with guns, axes, bows, arrows and clubs, which are called *casse-tete*—skull-breakers—approached the place where we were. The Sieur de la Salle advanced to accost them, with four of his men, armed with guns, pistols and sabers. He asked them what they wished. Seeing that they appeared perplexed, he told them to come on, for fear his men, who, he pretended, were out hunting, might kill them if they found them out of the way. He made them sit down at the foot of the rising ground on which we had camped, and from which we could watch all their movements. We began to occupy them with different things, to amuse them till our three men got back from the village. These men appearing some time afterwards, as soon as the Indians perceived the Peace Calumet which one of our men carried, they rose, uttering a cry of great joy, and began to dance, after their fashion. Far from being angry about the Indian corn, which they saw, and which had been taken from them, they sent to the village to bring more, and gave us some also the next day—as much as we could conveniently put in our canoes.

"It was nevertheless deemed prudent to fell the trees around,

and to command our men to pass the night under arms, for fear of any surprise. About 10 o'clock the next day, the old men of the village arrived with their peace calumet, and feasted all the French. The Sieur de la Salle thanked them by a present of some axes and knives and some masses of beads for their women's adornment, and left them very well satisfied. We set out the same day, October 2d, and we sailed for four days along the shore."

At this stage of the narrative comes the recital of a landing made at a place where the hungry travelers had been attracted by the spectacle of a pack of wolves tearing apart the carcase of a fat stag, whose partly consumed remains were rescued from the wolves and eaten by de La Salle and his companions. This is believed to have happened not far from the present site of Racine.

In the summer of 1846 Dr. P. R. Hoy came to Wisconsin Territory, shortly afterward making the acquaintance of Dr. I. A. Lapham. The two had much in common, and were friends to the end of Dr. Lapham's life. Dr. Hoy made his home in Racine and Dr. Lapham resided in Milwaukee, but Dr. Lapham's business necessitated visits to different parts of the State, and the congeniality of their natures and pursuits brought them frequently together. In addition to his other scientific commitments Dr. Hoy was deeply interested in archeology, to the literature of which he made more than one original contribution attracting wide attention from his contemporaries. On pages 15 and 16 of Dr. Hoy's "Who Built the Mounds?" published in 1886, is the following interesting reference to what may have been a memorial of La Salle and Hennepin's adventures on the west shore of Lake Michigan in 1679. Attention has been called to the passage, with reference to its pertinency in connection with the present work, by George A. West, the Milwaukee archeologist, who writes, "I saw a section of the tree to which Dr. Hoy refers:"

"Benjamin Bones, living four miles from Racine, cut down in 1870 a large white elm, and, on splitting it, discovered, four inches from the center, a blaze which included a hack evidently made with a sharp ax. He brought me a section of the tree including the blaze. There were one hundred and eighty-eight rings outside of the hack, measuring twenty-two and a half inches

from inside of the bark to the blaze. Counting back, and adding two years for the growth to cover the scar, we found that the period corresponded with Hennepin's first voyage along the west coast of Lake Michigan. A few years before this discovery Dr. Lapham and I amused ourselves tracing Father Hennepin's voyage. We located the spot five miles south of Racine where he halted and spent several days to recuperate. He says: 'At this station the natives and voyagers we had with us killed plenty of stags, wild goats, and many turkeys, big and fat.' The point where we located this halt is not over half a mile from this historical tree, which was fully four feet in diameter. It is probable that some of Hennepin's party blazed an elm sapling as a guide, and now the marks of that hatchet are revealed as sharp and distinct as when first made."

From Father Hennepin's narrative it is evident that the red inhabitants of Milwaukee at the time of which he wrote were unreclaimed from savagery, but were grudgingly hospitable to white travelers. Father Zenobius Membre, writing in 1680 of the Indian tribes with whom he had become acquainted, and of their respective locations, incidentally remarked: "The Mascoutens and Outagamies dwell at about 43 degrees north latitude, on the banks of the river called Melleoki, which empties into Lake Dauphin [Lake Michigan] very near their village." It has been inferred that he gained this information while passing through the region in company with La Salle on the journey described by Hennepin.

Father Jean Francois Buisson de St. Cosme was a priest of the Seminary of Quebec who in the fall of 1698 was on his way to found a mission among the Indians at that time located near the site of what since has been known as Cahokia, Illinois. In a letter to his superior, which he wrote from "the Akanscas Country," under date of January 2, 1699, he tells of setting forth from Mackinac on the 14th of September, 1698, and proceeds as follows:

"On the 4th of October, we came upon another small village of Poux [Pottawatomies,] on a small river [probably the Kewaunee,] where Rev. Father Marais had spent the winter with some Frenchmen, and had planted a cross. We stayed there for the remainder of the day. We left on the 5th, and, after being

windbound for two days, we started, and after two days of heavy wind we reached Milouakik [Milwaukee] on the 9th. This is a river where there is a village which has been a large one, consisting of Mascoutins, of Reynards and also of some Poux [Pottawatomies]. We stayed there two days, partly on account of the wind, and partly to recruit our men a little, because there is an abundance of duck and teal in the river. On the 11th of October we started early in the morning from the fort of Milouakik, and at an early hour we reached Kipakoui [Racine], about eight leagues farther."

Fellow-travelers with Father de St. Cosme were three other priests—Fathers Francis Joliet de Montigny, Anthony Davion and Thaumer de la Source. All were in this part of their journey under the experienced ciceroneship of Henry de Tonty. Ordinarily they would have proceeded over the more direct route by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, but that had become dangerous by reason of the hostility of the Foxes, whose enmity was destined to endure and finally to contribute to the downfall of French dominion in North America. A few years after his arrival in the Akanscas country, Father de St. Cosme was murdered by a war party of Chitimakas, his Cahokia mission being maintained by Father Thaumer de la Source till 1721, when it was made over to the Jesuits.

The letter here cited is one of the oldest documents containing the name of Milwaukee. Father Marquette, though earlier on the ground than Father de St. Cosme, and describing the locality with a particularity leaving no room for doubt as to its identity, had not made mention of its name. The spelling which Father de St. Cosme employed—"Milouakik"—is a close approximation to the sound it is intended to convey, though not much closer than Father Menard's "Melleoki." For Lake Michigan, it is to be noted, Father de St. Cosme adopted the designation in use at the present day, instead of "Dauphin" or "Lac des Illinois." Here also his spelling deviated from what is now preferred, for he wrote it "Mie-sit-gan."

Innumerable efforts have been made to trace the name Milwaukee to its source. Its meaning remains in doubt. The Indian tribe that bestowed it in the first place may have been extinguished or driven away long before the first white men arrived

upon the scene. Like other Indian names, it has been subject in transmission to vicissitudes so various that those who were responsible for its bestowal might not recognize it in its modern guise. For all the Indian names on the map of North America, the original white authorities are mainly French and German—the French of Canada and the German missionaries of Pennsylvania. Some of the consonants in both French and German and nearly all of the vowels have different powers than those of the same letters in English. A has the sound of a in far; i the sound of e in be; o that of o in no, and u that of oo in boot, while w has no legitimate existence in French. The French usually employed ou for w, as in Ouisconsin, and sometimes substituted gu, as in Guyandotte for Wyandotte. Heckewelder and the Moravian missionaries always followed German forms. Even among the educated priests who were the first to write down the Indian names of places in Wisconsin, there was no standard authority for spelling, and the best that could be done was for each recorder to attempt to put down the sound as he caught it by ear. There were instances of the same name being differently spelled at a single writing. Inevitably many of the names would be variously rendered by different individuals, for individuals are not alike in the keenness of their hearing.

Indians and their half-French descendants who were on the ground when the early white settlers arrived disagreed as to the meaning of "Milwaukee" and also as to its sound. According to one authority it meant "Great Council Place," according to another it was the name of a medicinal root. A third interpretation—and this was the most general—was that it came from "Manawaukee," the signification of which is "good land."

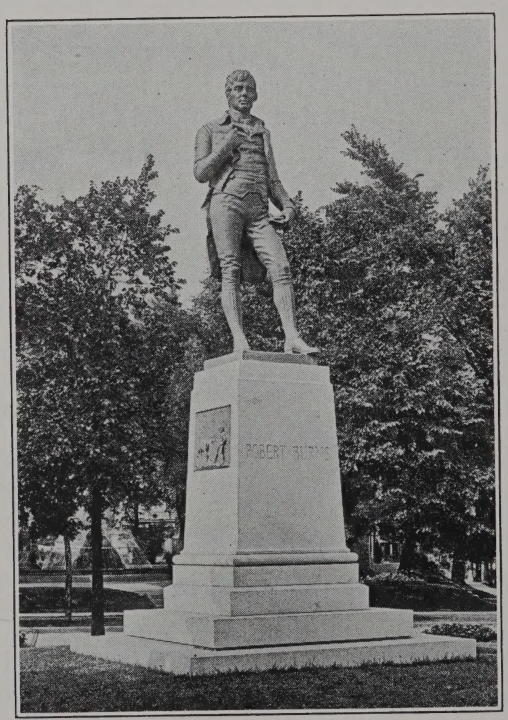
More than forty years ago, E. M. Haines, who had devoted time and study to the subject, contributed a long and learned article to the *Chicago Record-Herald.* From that article the pith is extracted as follows: In some of the Algonquin dialects the letter l was never used; in others it was used freely. The Delawares employed it, but there were Western tribes to whom it was a sound unknown. In trying to analyze "Milwaukee," the student of names can account for "aukee" easily. It stands for earth or land; but he will boggle over "Mil" a long time, and fail, with all his efforts, to find any word or root or particle that is of kin to it.

Whether the man who first reduced the name to its present written form mistook the pronunciation of "Min" for "Mil," or whether the substitution of l for m was in accordance with Grimm's law, cannot be determined, but probably the change was due to a misapprehension of the sound. The proper word was "Minno," good, and the name should be Minno-aukee, good land, and not Milwaukee.

As to the w, Mr. Haines went on to assert that it is superfluous, and was thrown in for euphony, it being a rule where two vowels came together to put a consonant between them for that purpose. Another philologist, however—Doctor Trumbull—declared this was never done by the Indians. The Indian languages, he averred, make no pretense to nor effort at euphony. Moreover, w is not a consonant, but a vowel, so that inserting it here brings three vowels together. There is in fact no need at all of the w. His conclusion was: "W has the sound or force of oo, and the o in 'Minno' supplies that force as fully as w can. 'Minno-aukee,' if heard for the first time, would convey the idea of something like w between the two words, and it was that, presumably, that suggested the use of w."

For many years after the settlement of the place by white people there were two ways of spelling the name, some writing it "Milwaukee" while others insisted on "Milwaukie," many remaining indifferent, or convinced that it was a matter unworthy of dispute, and ready to agree upon either style for the sake of uniformity. Often in history there have been instances of wasted valor—of men who would "do battle for a straw." Governor Doty had insisted on "Wiskonsan" as the spelling of the name of the Territory, until 1845, when the Legislature took a hand and settled the official orthography as "Wisconsin." It was about this time that the quarrel between the "kies" and the "kees" was at its height. Elisha Starr was among those who regarded it seriously, making the heading of the *Sentinel* conform with his idea that "Milwaukie" and not "Milwaukee" was correct. The "Milwaukie" *Herald* also owed to his conviction the spelling of the name of the city which looks quaint to modern eyes. Perhaps it was more for a joke at the expense of Mr. Starr than because they considered the controversy important that raiders made their way into the *Sentinel* office at a time when the forms were

ready for the press and stealthily altered the headline from "kie" to "kee." Starr treated the outrage good-naturedly, and after that the name of the city in the *Sentinel* was "Milwaukee." Many were the early public documents in which it was printed both ways, and in epistolary correspondence uniformity was not fully attained until after the outbreak of the Civil war. A cancellation stamp with the name of the city spelled "Milwaukie" was in use in the post office as late as 1862.



ROBERT BURNS MONUMENT

CHAPTER II

FUR TRADERS AT MILWAUKEE

MARIN, ST. PIERRE, MC KAY AND ALLEN, THE BROTHERS LA FRAMBOISE, CHAPPEAU—TROUBLES OF TRADERS WITH THE INDIANS —JOHN B. BEAUBIEN, LAURENT FILY, JACQUES VIEAU, ANTOINE LE CLAIRE, JOSEPH LA CROIX, THOMAS GUMMERSALL ANDERSON, THE KINZIES—SOLOMON JUNEAU'S LONG AND PICTURESQUE CAREER.

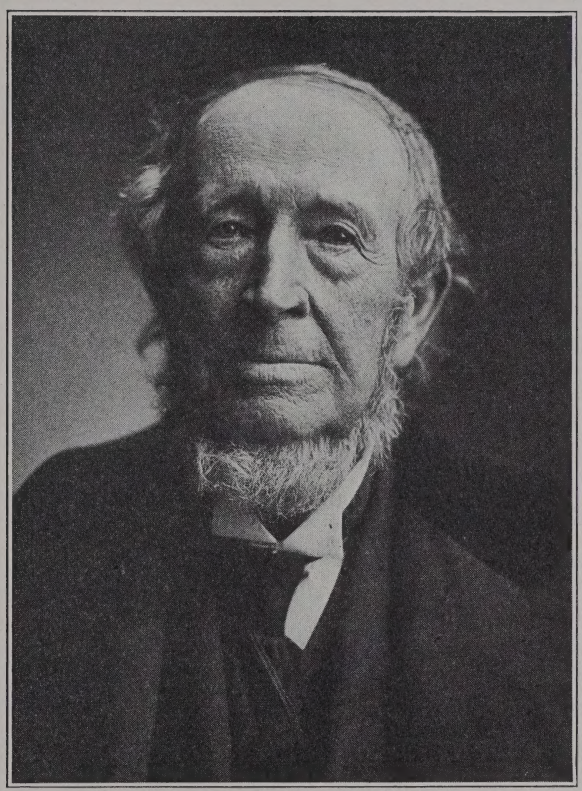
For most of the period between the visit of Father de St. Cosme and the end of French dominion in the Northwest, the history of Milwaukee is partly a subject of conjecture. Many fur traders visited the place, and some of them became temporarily established here, but to a large extent the dates of their arrivals and departures, the details of their experiences, and in several instances even their names, are clouded with the uncertainty attaching to merely verbal tradition.

As was the case elsewhere, the Indian population of localities in Wisconsin underwent changes due to various causes, principal among which was warfare between the tribes. When Marquette came to Milwaukee, its inhabitants were chiefly Mascoutins and Foxes. The Mascoutins were the first of the Western Indians heard of by civilized man. They were believed to have come originally from the prairies. Friendly with the Kickapoos, they probably were of kin to them, as the language spoken by Mascoutins and Kickapoos was nearly the same. Mascoutins continued numerous as late as 1658, from which date they began to be dispersed, and by 1680 they were scattered as far away as St. Josephs, Michigan. All accounts agree that by 1690 most of them had moved south, and that not long afterward they had become extinct or were absorbed by other tribes. Soon after the beginning of the Fox war, which raged in the interval of thirty years following 1699, the Foxes abandoned Milwaukee to the

Pottawatomies. After the conclusion of peace, when the French returned to the country west of Lake Michigan, there were Winnebagoes, Chippewas, Menomonees and Ottawas as well as Pottawatomies at Milwaukee. Winnebagoes and Menomonees had assisted the Foxes in keeping the Fox River closed against the French during the war. French fur traders doubtless transacted business at Milwaukee in the interval between 1740 and 1761, in which latter year the English sent troops west of Lake Michigan to take possession of the country. There may have been a resident French trader here at that time.

Captain Marin was a leading figure in the French war with the Foxes which in 1730 or thereabouts resulted in the slaughter of members of that tribe at Butte des Morts. He is said to have spent the remainder of his life in Wisconsin, surviving to an advanced age. "Morong," which might represent the effort of a British sailor to put the sound of Marin into English letters, was reputed to be the name of a trader at Milwaukee as late as 1779. Tradition in the Grignon family lays stress on the participation of 800 Wisconsin Indians, many of them from Milwaukee, under Charles de Langlade, in the defeat of Braddock (1755), and adds that with a similar following the same intrepid commander, afterward active in behalf of the British, seriously menaced the operations under Wolfe which brought about the fall of Quebec. The eager entry of English fur traders into the region of the lakes, succeeding the conquest of Canada, was one of the inevitable consequences of that momentous event.

Writers stating that "from 1760 to 1765, Alexander Henry, a native of New Jersey, visited Milwaukee as a trader," have failed to adduce authority in support of the assertion, which would be interesting if true, for this Alexander Henry was one of the most picturesque and engaging figures among those at that time concerned in commercial and industrial exploitation of the West. Not only was he indefatigable in the fur trade, but energetically though unsuccessfully engaged in copper mining contiguous to Lake Superior. His "Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, Between the Years 1760 and 1776," published at New York in 1809, sets forth with much detail Henry's journeyings and experiences in a career which carried him from Montreal to Winnipeg and the foothills of the



JOHN HUSTIS

Pioneer Milwaukeean who erected first brick store building.

Rockies, but conveys no intimation that in all his wanderings he ever came nearer to Milwaukee than the eastern part of Michigan.

The journal of Lieut. James Gorrell, of the Royal Americans, who was at Detroit soon after the fall of Quebec and came on to Green Bay, makes several passing references to Milwaukee, the first of these occurring in a list of Indians depending on the post of Detroit in 1761—"Taways, etc., 100, Little Detroit and Milwacky." By "Taways" the Lieutenant meant the tribe known to the French as Ottawas, and in these days generally referred to by the latter name. The following entry, made at Green Bay, bears date of August 21, 1762: "A party of Indians came from Milwacky and demanded credit, which was refused, as they probably belong to Michimackinac. They also made great complaint of the trader amongst them; but as he came from Michimackinac, and did not touch at this place, I desired them to go there and make their complaint and they would be redressed. They promised to come to this place in the spring. I made them a small present, and told them if they did they should be well treated and not imposed on."

What was the trader's name? It is not in the record, nor does the record show that the Indians resorted to stern methods of retaliation for what they considered ill treatment at his hands. Was he killed or driven away? An interesting story told by John Hustis seems worthy of recital. Mr. Hustis, who died at Hustisford, Dodge County, Wisconsin, in 1907, in the ninety-seventh year of his age, was an early settler of the West Side, noted among his neighbors as the man who erected the first brick business structure in Milwaukee. He came in 1836, and in 1839 built a residence at the southwest corner of Chestnut [Juneau Avenue] and Fourth Street. Desiring to fill his lot, he had laborers bring earth and sod from a block farther west, the spot at the southwest corner of Juneau Avenue and Fifth Street now occupied by the Fiebrantz commission house. Here, at a short distance beneath the surface, the workmen came upon the ruins of a forge. They also found pieces of chain, bits of broken glass, fragments of glazed pottery and other evidences of white settlement in Milwaukee at an earlier day. Not long after this discovery Mr. Hustis was told by an Indian ninety years of age that

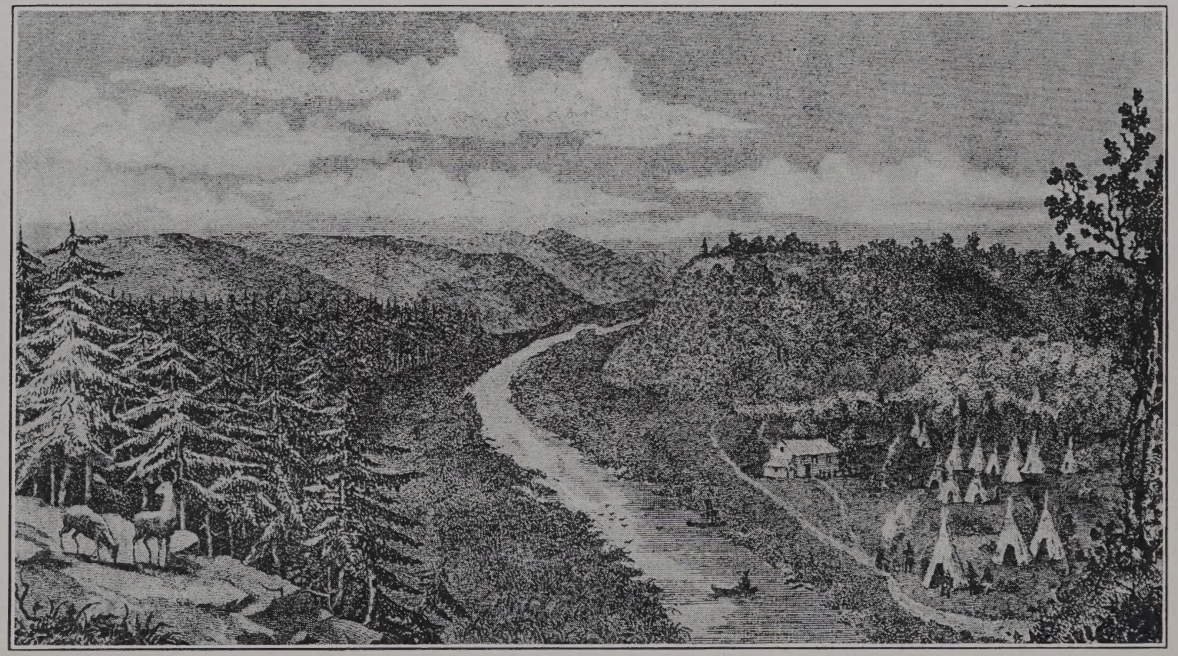
he remembered white people who lived in Milwaukee and were massacred by the Indians when he was about ten years old. The wreckage, he averred, was the ruins of their abode, and he thought their name was St. Peter or St. Pierre. However, there are indications that some twenty years after that time a man named St. Pierre was living in the vicinity of Milwaukee. When the relics were exhumed they were carefully preserved by Mr. Hustis, who kept them for a time at his home, and later deposited them in the cellar of his business block at the northwest corner of Juneau Avenue and Third Street, now the site of the West Side Bank. Subsequently this property passed out of his possession. In 1876, while Mr. Hustis was living at Hustisford, the brick structure which he had reared in 1841 and in which he had stored the fragments gathered at Chestnut and Fifth streets was torn down to make way for a more modern edifice planned and built for Dr. Nicholas Senn. As was natural under the circumstances, nobody being at hand to explain their nature, the relics suffered the fate of rubbish, and when search was made later no trace of them was to be found.

In December, 1890, a gang of laborers, excavating at the foot of Michigan Street [now East Michigan Street] for the approach to the new bridge, uncovered a long pine box which crumbled at their touch, revealing that its contents were human bones. There were shoulder blades, thigh-bones, vertebrae, ribs, and all the parts of a skeleton except the head. Search was made for the missing cranium, but no trace of it could be found. The exact spot where the coffin was uncovered was forty feet west of East Water Street and ten feet north of the building at that time occupied by Houghton Brothers' Bank. The box was at a depth of five feet below the surface of the roadway. At the east end of where it had lain the workmen uncovered a piece of timber, which might have been intended to mark the resting-place of the remains. Not far away they also found a broken piece of iron such as might have formed the sheath of a trapper's knife. Old settlers attracted to the vicinity were at a loss to account for the discovery. Indians, they said, generally buried their dead on high ground. The obvious conclusion seemed to be that the relics were those of a white man, who might have been a trapper and hunter. Mystery attached to the circumstance that the skeleton

was minus its head. Had the head been thrown into the river? Had it been carried off for a trophy? The mystery was heightened by the evidence of careful burial and the probability that the timber near the coffin had served to "implore the passing tribute of a sigh." Many Frenchmen roamed through the wilds of Wisconsin in the interval between the advent of Marquette and the arrival of Juneau. Juneau's location had been that of traders before his time, some of whom brought a retinue of Frenchmen as well as of half-breeds. The spot where the grave was opened was not one likely to have been selected in Juneau's time, for it was on a much-used trail running from the river toward the lake, and but a stone's-throw from where he built his first frame dwelling. Like the southwest corner of Juneau Avenue and Fifth Street, East Michigan Street may have been identified with a tragedy of the eighteenth century in which a venturesome white man was the victim of Indian enmity, his mangled corpse, however, receiving the courtesy of decent burial by grieving friends.

Stephen Folsom, who died in Missouri in 1869, had visited Milwaukee sixty years before that time—that is to say, in 1809—and left an account of his observations. He found here Jacques Vieau, J. B. Mirandeau, one or two other French families, and their hired men. He mentioned Mirandeau's blacksmith shop, Vieau's fur business, and several rude huts which belonged to other fur traders who were not then at Milwaukee. Further, and more important than all, he said he counted on the bluff above Mirandeau's house "thirteen wooden crosses at the heads of graves," and added "there were other graves clustered around those honored with these rude head-pieces."

Albert Fowler has been quoted as having found memorial crosses here in 1833, and as saying Juneau told him that the best of them was one which stood above the grave of Mirandeau, not far from the later site of the old Custom House, which is now occupied by the Wells Building. In connection with this subject it has been observed: "Indians did not construct wooden crosses to mark the graves of their dead. The only possible conclusion is that Milwaukee had been settled so long and numerously prior to 1809 that twenty Catholics had died and been buried within its limits." Testimony regarding the existence of these cross-marked graves has also been made the subject of comment to the



MILWAUKEE IN 1820—JUNEAU'S LOCATION

following effect: "Why did the early settlement at Milwaukee disappear? It was the presence of Indians in great numbers that brought whites to Milwaukee for the purpose of trading with them. The Indians lessened in number after 1810, and more and more depended upon the Government for support. As a consequence trade with the Indians diminished in volume and profit, and traders moved farther west or returned home to enjoy their wealth."

One of the men who came to Wisconsin in the early '40s, when a tide of English settlers was pouring into Waukesha County, was John W. Hinton. After "farming it" for several years, he and his wife moved in to the city of Milwaukee, Mr. Hinton becoming a writer for the *Sentinel*, while its editor was Gen. Rufus King. In that capacity he was active for several years before the Civil war, giving close attention to local matters, and on frequent occasions covering assignments which took him into various sections of the state. He wrote vivid descriptions of the rafting of lumber on the Wisconsin River, the rise of towns along the lines of the pioneer railways, the development of agriculture, and the growth and organization of the grain trade. Later he was for several years a writer for the *Evening Wisconsin* and during part of the time its city editor. Not long after the building of the iron mills at Bay View he established the Northwestern Tariff Bureau, producing and disseminating literature showing the dependence of American prosperity on the preservation of the home market from exploitation by foreign manufacturers. For many years Mr. Hinton collected data for a history of Milwaukee which he never found time to write. Included in the documentary material he gathered with this object in view were copies, officially certified, of the baptismal certificate and the naturalization papers of Solomon Juneau. It was Mr. Hinton's conviction that there was an unrecorded white settlement at Milwaukee long antedating Juneau, Mirandeau and Vieau. Writing under date of January 27, 1868, he set down this conclusion as follows: "In the history of Milwaukee many matters will be brought forth—some of which, unless the writer is greatly mistaken, will establish the fact that Milwaukee had a settlement of white people upward of a hundred and twenty-five years since; that this settlement was made near the mouth of the Milwaukee

River, and that skeletons found upon the island [Jones Island] were remains of some of these white settlers." From records of fur-traders still extant in Canada or elsewhere, as well as from other resources heretofore overlooked, there may some day be derived information shedding fuller light upon what still continues to be an obscure period in the history of Milwaukee.

Another meager mention of Milwaukee is supplied by Gorrell's Journal. Captain Balfour, of the Royal Americans, took possession of Green Bay October 12, 1761, and two days later departed, leaving Lieutenant Gorrell in command, with a mere handful of men—one sergeant, one corporal and fifteen privates. There were also a French interpreter and two English traders at that post. Under date of March 25, 1763, Gorrell's Journal tells of the receipt of a letter from a trader named Lottridge, reporting that he understood one Goddard sent orders to his clerk, a Canadian, who lay at the same place with Mr. Lottridge, to "send word to the Milwacky Indians, and desire them not to come here, but stay at home, and he would send goods to them in the spring, the contrary to what he had told them last fall." The name of the place from which this message was dispatched is not set down. There are indications that in 1763 Lottridge sent a clerk to Milwaukee from Montreal, and that traders named McKay and Allen were here for a brief period at about the same time. The date of the first arrival of Alexander la Framboise as a trader at Milwaukee is uncertain, but he seems to have been comfortably established near the mouth of the river in 1784.

The Haldimand papers, which were discovered in a collection of "literary junk" in London, England, late in the last century, and now are in the British Museum, throw light on the portion of Milwaukee's history dealing with the period of the Revolutionary war. Copies of these documents are in the Canadian archives at Ottawa, and were drawn upon by Reuben Gold Thwaites, secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for valuable material which he published in Volume XI of the Society's Collections. They exhibit Milwaukee at the time they refer to as a recruiting ground for the British in operations against George Rogers Clark.

Two traders, it appears—St. Pierre and Marin—were established at Milwaukee in 1779. General Haldimand, who was com-

mander-in-chief of the British forces in America, had dealings with these traders and with the Indians, through agents whose names remain conspicuous in the history of the Northwest—Charles Michael de Langlade, and his nephew, Charles Gautier de Verville. It was to stir up Indians for an expedition against Colonel Clark that in 1799 de Peyster called a great council at l'Abre Croche, near Mackinac. Thither the tribes were invited, to partake of a feast, dance the war dance, and pledge their assistance to the British cause. Apparently the Indians of Milwaukee stayed away. Gautier had been sent to arouse them, but was treated with ridicule. So strong was the desire for their coöperation that a further effort to secure it was decided upon, and this time the ambassador was de Langlade. He wore his gay British uniform, the scarlet coat, the high chapeau, and the sword-belt of red morocco, with a silver buckle, yet to be seen in the Museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Finding argument unavailing, and familiar with the force of superstition to stir the Indian heart, he caused a lodge to be built in the center of the village, and prepared a dog feast. At each open door of the lodge a piece of raw and bleeding dog's heart was suspended, and when the feast was over de Langlade marched about the booth, chanting a war song and regaling himself with a bite of raw heart each time he passed a doorway. This was an irresistible appeal. One Indian after another sprang to his feet to join in the song and march. Soon all had tasted of the dog's heart and were irrevocably pledged to follow the leader. As matters turned out, Clark proved able to hold his own; but at the close of the war de Langlade's service was not forgotten by the British government, which granted him an annuity of $800 and a tract of land in Canada containing 3,000 acres. A detailed account of de Langlade's visit to the Milwaukee Indians is given in Grignon's Recollections, published in Volume III of the Wisconsin Historical Collections.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin possesses the original manuscript of the letter of instructions from Col. Arent Schuyler de Peyster, commanding the British garrison at Mackinac, which was issued to Charles de Langlade under date of July 1, 1779, and which runs as follows:

"Sir: You are required, for the good of His Majesty's service,

to start from here and do your best to levy the people of La Fourche, Milwaukee, the Puants and others along the shore of Lake Michigan, and with them hasten to join Mr. Bennett at Chicagou; and if Mr. Bennett has passed on to follow him by rapid marches so as to catch up to him before he arrives at the Peé, [an abbreviation for Peoria] and work with him for the good of the service in accordance with the orders he has received from me."

The object of this movement, as has been intimated, was to oppose the expedition against Detroit projected by George Rogers Clark, who had intended to rendezvous at Vincennes and move up the Wabash. Failing to receive reinforcements essential to the success of his enterprise, Clark was forced to abandon it. Meanwhile Godfrey de Linctot, with forty mounted volunteers, enrolled at Cahokia; while a force of Indians said to have numbered 6,000, who had intended to join in Clark's expedition against Detroit, was planning to take St. Josephs. Bennett and Langlade encountered a repulse from forces on the American side. The British garrison at St. Josephs was obliged to withdraw on account of Indian hostility, but the great assemblage of Indians which had rallied to the support of Linctot melted away on the discovery that no presents were to be distributed by the Americans. Thus no important results were obtained by either of the parties to manoeuvering which in its initial stages had promised to bring about a significant encounter.

Three days after the date of his instructions to Langlade, de Peyster made the speech at l'Abre Croche in which he called the Indians he had directed Langlade to enlist in the British cause "those runegates at Milwaukee."

The settlement of Pottawatomies at Milwaukee is believed to have originated some ten years previous to 1779, and to have consisted of a band from St. Josephs under the leadership of a chief named Siggenauk, in English the Blackbird, who was known as Letourneau by the French. De Peyster planned for taking him prisoner, but was unsuccessful. Soon after Clark's capture of Kaskaskia, Siggenauk had visited the American leader at that place and entered into an alliance with him. Siggenauk took part in the Spanish expedition against the British in 1781. In his later years he was hostile to the Americans. Be-

fore the War of 1812 he had become a resident of the Peoria region. He was the chief actor in the massacre at Chicago. His death occurred in 1815. As was the case with Indians in general, the fluctuations of Siggenauk's allegiance were influenced by considerations having reference to his own material interests rather than by sentimental devotion to either the Americans or the English.

Samuel Robertson, who piloted His British Majesty's ship *Felicity* on Lake Michigan in the fall of 1779, and whose log book is with the Haldimand papers, left a record which will be better appreciated by readers of today after a few words of introduction.

The *Felicity* was one of five vessels used by the British during the Revolutionary war to command the upper lakes. She was built at Detroit in 1775, and has been described as mounting four swivels, and having a crew of eight men, including a master to command, and one man as a boatswain and gunner. It was not in the way of commerce that the *Felicity* touched at Milwaukee. With Samuel Robertson as pilot or sailing-master, she made a voyage on Lake Michigan, the story of which is preserved in an official report by Lieutenant-Governor Patrick Sinclair, dated "Michillimackinac, 29th October, 1779":

"Finding the disposition of the Indians on Lake Michigan very wavering and several Depots of Corn on the rivers there, I sent on the 21st the Sloop 'Felicity' with a careful man, Mr. Robinson [Robertson] as Pilot for the Lake, two Canadians well acquainted with the Rivers, & Mr. Gautier, Interpreter, with some small presents for the Indians, directing them to purchase all the grain, Grease and Provision in that country, on the credit of the Merchants & Traders here & to use that of Government, if necessary; that where they met with refractory disaffected persons they were to seize upon the corn giving a receipt for what they could lodge in the vessel & to destroy the rest."

Spain had joined France in the war against Great Britain. The western bank of the Mississippi was in possession of the Spaniards, and the patriot Virginian, George Rogers Clark, had seized the British posts in what are now Indiana and Illinois, helping to drive back a British expedition sent from Michillimackinac by way of Prairie du Chien to attempt the capture of St. Louis. Though not fully effecting its purpose, the British

expedition had succeeded in some things, and a retaliatory movement by the route which it had taken was clearly among the possibilities. Hence the precaution of destroying stores of corn in unfriendly hands that might avail for the support of the enemy.

Robertson voyaged along the eastern side of the lake, skirted its southern shore, headed north, and, on Thursday, November 4th, 1779, anchored in "Milwakey Bay." Here is a transcript from his log:

"Remarks on Wednesday, 3 November, 1779.—At 12 this day the wind more moderate but freezing hard. I still kept close upon the wind & steared W N W; at 2 p m we saw the land ahead. At sun set we was about 4 miles from the shoar which supposed to be the pitet fort [Little Fort, now Waukegan, Ill.]; the wind hauling to the N E and East I keept her along the shoar about north; at 8 this night the wind howling to the S E I steered N N E. At 12 this night we hauled the mainsail & lay to so that we might not overrun our distance; at daylight we sett the mainsail & stood in shore; we just fetched in to Milwakey Bay; at 8 a m a verry strong gale; we cam to in 4 fathoms water; hoist out the boat; sent Mr. Gautley & four hands on shoar with difficulty. Nothing more this 24 hours.

"Remarks on Thursday, 4 November, 1779.—At 12 this day hard squals of wind from S W and hazey weather; at 2 this afternoon Mr. Gautley [Gautier] returned with 3 Indeans and a french man who lives at Milwakey, named Morong, nephew to Monsier St. Pier; one of the Indeans a war chief named Lodegand. Mr. Gautley gives them a present 3 bottles of Rum and half carrot of Tobaco, and also told them the manner governor Sinclair could wish them to Behave, at which they seemed weall satisfeyed. He also gave instructions to Monsieur to deliver some strings of Wampun and a little Keg of rum to the following & a carrot of Tobaco in governor Sinclair's name; likewise the manour how to behave; he also gave another small Kegg with some strings of Wampum with a carrot of Tobaco to deliver the indeans at Millwakey which is a mixed Tribe of different nations. Mr. Gautley also give some strings of Wampum with carrot of Tobaco to Monsieur St. Pier to deliver to a chif named Chambolee who lives close by Saganac (Sigenauk) to atempt to fetch him in either by fair or forced method for which he would be

weall rewarded. Monsier St. Pier also told us that Saganac had received a Belt from the Rebels desiring him to doo his Endeavor to keep all the other indeans from going to ware upon either side, but Chambolee said that they had deceived him to often by telling him that their ancient father the French was going to send people to live and trade amongst them, but he would now no longer believe them, and that he would go this spring and fetch a prissoner or scaulp from some of Langton's (Linctot's) men and make peace with his father the English at Mishlimakna; the indeans also told us that they had but a very poor crop this year & that they understood that their father suffered no merchandise to come there this winter; they had hid away all their corn for this winter but would fetch it to Michilmakna and trade it in the spring without they had goods sent them; they also told us that they had sent for Monsieur Fay which is at a place called the Deux Rivers (Two Rivers) 18 Leagues from Millwakey to the north; he has 2 canos of goods from the commetee, but he said it was against his orders to go amongst them, or they suposd so as no trader ever had wintered at that place. Before Monsieur St. Pier said that he believed there might be between 200 and 300 bags of corn to trade there in the spring he said that he raised between 40 & 50 bags for his owen use which was all that him & his 2 men had to live upon this winter; he also said that the indeans owed him about 80 or 100 bags & that they waited untill such time as he had merchandise & then they would pay their old debts and take new; he had made interest with Mr. Gautley for a kegg of Rum for which he gave 15 bags of corn which I received on board for government; the keg of Rum was sent on board to be delivered to the indeans of the grand River, but we could meet with none there; at 4 this afternoon I despatched the 3 indeans with Mr. Morny give them 3 pieces of pork & some peas for which they were thankfull and went on shore. We imeadtly weighed anchor and set sail for Mitchilimakina, a fresh breeze from the S S W and hezey I steard N N E a course which I suposed would fetch the Manatoo Islands."

Referring to his visit to Lake Pepin, Minnesota, in the fall of 1766, thirteen years earlier than Robertson's call at Milwaukee, Jonathan Carver says: "Here [at Lake Pepin] I observed the ruins of a French factory, where it is said a Captain St.

Pierre resided and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies, before the reduction of Canada." This could not have been the St. Pierre whom Robertson found at Milwaukee. E. D. Neill, in a contribution to Volume II of the Minnesota Historical Collections, suggests that the St. Pierre who traded at Fort Pepin was the Legardeur de St. Pierre in command of a rude post in what is now Erie County, Pennsylvania, to whom George Washington, then just entering upon manhood, bore a letter from Governor Dinwiddie in 1753. This conjecture probably is correct. The first name of this St. Pierre was Jacques. He was a grandson of Jean Nicolet. Famous as a trader and a soldier, he was of great service to France. He accompanied Lignery in the expedition of 1728, and was active in various capacities from that date till 1755, when he lost his life as a member of Dieskau's expedition to Lake George. The family to which he belonged is represented by more than one doughty member in the annals of the Northwest.

In 1857 Dr. Lyman C. Draper spent at the Butte des Morts, on the Fox River, a fortnight which he devoted to securing information from Augustin Grignon, the last surviving grandchild of Charles de Langlade. Grignon was then seventy-seven years of age, a man of bright mind, and fond of reading. What he told Doctor Draper is set forth in Volume III of the Wisconsin Historical Collections. The following is from that source:

"It has been intimated that the Milwaukee band were regarded as a bad set of Indians and difficult to manage. Yet traders ventured there. The first I know anything of was Alexander La Framboise, from Mackinaw. He was located at Milwaukee with a trading establishment at my earliest recollection —say 1785. At first he went there himself, and after a while he returned to Mackinaw and sent a brother to manage the business for him, who remained there several years, and raised a family. By mismanagement of his brother, Alexander La Framboise failed, and his trading post was closed, I should think about the year 1800, or not very long thereafter. About this time another trader, whose name I have forgotten, established a trading post there, and employed as clerk Stanislaus Chappue [Chappeau], who had been previously clerk for La Framboise, and who many years later was one of Colonel Miller's pilots from

Mackinaw to Green Bay. About this time John B. Beaubien also established a trading post at Milwaukee.

"While Chappue was clerking for the successor of La Framboise, Wausheown, a bad Indian, and noted horsethief, came to the store and demanded some liquor as a gift. An employe in the store advised Chappue to let him have it, or his life would be the forfeit. But Chappue, who was a large, stout, fearless man, peremptorily refused, and said if Wausheown made much more trouble he would go out and whip him. The Indian had been accustomed to bullying traders, and so commenced operations to break into the store, when Chappue issued forth and gave him so severe a drubbing that he had to be carried home on a blanket. After he recovered he was ever after a devoted friend of Chappue. Chappue died about three years since [1854?], on the Menominee River, a few miles above Marinette, where he was engaged in farming and trading.

"About 1804 or 1805, Laurent Fily was sent with a supply of goods by Jacob Franks of Green Bay to carry on a summer trade at Milwaukee, buying deerskins 'in the red.' With Mashetook and other troublesome Indians he came near getting into difficulty, but was protected and defended by Matcheseebe, or Bad River, a brother of the chief Onaugesa. The trading house for which Chappue was employed either failed or abandoned Milwaukee somewhere about 1805; but previous to this, Jacques Vieau, of Green Bay, commenced trading there, and continued it regularly every winter, except that of 1811-12, till 1818, when his son-in-law, Solomon Juneau, went there first as his clerk and then on his own account. After the war [of 1812,] James Kinzie was sent there with a stock of goods by the American Fur Company, but I do not know how long he stayed there; and my brother, Hyppolite Grignon, wintered there as a trader about the time Mr. Juneau went there."

In the spring of 1868, while traveling in the Southwest, Doctor Draper met Antoine le Clair, Jr., a son of the Antoine le Clair who from 1800 to 1809 was an Indian trader at Milwaukee. Notes of his conversations with the junior le Clair which he made at the time formed the basis of an article contributed by Doctor Draper to Volume XI of the Wisconsin Historical Collections, in which he quotes his authority as follows:

1222011

"Antoine le Clair, Sr., was a native of Montreal. He first located as a trader at a crossing place about thirty miles above the mouth of the St. Joseph's River, near the Pottawatomie village, La Terre Coupee. He married into a prominent Indian family about 1792. He was a blacksmith by trade, but did not work at the business, except for a few years before his death at Portage des Sioux, Missouri [this being the place where his son was interviewed by Doctor Draper. The elder le Clair was nearly six feet in height, and when he died, in 1821, was about fifty-five years of age, from which it may be deduced that during his residence in Milwaukee he was in the prime of manhood.]

"In 1800, Antoine le Clair, Sr., removed to Milwaukee. No traders were then located there. There probably had been such, however, who would remain during the winter and then return to Mackinaw. Le Clair took his family and remained permanently at Milwaukee. He located about three miles above the mouth of the Milwaukee River, at the foot of the first bluff, on a low prairie, on the northern [eastern] bank of the river—the side next the lake. There were no signs of cabins in the neighborhood, where whites might formerly have traded. On the bluff were woods all the way to the lake; the low prairie was unwooded. There was a good spring from under the bluff, where the le Clair family obtained water. * * * In 1809 le Clair and his family moved away from Milwaukee to Peoria.

"About 1802 Joseph la Framboise came from Mackinaw and settled at Milwaukee as a trader, locating about three hundred yards below the le Clairs. He had an Ottawa wife and several children. He and le Clair were about on an equality as traders. They kept Mackinaw blankets, ammunition, cheap and coarse calicoes, cloths, tobacco, pipes, knives, awls, needles, and vermilion paint, but no liquor. These articles were exchanged for furs and peltries, which le Clair took to Detroit and sold for goods, while la Framboise took his furs and peltries to Mackinaw. Le Clair would go to Detroit in the spring, select his goods, and about the month of May a small sailing vessel would leave Detroit with his purchases and those of William Burnett, stationed at the mouth of the St. Joseph, and John Kinzie and Robert Forsyth at Chicago, and deliver them. The vessel would then take the year's gathering of furs, etc., as a return cargo to Detroit. The same vessel

probably brought goods for the Mackinaw traders. Thus were matters of transit managed on upper Lake Michigan, say from about 1800 to 1809. La Framboise, a fine, worthy man, moved away from Milwaukee about 1807, back to Mackinaw.

"Joseph la Croix, from Mackinaw, came to Milwaukee as a trader about 1804. He had an Ottawa wife and family, and settled about half a mile above le Clair's, on the opposite side of the river. La Croix did about the same amount of business as le Clair. When the latter left in 1809 la Croix was still there. He got his goods from Mackinaw.

"Mirandeau, a French Canadian, was living close by where le Clair settled. He had come from Mackinaw apparently about two years before—say 1798. He had an Ottawa wife and three or four children, and le Clair found him there at Milwaukee. He was a good blacksmith, would make hoes, axes, knives, gigs and spears for fishing, and shoe horses for the French traders. He would send by the traders for a small supply of iron, and make his own charcoal. In repairing guns he was very ingenious. The le Clairs left him there in 1809.

"The traders who lived at Milwaukee had one-horse carts—made there—rough and unironed. Each trader kept four or five French Canadian engagés, who would cut and haul wood and assist in trading as well as work in the truck patches. The trader would send some of the more competent and trusty of these men in canoes, with a selection of goods, to different points, more or less distant, to stay all winter and trade with the Indians; or on pack-horses over to Rock River, and on Winnebago Lake to the Winnebagoes, and return in the spring with furs and pelts. There was no priest at Milwaukee in those early times, and traders there had no chance to school their children."

Among recent publications of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County is an interesting paper by K. K. Kennan entitled "Jacques Vieau and His House," which was read before the club December 6, 1926. Conspicuously identified with Milwaukee for a longer period than any other white man preceding Juneau, Jacques Vieau, of pure French descent, was born in the suburbs of Montreal, May 5, 1757 or 1767, and died at Fort Howard, July 1, 1852. In 1795 he was sent out from Mackinaw by the Northwest Fur Company with a supply of goods, for the pur-

pose of establishing trading posts on the west shore of Lake Michigan. Twelve men constituted the crew of the large Mackinaw boat for the conveyance of his merchandise, he with his wife and three children following in a bark canoe containing their personal effects. The party arrived at Milwaukee on the 18th or 20th of August in the year named, and on a knoll on the southern shore of the Menomonee River, within the present confines of Mitchell Park, he erected two log buildings, one for a dwelling and the other for a warehouse, where he carried on trade with the Indians. After disposing of this business to Solomon Juneau in 1819, Mr. Vieau reopened the old post as agent for Michael Dousman, and later, at the same place, was agent for Daniel Whitney of Green Bay. While in the employ of the Northwest Fur Company Mr. Vieau had control of trading posts at Kewaunee, Manitowoc, Sheboygan and other places as well as at Milwaukee. His wife was Angelique le Roy, a niece of Chief Onaugesa. The Vieaus had thirteen children, of whom six—Joseph, Louis, Amable, Charles, Nicholas and Peter—were born at Milwaukee between the years 1795 and 1820. Mr. Kennan gives reasons for the conclusion that Mr. Vieau was in Milwaukee as late as 1825, which would make the period of his identification with this locality extend to thirty years. It was eleven years later that he gave up trading with the Indians and retired to his farm near Green Bay. Josette, his third child and second daughter, who became the wife of Solomon Juneau, was born at Sheboygan, her marriage taking place when she was fifteen years of age. Juneau's first location in Milwaukee was at the trading post of his father-in-law, and it was not till perhaps as late as 1822 that he removed to the east side of the Milwaukee River—le Clair's former stand—where he was when the white settlers from the East began to arrive. The Jacques Vieau whom these settlers knew was the keeper of the tavern near the bank of the river, and was a son of the trader. The elder Jacques Vieau at one time had thoughts of becoming a settler at Milwaukee in the technical acceptation of the term, and essayed to pre-empt the quarter-section on which he had built his log house, but Government officials rejected his claim on the ground that it was filed when lands south of the Milwaukee River were not subject to entry. On a knoll in Mitchell Park commanding a fine view of

the Menomonee Valley and the down-town business portion of Milwaukee, the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County has placed a memorial tablet noting that on this spot Jacques Vieau built his cabin in 1795, and that here also was the crossing of the Green Bay-Chicago trail. For many years a log cabin, erected by the City Park Board, and meant to be as much like Vieau's as possible, has stood on this historic site.

Peter J. Vieau died September 13, 1905, aged eighty-six, his passing severing the last link connecting the city of the twentieth century with the Indian trading post of the early 1800s. He was the eleventh son of Jacques Vieau and a mother who, while partly of French extraction, was related to the race which occupied the forests of Wisconsin before the advent of the whites. He was born in Milwaukee on the 10th of January, 1820, in the one-story log house which had been built by his father in 1795. He was a younger brother of the wife of Solomon Juneau. When but six years of age he was taught to read by Michael Le Pellieaur, a young French Canadian who was one of his father's clerks. At nine he attended the mission school at Green Bay. There he subsequently learned to set type in the office of the *Green Bay Intelligencer*, the first newspaper published in Wisconsin. He also worked as clerk in a general store, returning to Milwaukee in 1839, remaining here as assistant in the stores of several of the early merchants, and in 1841 going back to Green Bay, where he had charge of his father's store until 1855. In 1856 he took up his residence at Mukwonago, where he remained till the end of his life. Though one-quarter Indian, the appearance of Mr. Vieau was that of a Frenchman. Of medium size, he was a man of remarkable physical development. He spoke French and English with fluency, and was the master of several Indian dialects, including those of the Menomonees, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes and Chippewas. He often visited Milwaukee, and was always welcome. Mr. Vieau married in 1857, and was the father of several children, two of whom for many years were in business in Milwaukee.

Capt. Thomas Gummersall Anderson, who conducted a trading post at Milwaukee in 1803-6, and died at Port Hope, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, February 10, 1875, at the ripe age of ninety-six, left a long and interesting biographical nar-

rative, which is to be found in Volume IX of the Wisconsin Historical Collections. He was a native of Canada, the son of a New York Royalist who fought on the side of the British at Bunker Hill, and a member of the Church of England. Much of his life was passed in trading with the Indians at different places in Wisconsin. Doctor Draper wrote of him that he was essentially a good man, respecting the opinions and labors of Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic ministers equally with those of representatives of his own denomination, and that during a long time while he held office in the Canadian Indian Department "the welfare of the Red Man, spiritually and temporally, appeared to be his controlling desire." To Captain Anderson the title of "First Anglo-Saxon Resident of Milwaukee" is accorded in the history of the city written by Consul Wilshire Butterfield in 1887. The Captain's recital of his Milwaukee experiences is as follows:

"Having had enough of the lower Mississippi, I would not try it over again. Min-na-wack (or Mill-wack-ie) was offered to me for a trading post, and I went among the Kickapoos. About a quarter of a mile from the entrance of the river, I observed a nice green and level spot. There I landed and pitched my tent, toward the close of 1803; and in a short time we had a three-room house over our heads—no up-stairs, but all the timbers above the floor exposed to view. The river here is perhaps sixty yards wide. On the opposite side were two traders—le Claire and la Framboise—who had been settled there several years, and each had two or three relatives, or other hangers-on, which formed quite a society of its kind. I had bought a horse, and considered it my duty to ride over the plains and pick up skins from the scattered Indian camps.

"My neighbors had been very kind, and I made up my mind to exercise my best endeavors in the cooking line, and tender them a rare feast on Christmas Day, which was now near at hand. On Christmas Eve my invitations were extended to my friends. I had secured the fattest raccoon the Indians could tree. Toward sunset, I set my cook to chop any quantity of venison for stuffing. My raccoon was unusually large, weighing about thirty-two pounds and requiring a large quantity of stuffing to fill it out plump. In the meantime, I had the pepper and a piece of deer skin, pounding it into pulverized form, cutting up onions and a

little cedar leaves, to give my viand a pleasant taste. No coonship's body, I am very sure, was ever so cram-full before. About eight o'clock it was stitched up and ready for placing on the spit early the next morning. Where should it be placed for safety during the night, to keep it from freezing? Of course, by the fire. I went to bed, and my mind dwelt on the subject of raccoon all night. But what was my mortification, when I got up at daylight, to find that my raccoon had turned putrid! Oh, misery! Sympathize with me for my lost labor, and with my friends for their lost dinner. I had no cook book. This had been my second attempt at cooking. I went without my dinner, and was laughed at by my half-famished friends.

"The Indians—Pottawatomies—in this locality were docile and easily managed. Doing a fair trade, I remained here three years, frequently going on horseback to Chicago, a distance of sixty [eighty-five] miles, but the route was a hard sand beach, and, having a fleet pony, and a cool breeze from the lake, the distance was soon overcome, without fatigue to my young bones.

"During my second year at Min-na-wack (or Mill-wack-ie), 1804-5, Captain Whistler, with his company of American soldiers, came to take possession of Chicago. At this time there were no buildings there except a few dilapidated log huts covered with bark. Captain Whistler had selected one of these as a temporary, though miserable, residence for his family, his officers and men being under canvas. On being informed of his arrival, I felt it my duty to pay my respects to the authority so much required in the country. On the morrow I mounted Kee-ge-kah, or Swift-Goer, and the next day I was invited to dine with the Captain. On going to the house, the outer door opening into the dining room, I found the table spread, the family and guests seated, consisting of several ladies, as jolly as kittens. The gents had not yet arrived. I had not been seated ten minutes before the door opened and in rushed a host of Indian warriors, hideously painted, scantily dressed, and ornamented with feathers, bears' claws, deerhorns, snakes' rattles, and so on, and so on. The ladies, almost fainting, ran off, leaving the Captain and myself to see the end. The first act of the war chief was to walk around the table and pick up the pieces of bread which had been placed, after the old fashion, beside the plate of each guest, which he handed to

his young men in attendance. Being acquainted with the chief, and knowing something of the language, I asked him, 'What brings you here in this garb? Your great Bigknife Father has sent his soldiers here to protect you and to encourage more traders to come among you; and instead of being thankful you come to insult them. You had better go to your camp, and bring them some venison, and be kind to them.' He shook hands with me, and went off with his followers. I have ever considered my having been present on that occasion to have been Providential in saving the lives of this detachment; for in all probability had not some one been present acquainted with the Indian character, Captain Whistler would have called in some of his men to expel the war party, in which case it is easy to imagine what the consequences would have been.

"In 1804, while trading with the Pottawatomie Indians at Min-na-wack, or Mill-wack-ie, having no society, and little to do, I was naturally enough very lonely. I therefore undertook a journey along the lake shore, to visit my friend, Jacob Frank, at Green Bay. The first day's journey brought me to an encampment of Pottawatomies at Two Rivers, nearly seventy miles distant. I put up at the lodge of an old chief named Na-na-bou-jou, who, in answer to my inquiry on the subject, gave me an account of the origin of his tribe. [Here follows a long recital which belongs rather to Indian mythology than to the history, and for that reason is omitted.] After listening to Na-na-bou-jou's legend, I closed my eyes in sleep. Next morning at daybreak I journeyed on my snowshoes, cutting across a point of land, and after a hard day's tramp I at length reached my destination.

"After my third year's winter at Min-na-wack [1805-6], and return to Mackinaw, the foreign markets requiring a better quality of peltry, I was solicited to go to the Upper Mississippi, to the Sioux country. I wintered in 1806-7 on the St. Peter's River, about fifty miles above its mouth."

In American State Papers, VI [Indian Affairs, II], pages 360-361, is an extract from a letter under date of October 6, 1821, by Matthew Irwin, United States factor at Green Bay, to Thomas L. McKenny, superintendent of Indian trade, as follows:

"Mr. Kinzie, son to the Indian sub-agent at Chicago, and agent for the American Fur Company, has been detected in sell-

ing large quantities of whisky to the Indians at or near Milwalky of Lake Michigan; in consequence of which the Indian agent at Chicago directed him to close his concerns at Milwalky in sixty days, and then leave the place. Some Indians from that place represented to me that they would be badly off for a trader, should Mr. Kinzie leave them; in consequence of which I engaged Mr. Vieau, a citizen of the United States, and a professed Indian trader, to repair there for the purpose of supplying the wants of the Indians. I have supplied him with $2,220.25 worth of goods, and have agreed to allow him $200 from the time of his departure till his return next spring, with an allowance of some coarse clothing and subsistence. Two boatmen and two boys will receive, altogether, $200, with some coarse clothing and subsistence. Mr. Vieau is well known here for his integrity, and possesses property enough here to cover the whole amount with which I have entrusted him."

A footnote in the Wisconsin State Historical Collections, Volume XI, page 374, says that Col. J. B. Beaubien of Chicago had a trading post at Milwaukee as early as 1800. On the same page, in a list of traders furnished by the American Fur Company with goods on their own account and risk, is the following entry: "Jean Bt. Beaubien, for his trade at Milliwakie. Michillimackinac, August 14, 1822."

That it was a large and profitable business for which young Kinzie disqualified himself by selling whisky to the Milwaukee Indians is evident from an invoice of goods shipped to him less than a month before his dismissal from the locality. This document was copied by Secretary Thwaites and published in full in Wisconsin Historical Collections, Volume XI, page 377. It is headed as follows: "Invoice of Merchandise for the Trade of Milliwaki and its dependencies. Shipped per schooner *Ann*, Captain Ransom, from Michillimackinac to Chicago, to address of James Kinzie, for account of him and American Fur Company." The date is Michillimackinac, 13 September, 1821, and the value of the goods shipped $3,920.48, to which is added the sum of $1,650.79 for sundries delivered 23 July, 1821, making a total of $5,571.27.

Readers of today may be interested in the kind and quality of goods handled by Indian traders at Milwaukee in that early

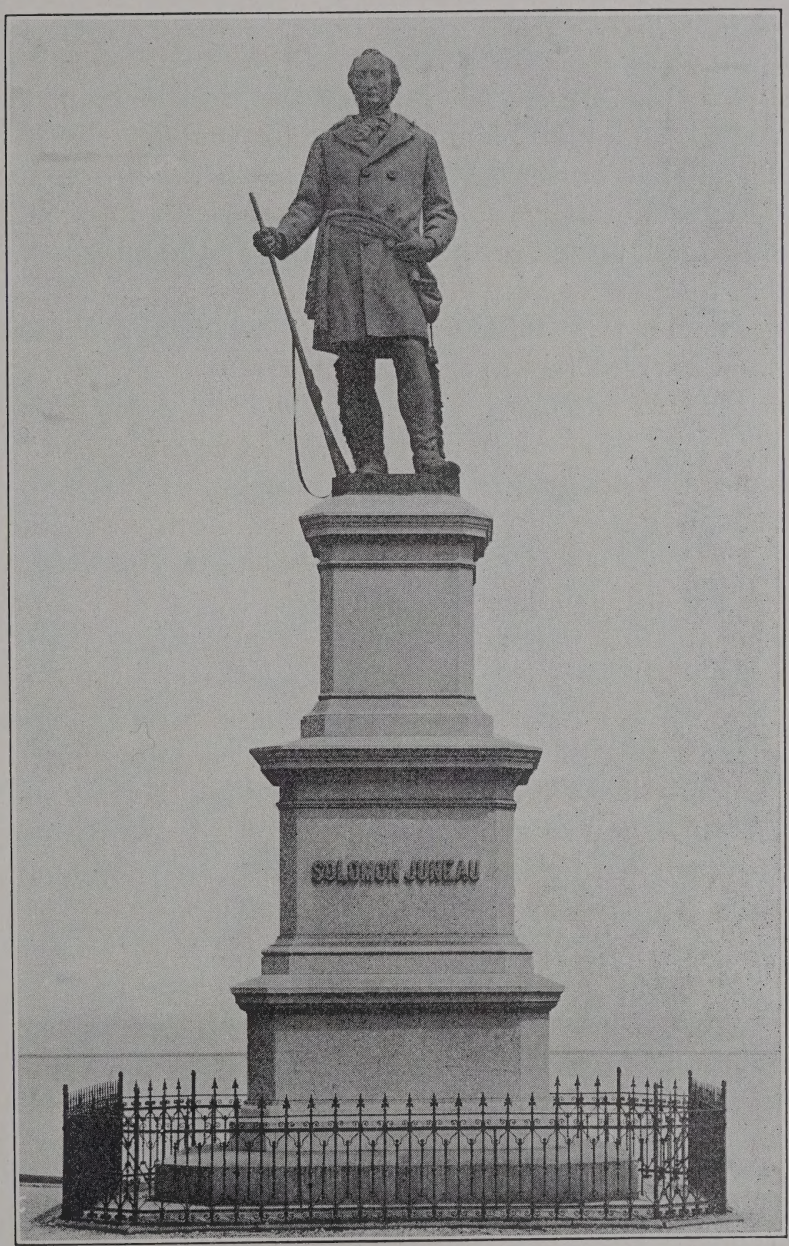
time. Among the major items in the Kinzie invoice were thirty pairs blankets, 3 point, at $8.10, $243; seventy-one pairs blankets, 2½ point, at $6.10, $433.10; twenty-five pairs blankets, 2 point, at $4.35, $108.75. There were inferior blankets at $2.57. There was scarlet cloth at $2.60 per yard, and blue cloth at all the way from $2 to $4. There was domestic cotton at 31 cents per yard, furniture cotton at 53 cents per yard, and printed cotton at 44 cents per yard, and there were printed cotton shawls at $6.40 per dozen. There were such items as "London Scots gartering," "scarlet gartering," "striped gartering," "colored gartering." There were two dozen country made socks, which were invoiced at $4 per dozen. There were boxwood combs at $1.90 a dozen, and ivory combs at $1.70 and $2.30 each. There was a great variety of brooches, at a wide range of prices; there were arm-bands and wrist-bands; there were ear wheels and ear bobs, round and square. There were also scalping knives and gun-powder, and women's scissors, and sleighbells, and innumerable other items, including wampum, tea and coffee and corn hoes, as well as pipes and plug tobacco. The prices, of course, were those charged against the trader, affording no indication of those exacted from the Indians.

Judge Advocate Samuel A. Storrow, U. S. A., who had made an official visit to Green Bay toward the end of September, 1817, and was on his way overland to Chicago, accompanied by Indian guides who lost their bearings, dismissed them in anger and proceeded to accomplish the journey without assistance. They had gone far out of the direct route. Turning toward the southeast, the Judge plodded on till he came within view of the lake, and in due course found himself at Milwaukee, in a Pottawatomie village, dominated by a chief whose name, in English, was "Old Flour," and who brought to him an Indian on his way to Chicago, the Judge and this Indian traveling the remainder of the distance in company. Very probably the chief who befriended Judge Storrow was Poyquaygeegun, whose name was rendered into English as "Bread" by Andrew Vieau.

Indicative that in 1818 conditions on the Wisconsin shore of Lake Michigan were in their superficial aspect little altered from what they were when witnessed by Father Marquette, is the statement of Col. Abram Edwards, which was written for the *Janes-*

ville Standard, and originally appeared in the issue of that newspaper for September 12, 1855, being republished in Volume V of the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Colonel Edwards says: "In the year 1818 I was a resident of Detroit, and the owner of a large mercantile establishment located in that place, and from this had branches at Fort Gratiot, the outlet of Lake Huron, and at Mackinaw, Green Bay and Chicago. In May of that year business required my presence at each of the branches, and I accompanied the army paymaster, Major Phillips, who was ordered to pay the troops stationed at those places, then military posts. We left Detroit in the month of May in a small schooner for Mackinac, and from thence on the same mode of conveyance to Green Bay. After our business was finished at the Bay, and we were looking for a conveyance to Chicago, Inspector-General Wool arrived, and requested we would not leave until he had inspected the troops, and he would accompany us to that place. In the interim we purchased a bark canoe and had it fitted up for our voyage. Maj. Z. Taylor, afterwards President, commanding the post, furnished us with seven expert canoemen to manage our frail bark. We left Green Bay garrison after dinner, and went to the head of Sturgeon Bay, forty miles, and encamped for the night. The next morning we carried our canoe two and a half miles over the portage to the shore of Lake Michigan, and, after getting the baggage over, we were willing to encamp for the night. The next morning found us in our canoe afloat on the waters of the lake, paddling our way to Chicago, where we arrived the third day from our lake shore encampment. On our passage, although we frequently landed, we did not meet with a white man. We were, however, informed one was trading with the Indians at Milwaukee. At Twin Rivers, Manitowoc, Sheboygan and Milwaukee the shore of the lake was lined with Indians—near Manitowoc many were out in canoes spearing whitefish."

It is not to any of the numerous individuals more or less casually associated with the locality in Indian times that those who live in the modern city give the title of Father of Milwaukee. That designation is bestowed upon Solomon Juneau. Coming in September, 1818, and not long thereafter establishing himself as a fur trader on ground which was destined to become the heart



SOLOMON JUNEAU MONUMENT

Juneau Park, Lake Front

of the future metropolis, Mr. Juneau was found at this place when the earliest of the American settlers arrived, and was a leading individual in the community till his departure for his little town of Theresa in Dodge County, a few months before his death, in 1856. In character he was noble in a high degree—hospitable, generous, public-spirited, friendly, enterprising—thinking always of the advancement of Milwaukee. Realizing his disinterestedness and his greatness of heart, appreciating his splendid contributions to the upbuilding of the city—the undertaking in which they were all concerned—the old settlers admired and loved him, transmitting to their descendants a regard for his memory which has never faded. He was Milwaukee's first postmaster. When Milwaukee secured a municipal charter he was chosen its first mayor. His memory has been perpetuated in various ways. Juneau Avenue preserves his name, and so does Juneau Park. So does one of the assembly halls in the Municipal Auditorium. His bust by Gustav Haag adorns the front of the old courthouse, on the site of the first courthouse, which he and his partner, Morgan L. Martin, donated to the public in 1836. His life-size portrait hangs in the City Hall. His statue by R. H. Park, in bronze, and of heroic size, occupies a commanding location on the lake front. The thought and the labor of many men have gone into the making of Milwaukee, but Solomon Juneau was accorded by the city's American pioneer settlers and holds today the rank of Milwaukee's primal civic hero.

A picture of life in Milwaukee during the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century was painted in glowing words by Edward D. Holton in his address on the occasion of the Juneau Monument unveiling, July 6th, 1887. Mr. Holton said:

"At the time when Mr. Juneau was made the agent of the American Fur Company at Milwaukee, Wisconsin was known only as a part of the Northwest Territory, ceded by the State of Virginia to the Federal Government. No civil jurisdiction extended over it other than that relating to the government of the Northwest Territory by Congress. The Menomonees, the Pottawatomies, the Winnebagoes and the Sacs and Foxes occupied what is now the State of Wisconsin. A few white men were at Green Bay and at Prairie du Chien, chiefly French and half-

breeds. Other than these two settlements, this State, now so abounding in towns, cities, roads, bridges, schools, colleges and all the insignia of highest civilization, was indeed a howling wilderness. But no, it was not a wilderness. It was full of people, but of another complexion than ours. It was full of industry, but different from ours. It was the industry of the chase; it called forth the skill and deep sagacity of the hunter. His treasures were found in the precious furs of the beaver, the marten, the fox, the mink and other fur-bearing animals; in the hides of the deer, the wolf and the bear.

"Who for twenty-five years was head man, was chief, was almost imperial guide over this widely scattered population? 'Twas he whose memory we come today to commemorate. Constantine was emperor over the Roman people, and they went and came upon his order. Peter the Great was the father, the Czar, of the Muscovite people, and they came and went at his command. Scarcely less imperial was Mr. Juneau's influence over the widely-scattered Indian settlements of Wisconsin. So noble was he in his bearing, so just was he in his dealings, so true was he to the interests of these Indian tribes, that they reverenced him and accepted his advice and counsel as if he indeed was their chief ruler. When he called for the gathering of the tribes, they came.

"Long lines of horses, laden with precious peltries, could be seen streaming along the Indian trails leading to Milwaukee, and when they arrived whole cities of Indian wigwams would be seen planted upon our beautiful highlands. Did you think trade was never carried on here until these massive blocks of stores were built that now adorn our city and attract the masses of people seen in our streets? You are mistaken. During the period of which I speak, and of these gatherings, very extensive mercantile transactions were carried on. Large stocks of goods had been accumulated, brought chiefly from Montreal and Quebec, to be exchanged for the productions of the Indian. Who was the great merchant? To whom did this patient and hard-working people bring the fruit of their labors, to cast at his feet, saying, 'Take these, and count their value, and give us what we need in exchange!' Few are the men, after all, who have so commanded the confidence of their fellows as to be entirely trusted as the children of the forest trusted their beloved Solomo.

"This trade went on for many days, followed by games and festivities. Did you think that athletic sports like our baseball performances which command so much attention in our public press at this time are but just now played? You are much mistaken. Mr. and Mrs. Juneau, with their children and family friends, the chiefs of the Indian tribes, have gone out upon the bluffs at the end of Wisconsin Street and are looking down upon the game of lacrosse performed on the greensward where now stretch Michigan and Huron streets, and are witnessing exhibitions of agility, strength and skill compared with which our baseball games are but the play of babies. And do you think that horse-racing is but now first inaugurated in Milwaukee? In this also you are mistaken. Look out upon that smooth, beautiful plain which now constitutes our Third Ward. There are a hundred horses in the ring. They are as beautiful and sleek as any you ever saw. They are all ridden by their owners, whose skill and agility are scarcely less attractive than the swiftness of the horses. There are Dexters, and Maud S's and J. I. C's in this ring, and as the victors come in an acclaim rises from throats that could make twice the noise possible to be produced by the consumptive lungs of the crowds who view the baseball games and the horse races of the present day. As for athletes, why among those young braves there are runners who can outstrip the swiftest horse in a race of a hundred miles!

"But now the trading is done, the payments are made, the races are over, the games, the feats and the revelries are closed. Solomon has said that he must now give attention to the very important business of the great fur company, and his brethren must depart for their homes. The wigwams are struck, the packhorses are loaded with them and the vast amount of goods of one sort and another—blankets, powder, shot, tomahawks, tobacco, and in those days more or less firewater,—and the long cavalcade takes its departure as it came—for the abode in the wilderness, as we say, but not as they said; for what to us was wilderness was the loved hunting grounds to them—homes ever dear. And they went breathing benedictions upon Solomo, their friend, their trusted brother, their true advisor, their peacemaker, their protector—their beloved Solomo.

"At Manawaukee now all is comparatively quiet and peaceful.

SOLOMON JUNEAU TRADING WITH THE INDIANS

Bas-relief on pedestal of Solomon Juneau Monument

The sober and important business now commands attention. The vast collection of peltries filling great store-places is to be prepared for shipment. Whither is it going, and how? The great burden-bearing Mackinaw boat is at its moorings ready to receive its cargo and enter upon its long journey through Lake Michigan and the Straits of Mackinaw, by Huron, by the River St. Clair, the Detroit River, by Lake Erie, by Niagara's roaring flood, by Ontario, by the rushing waters of the St. Lawrence, to Montreal, where its cargo will be re-shipped to London and China."

In Volume III of Smith's "History of Wisconsin" is the personal narrative of Col. William S. Hamilton, who passed through Milwaukee in June, 1825, with four men and 700 head of cattle, on his way to Green Bay from Springfield, Illinois. From Gros Point to Milwaukee, he followed the shore of the lake, finding no white inhabitants between Chicago and Milwaukee. He passed some few Indians, but no Indian villages. On reaching Milwaukee he found but one solitary individual—Solomon Juneau. The narrative proceeds to relate that "Juneau had not his family with him—there was not even an Indian there. Juneau said some persons had gone off for provisions." James Kinzie had a trading house on the "south" [west] side of the Milwaukee River, but at that time it was not occupied. Juneau had a trading house on the "north" [east] side of the river. Hamilton's impression was that there were no other persons having houses in Milwaukee at that time. He said he found Juneau nearly starved out, and delighted to see him and his provisions. Colonel Hamilton went up the lake from Milwaukee to Manitowoc. Between the two places he found Colonel Ebenezer Childs, afterward a member of the Legislature from Brown County, with a party of men, a seine and a Mackinaw boat, fishing for whitefish. Childs and his companions were from Green Bay. There was no settlement between Milwaukee and Manitowoc. At Manitowoc Hamilton and his men left the lake for Green Bay. The first house they reached was at Duck Creek, where was a sawmill, about four miles from Green Bay. At Green Bay was Fort Howard, garrisoned by a regiment of troops under command of Major Whistler. The town of Green Bay was then mostly occupied by the French. There were some Americans there, but about four-fifths of the people were French. Of the Americans then there were Arndt, Law,

the Irwins and Colonel Brevort, an Indian agent. Colonel Hamilton arrived at the Bay about the 27th or 28th of June. By his contract he was to be there with his cattle on the 4th of July. He remained until the 6th or 7th of July, when he returned to Milwaukee. There was an Indian village at Manitowoc or Twin Rivers, of different tribes (Chippewas, Ottawas, Menomonees, Pottawatomies, as at Milwaukee). On his return to Milwaukee he found Juneau, a few other Frenchmen and some Indians. At Milwaukee he left the lake, followed an Indian trail southwesterly and came upon the Illinois somewhere about Mount Joliet. Thence he kept down the Illinois to the mouth of Fox River, where he crossed it, going back to Springfield by the usual route. It was on this trip that Colonel Hamilton first set foot in Wisconsin. Colonel Hamilton was a son of Alexander Hamilton. He became interested in mining, and was one of the leading men in the lead region for several years. The above narrative was taken from his lips by Cyrus Woodman, February 11, 1849. After having resided in Iowa County, Wisconsin, since 1828, Colonel Hamilton went to California, where he died in 1851. His narrative is interesting as showing the vacant state of the country along the west shore of Lake Michigan during the period shortly precedent to the inrush of white settlers from the East.

There are still living many Milwaukeeans who remember the loan shop of L. Goodrich Loomis, on the east side of what once was Market Square, just north of Christian Preusser's jewelry store. Mr. Loomis boasted earlier recollections of Milwaukee than any of his contemporaries of later years, for though he had not cast his lot with the town till it had grown to considerable proportions, he had visited it as early as 1830, when nobody else was here but Indians and Solomon Juneau. Mr. Loomis at that time was one of the proprietors of a peddlers' van, stocked with a miscellaneous assortment of merchandise likely to be attractive to the aborigines. He and his partners halted their wagon far out on the South Side, and had some difficulty in guarding its contents from pillage. However, they effected barter for furs, and after spending a few days in the vicinity succeeded in making their way back to Chicago with their property and their lives. In 1880 Mr. Loomis wrote the following account of the episode, which is interesting for what it contains regarding the landscape,

the Indians, and the business tact of Solomon Juneau in his dealings with children of the forest:

"At about 4 p. m. July 27, 1830, myself and others brought a wagon load of Indian goods—beads, cloths, calicoes, assorted articles of various kinds—to trade with the aborigines of Southern Wisconsin. The sole denizens of the place at that time were copper-colored customers, who instead of advancing for a fair trade, rushed up yelling and snatched at our goods. Some of them stole yards of our calico, and tried to bolt with bolts of it. In fact they opened our intercourse in a bulldozing manner, and were anything but ingratiating.

"Our first camp was where the Layton House and Forest Home Cemetery now are. Leaving a guard of two from our little expedition, the others came to Juneau's trading house, which occupied the very site of Ludington's building on the river bank, now the northwest corner of Wisconsin and East Water streets. All around was woods and prehistorically primitive. Juneau's place of business was a log hut, with floors, stools, tables, all riven out and finished with the ax and auger. His son Narcisse and daughter Teresa were then children. He personally was a grand, herculean figure and the most hospitable of men. There was no other white man this side of Green Bay. At the end of the week we had sold much of our outfit for furs, and then returned to Chicago and Detroit. On my return in 1842 to Milwaukee the population had increased to a large village. Of course I was a youngster in those bygone days, and, born amongst the Vermont mountains, the vast flat prairies and soft water seas of the Northwest appeared to me like another world to live in. But all was wilderness and almost without wild men except on the lake borders. Roads there were not, and bridges none, and not even a canoe ferry across the Milwaukee River.

"If it is borne in mind that the Black Hawk War occurred in 1832, the disquieted state of the Indian mind on this frontier may be easily assumed. This disturbance, it is true, spread along the Mississippi frontier of Illinois and the territory of Wisconsin, but the fragments and bands of tribes on Lake Michigan had long been expecting an insurrection and were violently disturbed by its approach. The opinion of Solomon Juneau was that the conservatism and fidelity of 'les bon petits Menums,' or 'good little

Menominees' toward the American white people kept the tide of war back from the Great Lakes. These last autochtons naturally consulted Juneau about everything. He heard as many secrets as a midwife or a parish priest. Nor did they hesitate to converse with him about the propriety of occasionally scalping their friends the Yankees, since they considered the Canadian Frenchmen and the Americans to be separate and hostile tribes of white people, with the international right of cutting each others' throats for a bale of peltry or a boatload of whisky. The Menums had a fine domain in those days. They claimed west as far as the Sapah, or Black River, and were intermarried with all the surrounding nations who wore the blanket and moccasin. Well, the uprising of our bare-shanked brethren failed to furnish a new massacre of Wyoming, and the battle of Bad Axe became a word of glory. However, for some time previous, the red nomads, like Job's warhorse, smelt the battle from afar off, and became exceedingly impudent to newcomers. If they kept their hands off their old friends the regular traders it was no reason why they should not scalp a new commercial acquaintance who came along weak-handed. But my party got through. As the country people say, it was nip and tuck with us. On the other hand, we were accustomed to barter with Indians, and knew how much of their audacity was assumed to frighten us. Consequently, we never got frightened enough to lose our tempers and presence of mind. We went slow and kept cool, for they watched our faces like demons.

"This was in part the secret of Mr. Juneau's great success with his wild people. Neither when all alone at the trading posts, nor at a payment where thousands looked on, did he permit one of his native patrons to 'run over' him, as the bulldozing process is called. If a brave came up with a blustering cock-and-bull story and a view to a little extortion, Juneau asked him, 'Do I owe you anything? Did I ever cheat you? Have I promised you butin—plunder, goods, etc?' The man would say, 'No, not that, but I must have—' etc., etc., and continue the argument, and at length get ready to help himself. 'Look here, Way-to-no-ga-nish, or The-Man-Born-With-a-Skin, or The Son-of-Whirling-Thunder,' as the case might be, 'Look here,' exclaims Juneau, 'You come with the story of an old woman in your mouth, and I shall make a man of

you. You may go and tell the people you fought with Juneau.' With that he walks into the culprit, probably picks him up and throws him over his head—and the Son-of-Whirling-Thunder walks off in an improved state of mind.

"In my time I have been nearly around the world—at least so far toward it as to Hongkong, China—but the vast savannahs, utterly unpeopled, and lakes illimitable to the eye, over which no sail glided or oar glistened, appeared to me, gazing from our bluffs in 1830, as a loneliness more solemn than the desolation of a desert city whose ruins had hardly left a name. Nothing but the desire to get home seemed to keep us alive, although we had arms for defense, coffee, bread, tobacco and whisky, and of course lived well on game, and the box of our vehicle was convertible into a safe, watertight boat for crossing rivers, and we were used to swimming our horses across them.

"The landscape in 1830 is indelibly impressed on my mind—the impassable marsh extending almost to Wauwatosa; the lofty bluff on East Water Street, descending sheer into the river, where the St. Charles Hotel now stands; another bluff across Detroit Street at the water's edge, and the west side of the river, seen from either of them, resembling a crescent-shaped slope of waving tamarack trees up to the foot of the summit level, where Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth streets now possess such residences as those of Messrs. Mitchell, Young, Kneeland, Waldeck, Foote and Camp. On the east bluff the expanse of the whole point which is now the First, Seventh and Third wards was dry, and somewhat undulating, with gullied openings, where were what the French call Bois franc—free woods—and intersected with Indian trails. One led up from near Walker's Point to near the Indian graveyards, the largest of which was the source of a rivulet whose waters have since been bottled and sold as a specific against all diseases."

The final reference in these reminiscences of Mr. Loomis is to what during the '70s was called Siloam Spring, near the intersection of North and Oakland avenues, which for several years in the '70s was a source of profit to its owner, A. L. Kane.

In July, 1832, during the Sauk war, Black Hawk and his followers encamped on the banks of Whitewater Creek, thirty-four miles west of Milwaukee, in consequence of which General Atkin-

son ordered all the friendly Indians in this part of Wisconsin to assemble at Milwaukee and remain until further orders, lest they should be mistaken for Sauks, of whom the army was in pursuit. Their whole number at the time of this concentration is not known, but it mounted into the thousands. They erected wigwams on both sides of the river, and did not disperse until the war was terminated by the battle of Bad Axe, near Prairie du Chien, in the month of September. At that time the only white inhabitant of Milwaukee was Solomon Juneau. It was in the fall of the following year that the first contingent of white settlers from the East arrived in Milwaukee.

LIEF ERICKSON STATUE

Juneau Park

MILWAUKEE IN 1853

From a print of the time in possession of the Old Settlers' Club.

CHAPTER III

WHITE SETTLEMENT BEGINS

WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF AMERICAN POPULATION IN THE '30S—MEN OF VISION WHO HELPED TO ATTRACT ATTENTION TO MILWAUKEE—PIONEER ARRIVALS FROM THE EAST—SPECULATIVE CRAZE AND RESULTANT MISERY—HARD TIMES, HARD WORK AND SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS.

In the issue of *Niles' Register* for February 2, 1828, under the caption of "Wonderful Alteration," is the following paragraph, credited to the *Ohio State Journal*:

"Twenty-eight years ago, William Henry Harrison, now a senator in Congress from this State, presented his credentials to the House of Representatives as a delegate from the whole Northwestern Territory. What a change has taken place under his eye! The fierce natives of the forest, after many a struggle, have disappeared before the race of white men. Their shrill war whoop is no longer heard to animate the heart of the warrior, or to send the signal of death at midnight to the white inmates of the cabin. Their canoe is no longer seen to float on the bosom of the Huron or Erie, or wend its way among the sinuosities of the beautiful river. What few have survived the contest with daring invaders have turned their faces to the distant west. A new race now occupies their possessions, and the wilderness is made to blossom like the rose. Such is the wonderful change that has passed under the eye of this sole delegate of the Northwestern Territory in 1799. The territory which he then represented is now cut up into the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the Territory of Michigan—leaving a tract of country to the northwest sufficient for several more states. At that time the district contained fifty thousand white inhabitants. The population at present is much over a million, and represented in Congress by eighteen representatives, six senators and one delegate. An advance

similar to this in population and improvement will perhaps never be witnessed again."

Little did the author of those words conceive that the quarter century beginning while he wrote would witness a greater migratory movement than that which had inspired his glowing pen—a movement carrying American civilization beyond the waters of the Mississippi, filling the hunting grounds of the Winnebagoes, the Menomonees and the Pottawatomies, the Sacs and the Foxes, the Chippewas and even the far-off Sioux with fruitful farms and populous and prosperous villages and towns and cities. At that very moment a rush of adventurers to the Wisconsin lead region was under way. Five years from that time the pioneers of Milwaukee were en route for future homes on the western shore of Lake Michigan.

Following are excerpts from the files of the *Green Bay Intelligencer* (founded in 1833), which was the first newspaper published in Wisconsin:

April 16, 1834: "The Milwaukee country is attracting much attention. A settlement has commenced near the mouth of the river, and there can be no doubt that it will be much visited during the coming season by northern emigrants and by all who fear the bilious fever and other diseases incident to more southern climates. Two or three young men from the State of New York have commenced the erection of a sawmill on the first rapid, about three miles above the mouth of the river, which will soon be in operation." [The young men who had arrived at Milwaukee from the East were Albert Fowler and his companions. The latter were engaged in the construction of what came to be known as the Bigelow lumber mill, not far below what is now Capitol Drive.]

April 9, 1835: "Three years ago there was but one house on the route from here [Green Bay] to Chicago, and the journey required the preparation of a month. It was an Indian country, and none but Indians and voyageurs had the hardihood to attempt the trip. The geography of the country was as little known as is the center of Africa, and represented a dreary waste of swamp and marsh. But the late purchase of the country by the Government, and the surveys rapidly following, have as if by magic rescued it from darkness and mystery, and changed the dreary

waste into hill and dale, well timbered and every way desirable to the eye of the experienced Eastern farmer coming from the south. The Yankees, anticipating a day of sale, have penetrated as far north as Manitowoc River, thirty-seven miles south of this place, seizing upon all the choice and commanding mill sites, and making claims. Milwaukee, which eighteen months ago had only a single trading house, has now some twenty or thirty houses and one or two mills. Sheboygan, a river about the same size, seventy miles farther north, has about thirty inhabitants, several houses and a double sawmill completed [this was Farnsworth's] and another building. Exploring parties have also recently been on the Manitowoc, where it is probable a sawmill and other improvements will be completed the coming summer."

June 27, 1835: "The Milwaukee.—Four fractional townships of the land on that river, near its mouth, are to be offered to the public at the ensuing land sale, but it is nearly all taken up and claimed by settlers already; in fact, squatters are taking possession of the country in that neighborhood in swarms. It is to be hoped that the Pottawatomie purchase south of the river will be surveyed with all possible dispatch, and the whole put in the market without reserve, as the system of settling the lands in advance is injurious both to the settlers and the Government. A correspondent at the mouth of the Milwaukee speaks of their having a town already laid out, and says that quarter-acre lots are selling at five and six hundred dollars each; and that by fall they will have one hundred buildings erected. [The correspondent probably was Morgan L. Martin, who had a hand in erecting the buildings, with Solomon Juneau.] There are already several private claims in the vicinity, and some five or six hundred people living there. One gentleman supports a school at his own expense. A clergyman is taking up his abode among them. Albert Fowler has been elected justice of the peace, and their county court will probably be organized at the next session of the Council. Land speculators are circulating around there, and the Milwaukee is all the rage."

August 6, 1835: "The Milwaukee Again.—We have mentioned this place several times before, and perhaps the subject is hackneyed. But what the whole world is in a fever about must be interesting to many. Attention was directed to this point about

a year ago, but the land was not then in the market. The first sale of land at this place was on the 28th of last month [July, 1835]. Several pre-emptions and floating rights have been allowed, by which titles to much of the most valuable part about the mouth of the river are now vested in individuals. The proprietors will now be able to lay off, sell, and give permanent titles. If the half that is claimed for this point is true, it will soon rival Chicago. A good harbor can be constructed here at a comparatively small expense, and those most interested are already beginning to talk of a railroad to the Mississippi. There is also much said in favor of Root River [Racine] and Pike or Pickerel River [Kenosha], where settlements are already established by Capt. Gilbert Knapp, Bullen, and others. May the best man win!"

The following account of Milwaukee at the outset of the inundation of settlers from the East is taken from "The Emigrant's Handbook and Guide to Wisconsin," by Samuel Freeman, published at Milwaukee in 1851, when it was easy to collect testimony relating to pioneer days from the pioneers themselves:

"In 1835 the log house which Solomon Juneau lived in was situated near the corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, in front of where the store of Ludington & Co. now is. The only other buildings there were five other log houses belonging to citizens now residing in Milwaukee, namely—one on the Point, one near the mouth of the river, on the South Side, two near where the canal terminates, and one on the bluff, south of Chestnut Street, north and west of where the Eagle brewery now stands, and a balloon building, 12 by 12, used for a post office, at which the mail arrived once a week, on horseback; a school room, where Mr. Juneau's children were taught the rudiments of language, and a justice's office, which occupied a small space of the ground now covered by Martin's splendid block [at the southwest corner of Wisconsin and East Water streets]. These log dwellings, occupied by the owners, were filled to overflowing with the few adventurers from the 'settlements' who had come to the 'Far West' in search of a new home. Mr. Juneau carried on a considerable trade with the Indians, supplying them with provisions, blankets and trinkets, in exchange for their furs, peltries and [maple] sugar. He often trusted them to a considerable amount

after the hunting and trapping season was over and before the next annual return.

"There were some two hundred Indians, principally of the Pottawatomie tribe, tented in wigwams erected at short distances apart, extending from where the United States Hotel now stands [East Water and Huron streets] to the spot where the German Catholic Church [St. Mary's] presents its noble front [Broadway and East Kilbourn Avenue]. These natives of the soil were generally civil and inoffensive, and no serious disturbances occurred between them and the whites until a year afterwards, when one of their number was killed in a drunken frolic by two white men with black hearts, who, though arrested and committed for the offense, succeeded in making their escape from the old log jail, which stood in the rear of the present courthouse. After the escape of the prisoners, whom the Indians had been taught to believe would be hanged for the offense, wherefore no innocent person ought to be killed by them to avenge the death of their murdered brother, they became enraged, and their threats alarmed the white settlement, which then numbered about two hundred souls, lest some one of their own number should fall by the rifle or tomahawk of a 'redskin,' a victim to the savages' law; but through Mr. Juneau a negotiation was opened between the parties which resulted in the purchase of peace with a quantity of provisions and blankets.

"The only trade of Milwaukee was that carried on by Mr. Juneau with the Indians. Men had squatted upon or made what was called 'jack-knife claim' to all the lands now embraced within the limits of the city and town, and beyond, and some speculations in claims were made. Some of the land on the east side of the river was being surveyed and staked off into village lots by Mr. Juneau, who claimed the right of pre-emption thereto, and speculators became eager to buy, and the fever of speculation, which reached its height in the fall and winter of 1836, began to rage, and lots, if they could have been purchased, would have commanded a higher price than the same lots were sold for as late as 1842. In some instances squatters sold their claims in the vicinity of Milwaukee for more than the same land, now pierced by plank roads and railroad and in a high state of cultivation, brings. At that time there was no other track into the country

than those made under the moccasin of the Indian and by the hoofs of his pony. There was no vessel floating upon the Milwaukee other than the light canoe of the native of the forest. There was no other highway leading to that site than the deep waters of Michigan Lake, which were traversed only occasionally by a few schooners and one or two steamboats from the lower lakes.

"The men who were then residing in Milwaukee used to assemble in the evening at the post office, smoked their pipes, told stories, cracked jokes and speculated upon the future prospects of the place. Through the day they hunted, fished, or penetrated a few miles into the woods to examine the country or make claims, blazing a clump of trees with a jack-knife, or laying three logs crosswise. When one was homesick or 'had the blues,' he would steal away toward the lake shore, and, under the shade of one of the beautiful trees which then flourished on the bluffs, would sit for hours stretching his gaze off upon the broad bosom of the lake to catch the infrequent sight of a single sail, or would watch the ponies of the Indians grazing and gamboling on the unbroken meadows below. Occasionally a stranger rode into town on his jaded horse, covered with mud, and the people would gather around him to ask questions concerning people living in the 'settlements.' "

A spirited and illuminating description of the settlement of Milwaukee and of his experiences as one of the settlers was written in 1882 by Dr. Lucius I. Barber, a native of Connecticut, who came here in the summer of 1835. Graduated in that year from the University of Pennsylvania, with the degree of M. D., it had been his expectation to practice his profession in New York, but upon his arrival in that city he found no suitable quarters in which to open an office. Passing through Wall Street, his ears were saluted by a babble of noise which attracted him to the vicinity of the Exchange, where he discovered that the occasion of the hubbub was an auction of Chicago city lots, which were knocked off at from $100 to $300 apiece. The incident decided him to make a visit to the West, and a few days later found him traveling from Albany to Buffalo on a canal boat. Seven days were consumed in the passage, and two more in going from Buffalo to Detroit, on a steamboat, which carried "one thousand

human beings and some cattle." Seven days more sufficed to transfer him by steamboat to Chicago. "As we proceeded along the western shore of Lake Michigan," he observes, "the first sign of human occupancy was a little hamlet or cluster of buildings far from shore, which the captain hailed as Milwaukee. He spoke of it as a French trading post of the past and a promising point for settlement; but no one dreamed of importance for it in the near future—all were bound to Chicago. Chicago was then a village—inhabitants and business confined chiefly to one street on the south side of the river. A sale of Government lands took place. To strengthen themselves against the money-power of the speculators, it was the policy of the settlers to induce as many as possible to join their organization. Though I was not yet a settler, a claim of eighty acres was registered in my name, which I bought for $100 at the sale and disposed of for $500 a few days afterwards." With this introduction, the Doctor's narrative proceeds as follows:

"Elated by my success, I must needs try again. There was advertised a sale of Government lands in and about Milwaukee, to take place in September, and I set my face northward. In July, alone and on horseback, I struck out on the Green Bay trail, and, following up the Desplaines River, arrived at Mother Sunderland's, twenty or thirty miles from my starting point, passing no dwelling and meeting no human beings but a band of Indians on the trail. Thence I started for the crossing of Root River, at the mouth of which now stands the beautiful city of Racine.

"On and onward, lonely and jaded, I jogged along, and as I passed a little cluster of trees, not sufficient to constitute a grove, my attention was attracted by what seemed to be logs of wood stowed away and secured in the forks and branches of the trees. Upon closer inspection I found them to be troughs, like sap-troughs, the hollow sides together, facing each other, and fastened in their places by thongs or strips of bark, attached to the branches where they lodged. This, upon inquiry afterwards, I found to be the manner in which the Indians temporarily disposed of their children dying on a journey, to be afterward taken down and buried. Night overtook me on the prairie. Giving old Charlie the reins, I still pursued my lonely way, following the

trail. Occasionally I heard the yelp of a prairie wolf, and then a cowbell, the music of which was enchanting. A light streamed through the chinks of a log cabin, and I rode up to the door and called. A voice bade me come in. Two young men were keeping bachelors' hall, and told me I could share their quarters.

"Next morning, after riding three miles, I reached the border of timber extending indefinitely northward, the way through being indicated by blazed trees. Eventually I reached Oak Creek, and eight miles farther I came upon the Chase brothers, Horace and Enoch.

"The Chase brothers kept a skiff for crossing the river. Taking my saddle and saddle-bags into the boat, with Charlie's bridle in my hand, I left him to sink or swim outside, while we launched from the shore and speedily reached the opposite bank in safety, a distance of not more than twenty-five or thirty feet. The mouth of the river seemed almost closed up with sand, though the current was rapid and deep. Passing along the sandy beach in a northerly course, with the blue waters of Lake Michigan on my right and a stagnant pool and impassable marsh on my left for nearly a mile, on a ridge of sand, I came to a bluff seventy-five or eighty feet high, and my path suddenly turned to the west, at its base. Another half mile brought me to the end of my journey—Milwaukee.

"As I passed along at the foot of the bluff, I observed away across the marsh on my left a small frame building on a point of land projecting into the marsh. This has since come to be known as Walker's Point. The building was Walker's storehouse, on the south side of the Milwaukee River, the only frame building then finished. Some others were commenced and in a state of progress.

"Turning Charlie loose to shift for himself, I accepted the proffered hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Juneau, with whom I partook of my first meal in the future metropolis of Wisconsin. I then walked forth to make discoveries and observations. Wending my way up the bluff, I was passing a log cabin on its verge, shaded by an ancient basswood tree. Here I stopped for a moment, when my ears were saluted by a familiar voice, and, to my astonishment, I found the occupant was a next-door neighbor of years gone by—John Childs, who, with his wife and children and brother Luther, had just arrived and taken possession. His

cabin was situated near the present intersection of Broadway and Wisconsin streets, in the midst of scrub-oaks and hazel bushes, the only dwelling on the bluff. Greetings over, I was invited to take up my abode with my friends, which I did with pleasure.

"Coming from the flatness of Chicago, as I did, I found the view enchanting. The bluff was the terminus of a table-land from 75 to 100 feet above the level of the lake, covered with bushes, and a few trees interspersed, extending from the lake shore on the east to the river, and running for many miles parallel with that stream. On the south, about half way up the bluff, gushed forth the waters of a crystal spring, pure, sparkling and bright, from which the whole settlement obtained their supply.

"My first business, of course, was to make inquiry about claims, and I found that 'all the land about or near town was taken up.' But I was not to be headed off; I was bound to have a claim. Accordingly, having examined the Settlers' Claim Register, Luther Childs and myself set forth, with hatchet and lunch, to make improvements on the public lands. Before reaching any unclaimed tracts we were obliged to go about two miles. This, through the woods, seemed a long distance from town, but we thought perhaps in time the land might be of some value, though situated away over on the lake shore, some two miles from the present courthouse. Here we erected a house on adjoining quarter-sections, in accordance with settlers' laws and usages, and on the same day returned and had our claims registered at the Claim Office.

"Having thus secured my claim, I prepared to return to Chicago. I spent half a day looking for my horse, but could not find him. At length a French half-breed said, 'Give me half a dollar, I find your horse.' I readily assented, and in a short time he brought him. Charlie had been feeding in the bushes only a few rods from Juneau's house, the locality at that time being a thicket of scrub-oak and forest trees.

"In 1835 there were two sawmills operating on the Milwaukee River within the township, one on the School Section [Section 16], built by Lansing & Currier, two young men from the State of New York [they were working for an employer]; the other, a mile or more farther up the river, built and operated by

Doctor Bigelow. Both of these mills went under when the dam was built below in the construction of the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal—for the purpose of creating a waterpower.

"Northward from Grand [Wisconsin] Avenue, along the river bank there was a strip of dryish land of sufficient width for a road, sometimes widening into patches of old cornfields of very limited extent. On one of these was a log cabin, where lived, and soon after died, the first physician of Milwaukee, Dr. William Clark. He had come from Southern Illinois, and was then suffering from a painful disease, of which he died the following winter.

"Where Chestnut Street [Juneau Avenue] now is, there was a strip of hard ground extending and gradually rising from the river to the bluff on the West Side. On this the street was afterward laid out, passing between two vast tamarack swamps which extended south to the present Grand Avenue and north to the bluff. These were thickly covered with large tamarack trees, dense and impervious. The only way out by teams into the country was by this Chestnut Street ridge.

"Neither side of the river had as yet been laid out as a town, though on the East Side, along the edge of the stream, a few building lots had been surveyed and sold, and some buildings erected thereon.

"Milwaukee was originally laid out and organized as two separate towns or corporations. The town first organized was called Milwaukie. This was on the East Side, between the river and the lake. Solomon Juneau was the original and chief proprietor. Soon after, the town of Milwaukee, on the west side of the river, was set up as a distinct organization, of which Byron Kilbourn was the original proprietor. A fierce rivalry at once sprang up. Business took the lead on the East Side and kept it, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Kilbourn and his sympathizers."

Comparisons between Milwaukee and Chicago at that time were frequently decided in favor of Milwaukee. This was what happened in Doctor Barber's case, and to Milwaukee he returned, identifying himself with its interests during the following five years. His narrative continues:

"The spring and summer of 1836 witnessed bustle and preparation. Every day, almost, new frames were erected. Men's

hats were crammed with maps of paper towns, or with Michigan wildcat bank bills. No other money was in circulation. The United States Bank had hitherto been the fiscal agent of the Government, but now Government funds were deposited in certain designated banks of several of the states. Specie and the bills of these banks only were receivable at the several land offices in payment for public lands. These bills were hoarded for this purpose, and speedily found a resting-place in the United States Land Offices. They were too precious for ordinary circulation. Immigration to the West was immense. Vast quantities of Government lands were bought, and millions of dollars invested. Michigan and some of the other western states authorized making real estate the basis of banking capital at its appraised value. Interested persons were employed to appraise these lands, and immediately after their purchase from the Government they were in many instances appraised at three or four times the Government price, and at these rates became the basis of banking, and notes were put in circulation. This so-called currency was easily obtained; loans were effected with great facility. A grab from the hat was facetiously said to be the price of a supper or breakfast, and two grabs, of a dinner. But the so-called money was not idle. Mechanics of all sorts were busy. There were [Nathaniel C.] Prentiss and [Augustus A.] Bird framing Juneau's buildings. It was said of Prentiss he could stand at one end of a forty-foot stick of timber and throw his square with such accuracy that it would be in place for marking the mortise or tenon at the other end. He was rough and profane, but a skilled workman. Bird, his partner, was gentle and courteous, as any who knew him later as A. A. Bird, builder of the Capitol [at Madison], will testify. [Enoch] Darling, whose sobriquet was 'Old Fixin's,' away out among the scrub-oaks, built the courthouse [for Juneau and Martin]. But time would fail me to tell of the hosts of 1836.

"What an event was the arrival of a lower lakes steamer with a cargo of a thousand souls! At the sound of her whistle, how we rushed to the bluffs, and with what joy we greeted her coming! How the steamers were lightered by Captain Hubbel, with his sail scow—a timber deck, and nothing more!—whose whisper echoed from the bluffs, and whose 'Let her luff!' it was said, was

often mistaken for distant thunder. His specialty was to convey passengers and goods from the lake steamers and sail vessels, as they could not enter the river, to the Chestnut Street wharf, on the West Side, without any communication with the town on the East Side.

"The hotels with most of the business, public and private, were on the East Side. There was the Cottage Inn, kept by John Childs, and afterwards by Levi Vail, on East Water Street, and then came the Belleview, afterward called the Milwaukee House, on the bluff, above Wells and Crocker and the post office. These, however, were subsequently eclipsed by the Shanty Tavern on the West Side, which was literally a shanty, being sided and roofed with rough boards. It stood on a triangular lot or block at the junction of or between West Water and Third streets. It was kept by Leland and Sons, who knew how to keep a hotel. This became for a year or two the leading hotel in Milwaukee. In the autumn of 1836, owing to some difference or dissatisfaction at the Belleview, there was a stampede of its boarders, mostly young men, who came over to the Shanty in a body. Among them were John H. Tweedy and John Hustis, young lawyers, fresh from old Yale. Tweedy was reticent, grave and dignified in his bearing, of splendid natural abilities and highly cultivated mind, giving promise of that distinguished position in the legal profession and in public affairs which he speedily attained.

"Of John Hustis what shall I say? Still, after the lapse of almost fifty years, his ringing laugh is in my ears. He was the life of the party. His fund of anecdote and of humor was inexhaustible, and his powers of mimicry were inimitable. Talented and highly educated, he was in the highest degree social and cheerful, genial and companionable. He was full of soul. Oh, rare John Hustis!

"And then there was Noonan, whom I remember as social, genial, bright and active, of large and nimble brain, hearty in his friendships and hatreds, and always frank and outspoken.

"Time would fail me to speak of Blossom and Hancock, of Charley Larkin and George Wright and 'Doc' Easterly and the host of others whose names and faces rise up before me as I write.

"How, in that winter of 1836 and '37, we used to gather around the great box stove in the bar room at Leland's! How

our soles were tried and our boot heels burnt through on its corners! How our pantaloon legs were scorched and faded by its heat, whilst our backs were shivering with cold, as we clustered around that stove, listening to the songs and stories of John Hustis! Those long winter evenings, cheered by mince pies from Mrs. Higgins and cheese from Chauncey Peak, with interludes of quiet euchre! With what a gracious and dignified air Uncle Leland presided at the bar, and with what scientific touches he wielded the toddy-stick and ground the sugar in the tumbler! With what grace he handed down the decanter and placed it on the counter, and how 'Charley' and 'Josh' replenished and kept up the fires, and 'Walt' catered for the kitchen and table! I wonder if Jo Carey remembers how snugly we slept under the snowdrifts which sifted through the roof upon our bed in the attic. That chamber was thoroughly ventilated, and was well supplied with water—when it rained. No palatial mansion on Fifth Avenue, New York, could have given us more refreshing sleep.

"But after 1836 came 1837, and onwards, and what a change! General Jackson had removed the Government deposits from the United States Bank and its branches, and to this was attributed the awful financial revulsion. But in reality, corner lots, paper towns, and quarter-sections of improved land had swallowed up all our money. Red Dog and Wildcat banks had gone up. Our hats were no longer crammed with their promises to pay, but maps and town plats whose intrinsic value was inappreciable still remained and supplied their place. With these, debts were paid and promises redeemed. By those who thought 'there was not going to be much of a shower' these were received and passed current. But the storm came, and came to stay. It came with the force and suddenness of a tornado, destroying business and crushing out credit. Specie was hoarded or buried in the Government vaults. Banks suspended payment, and their irredeemable promises, together with paper-town lots, constituted the only currency.

"But with us at Shanty Tavern the great financial question was how to redeem our shirts from the washerwoman. As to our boarding-house keepers, they were compelled to keep us or lose what we already owed them. But how to get our shirts from

the laundress was the great question in 1837. We resorted to all sorts of devices. We borrowed shirts. We loaned each other shirts. We wore our shirts a long time—sometimes longer than the laws of hygiene or etiquette would sanction—though not so long as the men at Johnson's Rapids (now Watertown) wore theirs. The same reason did not exist with us as with them. It was reported that denizens of that place (then a mere hamlet), money having failed them in the spring of 1837, credit having failed, and of course provisions having failed, were forced to resort for supplies to the water of the river. Rock River at that season of the year swarming with suckers and black bass, the men of the Rapids made these fish their constant diet. Fish are recognized as good brain food, but man cannot live on fish alone. The Johnson's Rapids settlers found themselves growing thinner and thinner, and at last became so emaciated that when they attempted to remove their shirts it had become impossible, as fishbones, sticking through the skin, had pinned them to their backs.

"From 1837 to 1840 the times continued hard. Speculators disappeared. Many went into bankruptcy; many left the territory. But most of those in regular business weathered the storm and finally prospered.

"Kilbourn was elected president of the first board of trustees of the West Side. He was a man of strong prejudices and dictatorial disposition, at all times insistent on having his own way, and consequently not popular. The man who presumed to differ from him was in the wrong, or of no account. Juneau, on the contrary, was genial and affable—too yielding, perhaps. He was highly respected by all who knew him, but was in a great degree governed by the opinions of others. The third person in the Milwaukee trinity was George H. Walker. He was a frank and warm-hearted man—generous, brave and honorable in all his instincts—a man of noble presence, with a face of sunshine.

"In after times, when all the conflicting claims were consolidated, each of these three in turn became, with great propriety, and in accordance with the law of fitness, mayor of Milwaukee."

Doctor Barber was elected to the Territorial Assembly while he was a resident of Milwaukee. In the spring of 1839 he removed to what is now Jefferson, at that time known as the Forks

of the Rock River. He was out of funds, as were many of the gay and generous-hearted young men who were numerous in the group that constituted the earliest settlers of Milwaukee. They were victims to a large extent of a financial collapse which was the inevitable outcome of the bad financial system of the time and the wildness of the speculation which it fostered. Many of them had their pockets full of banknotes which had ceased to be available as media of exchange, but were well supplied with title deeds to property in paper towns destined to fade out of existence and the memory of men. Before the panic these supposed evidences of value had been in eager demand. Now they were discredited and non-negotiable. A year or two earlier, in the goodness of his heart, Doctor Barber had made a loan of $150 to a friend who was visiting in Milwaukee and had fallen into a feeble state of health. It turned out that the illness was disease of the lungs, and the sufferer died of consumption. Before this melancholy end he went to Doctor Barber, telling him he could not repay him with money and begging him to accept in lieu thereof a share in the Rock River Claim Company as payment of the debt. Doctor Barber took it. It was as a shareholder in the Rock River Claim Company that when he left Milwaukee he made his way to the Forks of the Rock River, where he remained for many years, in the early '50s returning to his native Connecticut, and there living to a good old age, respected by all who knew him. He died at Simsbury, Connecticut, on the 16th of February, 1889.

Numerous were the men who like Doctor Barber were early on the ground in Milwaukee and convinced of its ultimate prosperity, but prevented by personal exigencies from remaining after the collapse of the initial boom, which had made the year 1836 one of activity and venture so restless and reckless that a reaction here would have been inevitable even had no reverse in 1837 befallen the country at large. The excitement of the boom year was contagious. Immigration began early, became enormous, and lasted until late in the season. Sawmills were running, a newspaper was founded, the courthouse was erected, streets were laid out and graded, a Government land office was opened, money was plenty, and everything went with a boom. Everybody had a fortune in his pockets, in land, or in his mind. Buildings went up like magic, many of them good, though others were insubstan-

tial. Stores, with only three sides enclosed and slab roofs, were reared in a single day. Even ground-room privileges were valuable, enormous rents being paid for permission to sell goods on vacant lots. Stocks of merchandise frequently were closed out at retail in a week, some invoices being sold at fabulous prices without being opened. This lasted from early summer into the winter. Some sixty buildings were erected in all, and people were dazed by the rapid progress toward cityhood. Speculators went to bed at night hugging themselves with delight over the prospect that the succeeding morning would double their wealth. "Fortunes hung on every bush, were buried in every corner lot, and were lying scattered promiscuously over all the real estate in the vicinity." Then, as bubbles do, the bubble burst. The winter of 1836-7 brought sudden stagnation, and the succeeding spring witnessed crash after crash, leaving the population of the infant city in a slough of debt and despondency.

A. F. Pratt, who was here at the time, contributed to the first volume of Wisconsin Historical Collections the story of a man from the East who during the summer of 1836 handed over fifteen thousand dollars, all his means at command, as a quarter-payment to secure a purchase of land, and was compelled in the fall to borrow money to return home. Coming back in the spring of 1837, when his notes were falling due, he cherished the expectation of being able to sell a small portion of the land for enough to satisfy the mortgage, enabling him to retire on the balance. To his dismay, the property for which he had agreed to pay sixty thousand dollars would not command as many hundreds. After the mortgage had been foreclosed, and the land bid in by the mortgagee for five thousand dollars, a judgment was entered against the disconsolate original purchaser for the unpaid remainder. Many another enthusiast, having bought a lot in the summer for five hundred or a thousand dollars, was fain to exchange it during the winter for a barrel of flour or pork or a suit of clothes. Nearly all the tradesmen of the preceding year disappeared from the scene, to return no more. Yet there were courageous souls still impressed with the natural advantages of Milwaukee and determined to hold on in hope of a return of better times. Gradually a part of the shriveled value returned, resting on a foundation of reality instead of on the airy basis of

reckless speculation which in the first instance had been its principal support and then had been suddenly withdrawn.

Others than Doctor Barber who were in Milwaukee at the outset of its struggle for existence left records that verify and supplement his sprightly report and are not to be ignored by students of source material bearing upon the city's beginnings.

Albert Fowler wrote a narrative which was published by James S. Buck in the first volume of his History of Milwaukee. It is here abridged as follows:

"Having acquired a few hundred dollars by speculating in corner lots and trading with the Indians at Chicago, during the summer and autumn of 1833, I left during the early part of November of that year, in company with R. J. Currier, Andrew J. Lansing and Quartus G. Carley, for Milwaukee. The journey passed without further incident than the difficulty experienced in getting through the country with a team, where neither roads nor bridges existed, until the evening of the 12th, when we were encamped on the banks of Root River, and the great meteoric display occurred which so alarmed the Indians and has become a matter of historical remark to this day.

"We pursued our journey the day following, I being compelled to swim Root River no less than three times in getting over our baggage and team, although the weather was so cold as to freeze our water-soaked clothing. At Skunk Grove we found Col. George H. Walker, who had a small store of Indian goods and was trading there. We reached Milwaukee on the 18th day of November.

"After our arrival in Milwaukee my three companions and myself took possession of an old log cabin, where we lived during the winter of 1833-4, doing our own cooking and amusing ourselves as best we could, there being no other white man in the place during that winter excepting Solomon Juneau.

"In the early part of January, 1834, Mrs. Juneau was taken suddenly ill, and, there being neither medicines nor physicians nearer than Chicago, I was started off by Mr. Juneau, on an Indian pony, clad in Indian moccasins and leggings and with a spare blanket, for medical aid. The journey in mid-winter, through eighty-five or ninety miles of wilderness, was one of great hardship. The Indians predicted that I would perish, but I suc-

ceeded in reaching Chicago, obtained the desired aid, and was rewarded with the double satisfaction of having assisted in relieving a most kind and noble-hearted woman, besides receiving the gift of a new suit of clothes from Mr. Juneau.

"In the spring of 1834 my companions went up the river to the school section and made a claim, upon which they afterwards built a mill; and I went into Mr. Juneau's employ, kept his books and accompanied him on his trading expeditions among the Indians. I soon learned to speak the Pottawatomie and Menomonee languages with considerable fluency, dressed in Indian fashion, and was known among them as Mis-kee-o-quoneu, which signifies Red-Cap, a name given me because I wore a red cap when I first came among them. I remained in Mr. Juneau's employ till 1836. After he was appointed postmaster, I assisted him in the post office, and prepared the first quarterly report ever made out at that office.

"During the latter part of the summer of 1835, James Duane Doty and Morgan L. Martin went as delegates from the Territory of Michigan to a session of the Council, which was held at Detroit. They brought me upon their return a commission as justice of the peace, also as clerk of the court, though of what court was not very clearly defined, there being none organized at Milwaukee at this time. The commission was signed by Stephens G. Mason, governor of the Territory of Michigan.

"The question has often been asked me, 'How much was Mr. Juneau reported worth in those early days?' It would perhaps be impossible to answer with a great degree of correctness, but he was reported worth from one to two hundred thousand dollars, which was a much larger fortune then than now. I have myself seen him the possessor of a sum of money which he stated to be fifty thousand dollars. The pressure of the times, together with the ill-timed advice of his numerous interested friends, dissipated his fortune almost as rapidly as he had gained it; and a few years found my friend and patron almost as poor as when first I knocked at the door of his hospitable log cabin in the fall of 1833."

A letter written in October, 1836, by Albert Fowler to his father-in-law, D. Wilcox, of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, said: "When our house here is finished, it will be as handsome as any in Great Barrington." The house referred to occupied a site

on the east side of Broadway, sixty feet south of Wisconsin Street, and was a comfortable home for many years, standing where Mr. Fowler placed it till the great fire of 1865, which burned the block, swept it out of existence. Another paragraph in the same letter indicated the forehandedness necessary on the part of the earliest settlers of Milwaukee in preparing for winter, on account of the difficulty of purchasing supplies at that season of the year. The writer remarked: "I am making every preparation to live. I have bought four barrels of flour, 100 pounds of butter, a barrel of crackers, a barrel of beef, and a large supply of potatoes, carrots and other vegetables."

Mr. Fowler was the first Register of Deeds. He was also a member of the second Constitutional Convention of Wisconsin. In 1853 he removed to Rockford, Illinois, where he resided till his death in April, 1883. His son, Daniel W. Fowler, born in Milwaukee in 1837, spent his life in this city, holding responsible positions in the post office for many years. In 1881 he was president of the Old Settlers' Club. He died June 17, 1912.

Judge George W. Lawe, the founder of Kaukauna, interviewed for the *Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin* in April, 1895, said: "I first saw Solomon Juneau in Green Bay, when I was a boy and Juneau a handsome young man. He came riding up to my father's house to get supplies to take to Milwaukee. Jacques Vieau had a trading post at Milwaukee, and Juneau worked for him. Vieau used to send him with packhorses to Green Bay, from which place my father used to send supplies to the whole of what was then the Northwest, and that was how I came to see him at that time. He was a very handsome man, and I said to my father as he rode up to our door, 'That is the finest-looking man I ever saw,' and my father replied, 'Yes, and he is one of the best.' I remember that conversation well, though I was only a boy. After that I saw him a great many times at my father's house and in Milwaukee."

The Judge's first visit to Milwaukee was made in 1834. He had been on a trading trip to Chicago. On the way down he had taken the trail leading west of Milwaukee and had not crossed to the east side of the river, but on the return trip he stopped with Juneau for three days. In his interview for the *Evening Wisconsin* he said: "Juneau took me over to the lake and showed

me all around. He talked a good deal about the big city he was going to have some day. He said to me, 'George, you ought to come to Milwaukee to live. This is going to be a big town.' I laughed at him, and said, 'I can't do that; I must stay at Green Bay to help my father.' Then there was only Juneau's house and another that a man named Fowler had built on the other side of the river. Fowler had built his house on the low ground, almost in the water, and I wondered what he had done that for. I spoke to Juneau about it, and he said it would be filled up some day, when they got a big city there. I said, 'I guess you can't build much of a city in that hole on the other side of the river,' and he said, 'Oh, that will be all filled up some day.' He was sure there was going to be a big city there."

This interview is interesting because it shows that Juneau's foresight of the future of Milwaukee was of an earlier date than some of the people who have written on the subject supposed. The Fowler house to which it refers was the one erected by Albert Fowler in the expectation of being able to establish a claim to a quarter-section on the West Side, in which expectation he was disappointed, as it was covered by a "float" and became a part of the area included in Byron Kilbourn's plat of the Town of Milwaukee on the West Side of the River.

Horace Chase set out for Milwaukee from Chicago on the morning of December 4, 1834, in company with William Burdick and Samuel Brown. His adventures on the journey he afterward recalled as follows:

"Mr. Brown and Mr. Burdick had a one-horse wagon, in which our tent and baggage were placed, and in which they rode, while I was mounted upon an Indian pony. We made twenty-four miles the first day, and camped on the edge of a beautiful grove of timber. The night was clear and fine, but we were prevented from sleeping much, by the wolves, which kept up an incessant howling. This camp was about equi-distant between Chicago and Waukegan, then called Little Fort, and appeared to have been at some time a favorite resort of Indians, the ground being strewn with the remains of their dismantled lodges. With dawn, we were up and away, reaching Hickory Grove, west of Kenosha, then called Southport, at dark, when we had traveled a distance of thirty-four miles. No sooner had we made camp than it com-

menced to snow and blow from the southeast, making the night a very unpleasant one. We pushed on in the morning, and at night reached Vieau's trading house at Skunk Grove, west of Racine, December 6, where we remained until Monday, the 8th, when we again set forward, and reached Milwaukee that night. This last day's journey was a very severe one, on account of the snow and wet. The country was well watered, as we found to our cost, having crossed twenty-four streams, big and little, getting mired in most of them, when we would have to wade in and carry our baggage ashore and pull the wagon out by hand, the horse having all he could do to extricate himself. Our route was the old Indian trail, which came out at the present cattle yards, where Paul Vieau had a trading house, built by his father. From there the trail led along the bluffs to the Point, where we found Walker, in the log store built the previous summer.

"We found at Milwaukee, besides Solomon Juneau, his brother Peter, White and Evans, Doctor Amasa Bigelow and Albert Fowler. Solomon Juneau's claim was the present Seventh Ward [the old Seventh on the East Side]. Peter Juneau's the present Third Ward [south of Wisconsin Avenue]. * * * John Baptiste Le Tontee [Le Tendre] had claimed what is now Milwaukee Proper. This was bid off at the land sale in October, 1835, by Isaac P. Walker, who sold it to Capt. James Sanderson for $1,000. As our business here was to secure claims, we of course lost no time in making them. Mine was made upon the southwest quarter of section 4, town 6, range 22, upon which I built a log cabin. This cabin stood where the present Minerva Furnace does; Deacon Samuel Brown's where the Sixth Ward schoolhouse stands. Having secured our claims we all started on our return to Chicago on the 14th, reaching there on the 17th, after which I spent the time till the middle of February in exploring the country south and west of Chicago, but, finding nothing that suited me better, I returned to Chicago, closed up my business, and, in company with Joseph Porthier (alias Purky), left that place for Milwaukee, February 27, 1835, reaching there March 8, when, wishing to secure the lands at the mouth of the river, I made a new claim upon the northwest quarter of section 4, my log house standing where the foundry of George L. Graves now does, just east of the tannery of the Wisconsin Leather Company,

after which I returned to Chicago for means with which to erect a warehouse. I left there on the 21st, reached Milwaukee on the 23d, and commenced a final and permanent settlement."

At the celebration of the city's semi-centennial, in 1885, Mr. Chase supplied these further reminiscences of early Milwaukee:

"The spring of 1835 was a very late one. Snow fell on the 20th of May and blew into our cabin, so that when I waked up on the morning of that day there were two inches of it on the covering of my bed. It looked as if we should never be able to raise any crops. The outlook was not encouraging; but we were all young, and it was impossible for despair to get into our systems and stay there very long.

"We had two Indian scares. The first occurred when Manitou was stabbed in Scott & Bennett's store, about where Hansen's is now. The Indian lived on the bluff where the Kirby House now stands. [Corner of East Water and Mason]. I went up there to look at his body. Juneau was away at the time, and if it had not been for Mrs. Juneau I think the Indians would have massacred the whole of us. The next scare brought us a little fun. A man had been killed by Indians on Rock River, and it was said they were coming down on Milwaukee. Zeb Packard, a veteran of 1812 was much stirred up about it. He came to me and said, 'I am with you, Horace; but Ransom [his son] must be sent away with the women. I will go and grease my boots, though, before we start, for I am not going to get wet feet on account of the pesky Indians.' While he was thus engaged a man came in and said it was a false alarm, whereupon one of the boys stepped into the woods and fired off a gun. The report of the gun brought Zeb charging out of his cabin with one boot greased and his rifle in his hand. 'It's Injuns sure,' he shouted, 'or else some fool has fired a gun, and if he has I'll shoot him full of holes!' The old man was gritty, and might have done anything when he was aroused.

"Our only means of communication with Chicago was by a small schooner that Captain Banks used to run. She was about as big as a fishing-smack, but we called her a packet. Once the Captain brought three barrels of beer which had been sent up from Buffalo. It was the first beer that had ever come to Milwaukee, and it had soured on the way. The boat got over the

bar and ran up the river to where the election was being held. There the head of one of the barrels was knocked in and the beer handed around in a dipper, the boys drinking it despite its spoiled condition, and notwithstanding the fact that there was plenty of whisky to be had. I remember one time several of us boys took Captain Banks' packet when he was out of sight and went cruising in the bay. We ran her on to a log where she got fast, and we abandoned her, coming ashore in the skiff. When the Captain returned, he piped all hands, and we had an awful time getting the schooner off the log.

"I remember the first time I ever saw George H. Walker. We had just got into town, and rode our ponies across the ice of the river, intending to keep on a little farther north, when Walker came along on skates. He happened to strike a weak spot in the ice, which cracked, whereupon he laid himself out flat and rolled over and over till he reached the shore. Looking up, he remarked, 'Boys, this ice is a little thin for a fellow as fat as I am.' Even at that time the Colonel was corpulent, but he was a fine skater, and there was no better dancer in the Territory. However, I could beat him running. In fact, if I do say it myself, there wasn't anybody, Indian or white, who could pass me in a foot-race."

In 1835, in company with his brother, Dr. Enoch Chase, and Archibald Clybourn of Chicago, Horace Chase erected the first warehouse in Milwaukee except Vieau's and Juneau's log receptacles for furs. The same year he opened the first store for purposes other than those of barter with the Indians. In 1836 he opened a larger store, and, with his brother, conducted the only forwarding and commission business carried on at that time in the embryo city. Mr. Chase was alderman and supervisor from the Fifth Ward in 1861. In 1862 he was chosen to the mayoralty. In 1873 he was elected to the Council from the Twelfth Ward, to which body he was a number of times returned. He was an alderman—an uncompensated office then—till the time of his death. In 1879 he was president of the Old Settlers' Club. As a member of the Legislature in 1851 he was among the opponents of the Land Limitation bill. In 1835, without a compass, he performed the feat of cutting a roadway from Root Rapids to the Milwaukee River. He was a friend of bridges. He gave the city the Chase

fountain, with its patch of green and floral adornment, and made an offer of free grounds for the location of the State Normal School, which however was not accepted. There was no more picturesque figure than his among the participants in the semi-centennial of Milwaukee, September 17, 1885, when as one of the seventy-nine persons who had voted at the first election, he occupied a seat upon the platform, presenting in his appearance a counterpart of Andrew Jackson. He died in September, 1886, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Dr. Enoch Chase was older than his brother, whom he outlived by several years, surviving till the 23d of August, 1892, and passing the middle of his eighty-third year before he reached the end of his earthly journey. His original land claim, at the mouth of the Milwaukee River, came to be known as "Chase's Point." Selling this, he purchased at five dollars per acre the quarter-section on the south side of Lincoln Avenue upon which he established the home in which he was to dwell for fifty-nine years, active till nearly the close of his long career, and respected and admired as one of the patriarchs of Milwaukee. Doctor Chase was one of the members of the Judiciary Committee of the famous Claimants' Union. Again and again he was elected to the Assembly, serving his first term in that body as early as 1848 and his last as late as 1870. In 1880 he established the Chase Valley Glass Works, of which he was sole proprietor while the establishment was the only one of its kind in Wisconsin. The extensive Chase Valley Brickyard he had established in 1876. He made the important improvement in the Kinnickinnic basin known as Chase's Slip, building a long line of docks which provided valuable accommodation for shipping. In 1881 he was elected to the State Senate. He was the author of a paper descriptive of pioneering experiences in Milwaukee. Following is his narrative of his arrival on the site of the future city:

"I first settled at Cold Water, Michigan, but finding the country much too unhealthful for my taste, I made up my mind to go farther West, and in 1834, hearing that my brother Horace was at Chicago, concluded to make a journey to that place, which resulted in our agreeing to go to Milwaukee or St. Louis together. I returned to Cold Water, closed up my business, which was both extensive and lucrative, and started for Chicago, reaching there

April 1, 1835, and remaining till the 6th. On the 6th day of April, 1835, in the afternoon, in company with James Flint and Gordon Morton, I left Chicago for Milwaukee, to join my brother. The first night we stopped at Gros Point, twelve miles north of Chicago, reaching Sunderland's, back of Waukegan, the next day. We intended to stay at Louis Vieau's trading house at Skunk Grove the third night, but finding the place filled with drunken Indians, concluded to push on, which we did, reaching Root River, which we crossed on a pole bridge before dark. At Oak Creek, a short distance beyond, we found the whole bottom overflowed with water in which we were soon floundering and swimming by turns, being finally compelled to carry our wagon piecemeal to the other side. By this time it was dark, cold and dismal in the extreme, and finally after traveling a short distance we went into camp, being, I believe, the first whites that ever slept in the town of Oak Creek. The following day, about noon, we reached Walker's Point, the trail crossing the Kinnickinnic at the Jacques Vieau homestead, southeast quarter of section 12, town of Greenfield, on the present Kilbourn Road, and thence its course was northeast to the Indian Fields, which it struck at or near the intersection of the present Seventeenth and Lincoln avenues, and thence to Vieau's old Indian trading post on the Menomonee, and thence via the old Mukwonago trail to the Point.

"Leaving my team at the Point, I got an Indian to carry me over the river in a dugout, he landing me at the foot of Detroit Street, from where I walked up to Juneau's, who informed me that I would find my brother at White and Evans' store, upon the beach of the lake, at the foot of Huron Street, to which place I at once proceeded, where I was informed that my brother was on the South Side, for which I at once started, following the beach to the mouth of the river, where I was again ferried across in a dugout, and found my brother near the present tannery of the Wisconsin Leather Company [near Stewart and Allis streets], where he was engaged in the erection of his claim shanty, driving stakes into the sand and surrounding them with basswood lumber. This was of course a most miserable apology for a house, as the sun would warp off the boards nearly as fast as they could be nailed on, giving the snow and rain such free access as to make the outside dryer than the inside in a storm.

"I returned to Walker's Point that night, and the next day started with my team for the Kinnickinnic. I was the entire day cutting my way through, following nearly the present line of Reed Street, getting mired at the foot of Walker, Mineral, Scott and Railroad streets [Railroad Street is now Greenfield Avenue], so deeply as to be compelled to take my wagon to pieces four times and carry it ashore by hand before reaching the Kinnickinnic, which I think was the hardest day's work I ever performed in my life. But at length that classic stream was reached and crossed near where the present bridge stands, and a junction effected with my brother, after which I was glad to enjoy a few days' rest.

"On my arrival at Milwaukee I found, besides Solomon Juneau, Albert Fowler, B. H. Edgerton, White and Evans, Horace Chase, Joel S. Wilcox, and a young man in the employ of George H. Walker."

Nelson Olin, who was concerned in the erection of several of the first human habitations and store buildings other than log cabins reared in Milwaukee, and also took part in the construction of the first streets, and who died at his home in Omro, Wisconsin, aged eighty-seven, early in August, 1895, was asked in February of that year to recall the circumstances of Milwaukee's beginning, whereupon he furnished the following interesting narrative:

"Accompanied by my brother, Thomas H. Olin, I landed in Green Bay the 26th day of May, 1835. I first saw Solomon Juneau at Green Bay about the first of June. He went to secure his pre-emption papers, but did not succeed at that time. He came along to where I was framing, near the bank of Fox River. He said: 'Boys, what are you doing here?' 'Oh,' I said, 'don't you see what we are doing? We think of having a raising in a day or two.' 'Well,' he said, 'don't fool away your time here any longer; go to Milwaukee with me and I will give you a better job of work than you can get here.'

"I knew nothing about Juneau nor Milwaukee. He said he could not get his papers for pre-emption then, but in two or three weeks he would come there again and then we must go back with him. I supposed that was the last time we should see him, but he came back about the time he said he would. He secured his

pre-emption papers and about that time the old steamer *Michigan* hove in sight. Juneau said he would see the captain, and if he would land us at Milwaukee we must go with him. Juneau came back and reported that the captain would land us if it was still and good weather; otherwise he would not; he would not risk his boat. If he could not make a landing at Milwaukee he would take us to Chicago. Good luck happened to be on our side and we landed in Milwaukee safely, though we got terribly wet and our trunks full of water as well.

"We stopped the first night with Alfred Orrendorf in a claim shanty that he had erected, and we fought mosquitoes all night. Early in the morning we walked over to the river to where Spring Street [Wisconsin Avenue] bridge is now, and there we found 'Old Solomo,' as the Indians called him. He gave us some breakfast. We soon afterwards met a man named William Burdick and engaged to work for him on A. O. T. Breed's store. Charles James and I commenced to work on this building, the first on the Juneau side of Milwaukee, on the 20th day of June, 1835. After the outside was finished James and myself worked with Burdick on the inside until it was ready for the goods, which were furnished by a Frenchman named Beaubien, of Chicago. My brother Thomas was a painter, and he did the painting on the store. After we finished Breed's store we took the job of digging the first cellar and building the first wharf in Milwaukee for Juneau. I laid the floor in Fowler's office, which was the first justice's office in town. I was raised on a farm East and could turn my hand to most any kind of work.

"When B. H. Edgerton surveyed the lots on the east side of Water Street, then called the bluffs, I carried the chain. We contracted with Juneau to build Water Street from Huron Street south to the river opposite Walker's Point. We had hauled only a few loads of dirt when Sylvester Pettibone and Alvin Foster came along and made us an offer for the contract, and we let them have it. After selling out the Water Street contract we took another contract to build Wisconsin Street from the river to the lake, a distance of half a mile, to be completed during the season of 1836.

"In September, 1835, my brother and I put up a kiln containing 25,000 brick at the foot of Huron Street, that being the first

kiln of brick made in Milwaukee. Nowadays people would laugh to see the way we made brick then. We excavated a large hole in the ground, which we filled with sand and clay, and then set our oxen to treading the mixture until it was worked fine enough to mould well.

"In 1835 and 1836 flour was sold in Milwaukee at from $10 to $15 a barrel. Pork was $20 to $25 a barrel. Mackinaw potatoes sold for $4 a barrel, calicoes 25 to 30 cents a yard, and everything else in proportion.

"At this time there were fifty Indians to one white man. I purchased five lots on Milwaukee Street commencing on the corner of Mason and Milwaukee, thence to G. D. Dousman's on the corner of Milwaukee and Wisconsin streets. All these lots were purchased at $150 per lot. Juneau kept his word that he would do better by us in Milwaukee than we could do at Green Bay. He would not take a cent for assisting us, but said we could work it all out in the course of a year."

In the issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March, 1930, is another account of Mr. Olin's experiences in early Milwaukee. It was written by him for James S. Buck, in 1881, and Mr. Buck deposited the original manuscript with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Here are excerpts:

"My brother and I were brought up as farmers, and for that reason we could turn our hands to almost anything that came along in the shape of work. Consequently we went into the woods, chopped and rolled logs for cellars, and made shakes (shingles). The 5th of July, 1835, we contracted with Juneau to dig a cellar and fill a wharf for which Deacon Samuel Brown had contracted to hew and lay up the timber. We were to move the dirt from the cellar into the wharf. Juneau provided a team, plow and scraper. We commenced the Monday following, and on Friday the job was finished, accepted, and in the short time of fifteen days the money was paid—$75."

After this Nelson and Thomas Olin cut hay at $2.50 a ton for Lansing and Currier. Mr. Olin says: "Team and tools found, the hay was cut on the marsh where Mason Street now strikes the river. The first day we mowed we killed any quantity of rattlesnakes. * * * We found them curled up on the logs, a dozen in a place. They were cut in two as fast as we came to

them, as we expected from what we had heard that we would be eaten up by them. Before we had mowed one day, we found they were not so dangerous as we had feared.

"There was a land sale at Green Bay, October, 1835. All of us who had claims in the market at that sale went to the Bay and purchased our lands at $1.25 per acre. I entered one-half section on section 6, town of Milwaukee. Captain Sanderson chartered a vessel [probably at Chicago] and carried all that wished to ride with him to the sale and return at $2.50 per head. Everything went nicely until our return. When coming out of the bay into the lake at Death's Door, we encountered a terrible storm, with high winds and a very rough sea. The bow of the boat ran onto a rock, high and dry. The water was four to five feet deep, and as luck would have it there were two boomsticks on board. They were tied together in a little less than no time and set each side of the vessel opposite the capstan with a rope attached to the capstan and the levers applied to it. Soon the boat was raised and shoved back into deep water and we were on our way again. If we had not had the boomsticks on board, we would in all probability have been shipwrecked and dashed against the rocks and shared the same fate the Indians did who gave it the name of Death's Door. Juneau said there were a hundred Indians dashed against those rocks and killed in a single storm. At the time we were in Sanderson's vessel the waves washed clear over the deck and washed off shingles and came very near washing off Otis Hubbard as he stood guarding his shingles. Had it not been for the railing he certainly would have gone overboard.

"After returning from the land sale I purchased a yoke of cattle and picked up what hides I could find about Milwaukee and started for Chicago for a load of flour. I paid two cents for hides in Milwaukee and on the way down, and sold the same in Chicago at twelve and one-half cents per pound. I purchased twelve barrels of flour at ten dollars per barrel, and a yoke of Hoosier cattle, that could not be driven one rod without being led with a rope or behind another pair of cattle, at $60. After getting my cattle together and my flour on the wagon, I started for Milwaukee. I drove out from the storehouse onto Main Street, and had not gone ten rods before the wagon was in the

mud to the axles. I was stalled, and had to roll out every barrel of flour before the wagon could be hauled out. After loading again I made another move toward Milwaukee. * * * After crossing the Chicago River the road was very muddy for half a mile out of town, but then I found good roads till I reached Root River, where I came to heavy timber. From that point to Milwaukee there was just no road at all. * * * I worked my way to Milwaukee. My flour sold at $15 per barrel. It sold like hot cakes."

Mr. Olin and his brother contracted for the grading of Wisconsin Street from the river to the lake for the sum of $3,000, the work to be done in 1836. He says: "There was little snow in Wisconsin during the winter of 1835-6, and what teaming was done was principally on the ice [of the river], and that was very unsafe most of the time. It was the warmest winter I have experienced in Wisconsin. There were very few teams, carts, scrapers, shovels or pickaxes in the country at that time to operate with, so I started East for my family and for teams and tools."

On this journey he walked from Milwaukee to Chicago, proceeding thence to Michigan City in an open wagon, and from there to Canton, St. Lawrence County, New York by stage. On his return trip, with the implements he had purchased to execute his contract, he traveled with two teams, accompanied by his brother, C. C. Olin, who afterward became a well-known resident of Waukesha, the brother driving one of the teams and he the other. Mr. Olin concludes his narrative as follows:

"On the first day of June we arrived at Milwaukee, after an absence of just three months and three days. As in the fall and winter before I left I had erected two houses on one of our lots, at the corner of Mason and Milwaukee streets, I had a place to put my family on our arrival.

"We commenced operations on Wisconsin Street the last week in June and finished in August, 1836. A harder job never was done in Milwaukee for the same money. There was a hollow midway between East Water and Main streets [Broadway] forty feet deep that took nearly two weeks of hard work to fill up. Van Buren Street also contained a terrible gulf to fill up. There was heavy timber from there to the lake. Some large trees had to

THE FIRST HOUSE
ON THE EAST SIDE OF MILWAUKEE
WAS BUILT ON THIS SITE
— IN THE YEAR 1800 —
BY ANTOINE LE CLAIRE AS A TRADING POST, THE
LOG HOUSE SHOWN ON THE LEFT OF THIS VIEW.
THE LOG CABIN, STOCKADE AND STORE ON THE RIGHT
WERE ERECTED BY SOLOMON JUNEAU IN 1825
IN 1835 JUNEAU BUILT A LARGE WAREHOUSE
WHICH IN 1851 WAS REPLACED BY
LUDINGTON'S BRICK BLOCK
— AND THE LATTER BY —
THE PRESENT BUILDING IN 1891
THIS TABLET
WAS ERECTED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE
OLD SETTLERS' CLUB OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY
BY CAPT. FREDERICK PABST
· IN · 1903 ·

BRONZE TABLET ON WISCONSIN TRUST COMPANY BUILDING

East Water and Wisconsin Streets.

be grubbed out, all of which came into play in filling up the hollows, which were very numerous at that early day."

E. W. Edgerton, born in Holland County, Connecticut, in 1815, and brought up in Oneida County, N. Y., came to Milwaukee in the fall of 1835, arriving in November, on a schooner from Chicago. In the late '90s he wrote of his Milwaukee experiences and impressions:

"On our way we encountered a severe gale and had to put back from off Racine, reaching Chicago at daylight. In that storm the schooners *Wing and Wing* and *White Pigeon* and the bark *Bridget* were lost. We finally got to Milwaukee, landing on the beach near the old mouth of the river in the early morning of November 17, 1835. I walked along the beach to about where the Northwestern depot is now and then climbed the bluff that was there and crossing the old Indian burying ground came into what was then Milwaukee. I had a brother in Milwaukee, B. H. Edgerton, who was engaged with Joshua Hathaway in surveying Solomon Juneau's property and cutting it up into city lots.

"No improvements had been made along or near the lake then, and the only graded road was what is now East Water Street, which was graded only as far south as Huron Street. There were no bridges. One crossed to Kilbourntown by the old Spring Street ferry and to what is now the South Side by the Walker's Point ferry. Juneau was just finishing his new frame store on the lot where the Pabst Building is now. My first stopping place in Milwaukee was the Cottage Inn, in a story-and-a-half frame building, which was run by a brother of Mrs. Juneau. My first work was helping my brother surveying. After that I was employed in Juneau's new store as a man-of-all-work. A part of that winter I boarded with Juneau's family in his new frame house, which stood where the Mitchell bank now is. In the spring of 1836 I opened a lumber yard for Juneau. It was the first lumber yard in Milwaukee. We bought our lumber from William Farnsworth of Green Bay and rafted it ashore from the vessels, landing it on the beach near the foot of Michigan Street. It sold before we had time to pile it. In the fall we brought a cargo of lumber from Saginaw and unloaded it from the schooner *Victor* back of the store. I believe this was the first vessel load of lumber

to land in the river. I stayed with Juneau till the spring of 1837, when I went onto my farm.

"In the fall of 1836, in company with Solomon Juneau and others, I took a trip to where the towns of Hepburn, Fort Atkinson, Jefferson, Janesville and Beloit now are, and from the time we left Prairieville we did not see a white man till we got back. In the early spring of 1837 T. C. Dousman and myself went into the country as far as Dane County to locate farms. We located our lands where the towns of Dousman and Summit now are. In May of that year we started from in front of Juneau's store, each with an ox team consisting of two yokes of oxen and a wagon. As far as Prairieville we had a road, but from there on we had to cut our own road and make our own bridges, and when we got to our farms we had to clear and break the land and build our homes. I lived on that farm for twenty-nine years, and in 1866 sold out and moved in to Milwaukee. It might be interesting to people of today to know about prices at that time. I paid $1.25 a bushel for potatoes, $35 a barrel for pork, $1.50 a bushel for oats, and everything else was in proportion.

"We had some great times in Milwaukee in those days, doing everything we could to make it pleasant. During the summer of 1836 we had a ball club, and played on the lot where the post office now is on the Fourth of July. Elisha Starr and B. H. Edgerton opened Hosmer & Starr's hotel on the northeast corner of Wisconsin Street and Broadway, and the housewarming we gave them was the first white man's dance ever held here. We could find only one musician, and he could play only two tunes, but we kept it up from 2 o'clock on the Fourth until daylight of the 5th. There were not enough girls to go around, and even with the younger married women we were short of partners. There were not more than eight or ten girls in the town who could dance.

"That fall we began to feel pretty gay here, and the young men made arrangements for a series of cotillion parties. There were only about 500 people in Milwaukee, so we felt it was a good deal to do, but we did it. My brother and I were sent to Chicago to get a fiddler. There were very few people between Chicago and Milwaukee in those days, and we drove along the old road to Willard's Half-Way House, where we spent the first night,

without seeing a person. The next night we reached Chicago and found a man who could play, and brought him to Milwaukee. He was Joe Davlin, and his family still lives here. We gave him $150 to play for twelve parties, giving these parties at Leland's Hotel, on West Water Street, near Wells Street, and everybody who could dance attended, in all about sixty couples. These parties were the first social events in the town, and were a great success."

The originals of two letters written by Mr. Edgerton to his father in 1836 and 1839 have recently come into the possession of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County. The first, bearing date of "Milwaukie, August 31, 1836, and addressed to Elisha Edgerton, Tabery, Oneida County, New York, begins as follows:

"Dear Father: I have this day received your letter and money, by Mr. Fotts. [This is Mr. Edgerton's spelling. Further on he spells it 'Fots.' There was a Jonas Foltz in Milwaukee at the time.] He arrived yesterday, twenty-one days from Buffalo, a tedious passage, I assure you. Seven and eight days is a common passage. I have received your $300 to purchase property. You say you would feel more secure if I entered the land and got a deed in your name. To be sure you would be more secure, but I think it is not the way to make your fortune by next spring. The way we speculate in this country is this: Buy lands at ten shillings per acre and sell the same at two and one-half or three dollars per acre, with the purchase money down and the rest in three or six months, and then come again, and keep it going, making one hundred per cent. in four or six months, sometimes longer. I can say to you with the utmost confidence that I have no doubt but what I can clear you 100 per cent. every year at the least calculation. This government land speculation is the surest, but there is not so much to be made as there is in town property. Generally, as you say, there seems to be some risk; but, much as I have seen of it, I never have known an instance where the purchaser lost money. However, I have concluded to spend some money in government lands this fall. Previous to receiving your letter by mail, I purchased my 320 acres which the law allows me to enter with paper money. In consequence of that I shall have to turn your money into specie or Virginia scrip before I can purchase. Soon as I can turn your money into

specie I will enter some of the best lands that are in market, subjected to your order whether I shall give you a deed or keep the property in my name so as to make sale, or not. If you think best I will deed the property to you, but, as I said before, it is not the way to make money fast. You need not be concerned. I will warrant that it will not be sold to pay my debts. I do not know what kind of an idea you have of my speculations, but I assure you they are not built on sand. I expect Mr. Fots gave you an account of my situation and circumstances. If so, probably you have been rightly informed. I am a great deal better off than I ever expected to be, and am so situated as to make money if I attend to my business, which I assure you I shall—no mistake. A little money does not have the effect on me that it does on some folks, and probably not the effect that you thought it would have. I have no business but what I can attend to situated as I am—that is, at work for wages. I get thirty dollars per month until October. Then I probably shall go into the lumber business with Juneau, a man who has made five hundred thousand dollars in three years. I am at work for him, or have the overseeing of his business. He has made me fair offers to go into business with him. I think I shall accept."

As the remainder of the epistle relates to purely personal matters, it is not reproduced. The other, bearing date of Genesee, [Wisconsin] May 12, 1839 is as follows:

"Dear Father: Since I wrote to you last week, my neighbor, Mr. Dousman, returned from New York where he had been to purchase goods for his father at Mackinaw, and he is going to leave here tomorrow for that place, and is going into business with his father. Mr. Dousman has a farm half a mile south of mine, with about 300 acres under fence—90 acres in crops, two yoke of oxen, one span of horses, five cows, 211 hogs, a first-rate log house, with plenty of room in it, a 30x40 foot framed barn, built this spring (not finished yet, but will be soon), and all the farming tools necessary for carrying on, which he wants to let upon shares after this summer for three years. This summer he wants you to move into his house, furnish the furniture, and (with the exception of a cooking stove and furniture necessary for it) he will furnish all the provisions, etc., and you take the management of the farm and keep house, etc. He will employ

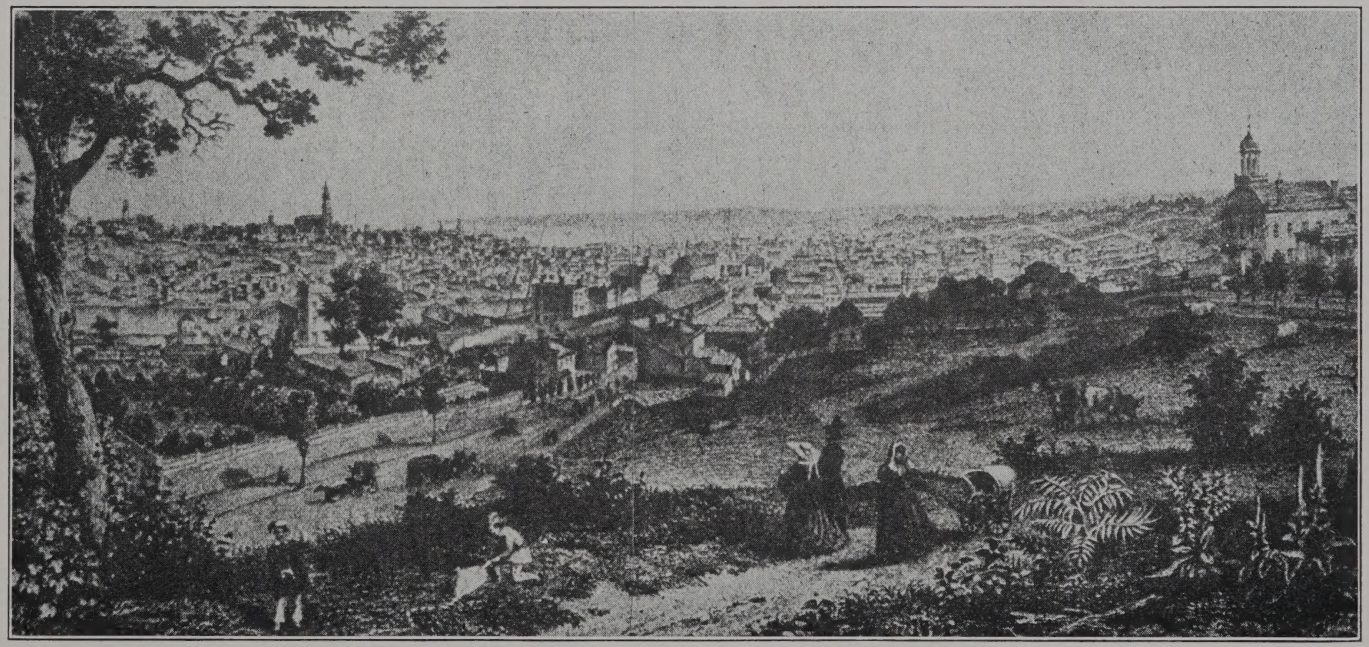
you and mother and Henry at good wages—probably from 30 to $40 per month, as wages are now. He thinks one man, with you and Henry, can carry on the place with what he can hire by the day. If not, he will hire more. He is a man of capital, and a very honorable man to deal with. I have been acquainted with him ever since I have been in the country, and have had a good deal of business with him. I always found him perfectly upright and honest. He will employ you by the month until fall, and then he will let you have the place upon shares, so that you can be satisfied with it. Do not entertain the least doubt of getting the place, and at a good buy. He wants you to come on as soon as you possibly can. At the outside he wants you to be here by the first of July, and sooner if possible, if you want the situation this summer. If you are ever calculating to come to Wisconsin, do not miss this opportunity, for it is a good one."

When young Edgerton wrote the second letter he had acquired experience of the vicissitudes of speculation which he did not possess when he wrote the first. Experience of the same description had come to Solomon Juneau and all the enthusiasts of the days before the panic. The speculative excitement which brought on the crash of 1837 and the depression by which it was followed were well described in an address before the Chicago Lyceum delivered by Joseph N. Balestier on the 21st of January, 1840. Here is an excerpt from that discourse, which is said to have been the first formal lecture in the history of Chicago:

"The year 1835 found us just awakened to a sense of our own importance. A short time before, the price of the best lots did not exceed two or three hundred dollars, and the rise had been so rapid that property could not, from the nature of things, have acquired an ascertained value. In our case, therefore, the inducements to speculation were particularly strong; and as no fixed value could be assigned to property, so no price could, by any established standard, be deemed extravagant. Moreover, nearly all who came to the place expected to amass fortunes by speculation. The wonder then is not that we speculated so much, but rather that we did not rush still more madly into the vortex of ruin. Well indeed would it have been had our wild speculations been confined to Chicago. Here, at least, there was something received in exchange for the money of the purchaser. But the

few miles that composed Chicago formed but a small item among the subjects of speculation.

"So utterly reckless had the community grown that they chased every bubble which floated in the speculative atmosphere. The more absurd the project, the more remote the object, the more madly they were pursued. The prairies of Illinois, the forests of Wisconsin and the sandhills of Michigan presented a chain almost unbroken of supposititious villages and cities. The whole land seemed staked out and peopled on paper. If a man were reputed to be fortunate, his touch, like that of Midas, was supposed to turn everything to gold, and the crowd entered blindly into every project he might originate. These worthies would besiege the land offices and purchase townsites at a dollar and a quarter per acre, which in a few days appeared on paper, laid out in the most approved rectangular fashion, emblazoned in glaring colors, and exhibiting the public spirit of the proprietor in the multitude of their public squares, church lots and school lot reservations. Often was a fictitious streamlet seen to wind its romantic course through the heart of an ideal city, thus creating water lots and water privileges. But where a *real* stream, however diminutive, *did* find its way to the shore of the lake, no matter what was the character of the surrounding country, some shrewd operator would ride night and day until the place was secured at the Government price. Then the miserable waste of sand and fens, which lay unconscious of its glory on the shore of the lake, was suddenly elevated into a mighty city, with a projected harbor and lighthouse, railroads and canals, and in a short time the circumjacent lands were sold in lots, 50x100 feet, under the name of 'additions.' Not the puniest brook on the shore of Lake Michigan was suffered to remain without a city at its mouth, and whoever will travel around that lake shall find many a mighty mart staked out in spots suitable only for the habitations of wild beasts."



MILWAUKEE, FROM THE OLD SIXTH WARD HILL, ABOUT 1859

CHAPTER IV

REGIONAL VICISSITUDES

CONDITIONS, SOME OF THEM CASUAL, WHICH OPERATED TO THE ADVANTAGE OF MILWAUKEE—WHAT HANDICAPPED GREEN BAY—LAND SPECULATION INCUBUS IN THE LEAD REGION—OTHER INTERESTING FACTORS—PUBLIC-SPIRITED CITIZENSHIP FUNCTIONING IN TIMES OF CRISES—TEMPORARY SETBACKS EVENTUALLY OVERCOME.

When Wisconsin first attracted attention from Eastern speculative investors, the nucleus of white activity on the shore of Lake Michigan was at Green Bay, and it was there that Wisconsin's pioneer newspaper was printed, in December, 1833. Residents of Green Bay were inclined to view with amusement the beginnings of the undertaking to establish a great city at Milwaukee. But Milwaukee forged ahead, while Green Bay, with what at that time was the best harbor on the western shore, developed only moderately and slowly. The explanation of this was entertainingly set forth by a well-informed resident of Green Bay, who wrote in 1896:

"Let us reason together concerning the good old times of half a century ago. The rapid advance of Milwaukee, so beautiful for situation, a royal queen city by birthright, yet seems in great measure to have owed its first impulse to the earliest proprietors having purchased the various sections of the city at moderate rates and sold at once to permanent settlers at small advance in price, having the material prosperity of the juvenile town more at heart than mere personal sordid gain. This no doubt gave first and fast impetus to its municipal life, and the little settlement sprang forth without let or hindrance, like a young hero fully equipped to make fast time. Green Bay, on the contrary, seems never to have been young, a greybeard from the first. It was, in fact, so different a world in every detail from its compeers in

settlement, that sober and energetic endeavor for improvement appeared to be balked at the outset.

"The French habitants had been in possession of lands thereabouts for nearly half a century before any true American-born citizen invaded it. For social prestige the French Canadians, some of them boasting noble pedigree, proved a charming substratum in that primitive time. It was a human atmosphere, lighthearted and as carefree as the birds that flitted overhead. * * * Their domain of land was extensive, with picturesque surroundings. Their cabin doors were ever flung wide open for the largest hospitalities. Friend and stranger were alike warmly welcomed. They had a small army of Indian retainers, always ready with gun, cross-bow and spear to do their bidding, skimming their bark canoes through marsh and river in quest of game. The most delicious of fish could be had on their private preserves. The wildwood near by sheltered game of rare excellence. Maple trees yielded them sugar. Strawberries large and luscious were in abundance, as were also crabapples, plums and luxuriant growth of wild grape. These supplied all their need for dainties in culinary art and table use. The Bible schedule of good fare lay before them without money and without price—milk and honey, oil and wine, venison and the fatted calf. They would neither sell in toto nor divide their rich patrimony. 'Why should we sell, being in such good circumstances?' they asked of strangers. One echoed back, why, indeed, should they sell? Into this land of ease and sunshine slipped our United States troops, many of them young cadets straight from West Point, brimful of vitality and merry mood to join hands and hold high carnival with the French colony. What could a staid, sober Eastern element, with stringent views of domestic economy, do in the face of such odds?

"Greater than all these happy-go-lucky, lighthearted drawbacks to stable and profitable settlement, lay the incubus of a selfish and powerful Northwest Fur Company, whose interest it was to leave matters in statu quo, on account of the trade in peltries, which must necessarily decrease as civilization and citizenship increased. The Company had laid hands on the most desirable properties of the district, and held them with the tenacity of an octopus. Even to the present day there are places

lying waste within and around the city limits, fair to look upon, still owned by the heirs of Mr. Ramsay Crooks and others, who are so scattered here and there in America and Europe that it is a futile search to ascertain their whereabouts or secure title.

"In 1856, while on a visit to New York, the writer had the pleasure of dining in company with the venerable Doctor Coggswell, custodian of the famous Astor Library, who received his appointment to the honorable post direct from Mr. Astor senior, to be retained at a fair salary for a lifetime if it so pleased the incumbent. The two men were warm personal friends and nearly compeers in age, Dr. C. about ten years the junior. The librarian, despite his erudition, proved a most genial dinner-table companion, with nothing about him aggressive or dogmatic. He retained memory and some interest in his former patron's Western Reserve, as it may well be called, inquiring as to the past and present status of Green Bay, and whether a great town had grown up there, and so on, to which no very flattering reply could be given at that time, for 1856-57-58 were hard financial years nearly everywhere. Before we parted company in the evening, he came to his dinner-table vis-a-vis, and, with a humorous twinkle in his eye, said: 'I will tell you a little anecdote before we part, which happened in the long ago of Mr. Astor's landlordism at Green Bay. I do not think it is generally known, as I received it direct from Mr. Astor's own lips, some years after the occurrence. In 1838 or '39 Mr. James Duane Doty made a formal call on my friend at his home on Broadway. He was a gentleman of striking personality, at once dignified and courteous, and most persuasive of speech. He evidently made a favorable impression on the great financier. A desultory talk followed the presentation of his card. Then the envoy made known his errand. He had come on as a commissioner for a land company recently inaugurated at Green Bay, which desired if possible to negotiate for the purchase of a tract on Fox River of which Mr. Astor had for a long series of years been the owner, and which, I may as well say, he fairly longed to get rid of. Dallying questions and answers passed between the gentlemen, when Mr. Doty ventured a plain question as to the terms on which Mr. Astor would dispose of his interest to the company. Mr. Astor replied that he had no desire to hold on to the property, as New York and Green Bay

were too far asunder for such holdings, yet as he had never seen it and knew little or nothing about its present value or future possibilities, it must devolve on the commissioner to tender the terms which his company authorized, to be accepted or refused as the case might stand. "Mine would be a mere ideal valuation; yours, Mr. Doty, a tangible one, from personal observation." A few minutes' silence, and then Judge Doty said, in an unassuming way, "The company, sir, through their delegate, offer you for the tract $50,000. Do you consider the sum a fair equivalent for the property?" After a minute of hesitation, and a keen glance at his caller, Astor merely replied: "Call tomorrow morning at my office on Liberty Street, and I will return you an answer." The business call was made on time and in full hope of success. The final answer proved a negative. In narrating the story to me, Mr. Astor laughingly added: "Why, man alive, if Mr. James Duane Doty had made me an offer of $10,000 for the real estate I would have accepted it without demur and sealed the compact at once; but $50,000 as the outset price for wild land meant over a million in the near future. As a matter of course, I refused the terms." '

"The foregoing episode is of itself apparently of small import, yet it acted as a potent factor in retarding the growth and well being of Green Bay for forty years, and burdened Mr. Astor and his heirs for as long a period with a load of taxes and salary to agents, to lawyers and to other employes, which finally ended in an auction sale of valuable lots at prices for the most part fabulously low, which, if the lots had chanced to be the property of poorer heirs, would have been ruinous."

The writer of this spirited contribution to history was Mrs. Elizabeth S. Martin, widow of Solomon Juneau's partner in the platting of the east side of Milwaukee.

While investment in Western townsites was a favorite speculation in the East, and young New Englanders and New Yorkers were leaving the scenes of their childhood to establish themselves in new homes nearer the setting sun, there was a brief period in which Sheboygan loomed large in the imaginations of many as a place that would quickly achieve importance. William Farnsworth, who was the principal figure in the exploitation of Sheboygan, had begun his Wisconsin career as an Indian trader in

the early days of the century, his post, independent of the American Fur Company, being located at Marinette. Later he had started the first lumbering establishment on the Menominee River. He was a man of unbounded ambition, great ability and iron will. In 1835 he went to live at Sheboygan, and that place were his headquarters much of the time till 1860, when he was a victim of the *Lady Elgin* disaster. The plat of Sheboygan had been filed at Green Bay soon after the first land sale. He bought a half interest in it, and not long thereafter erected a sawmill three miles west of the lake shore. There is a tradition that, hearing Solomon Juneau was about to build a sailing vessel at Milwaukee, Farnsworth paid him a visit with the idea of selling him lumber, but failed to reach an agreement. Both men, so the story runs, were in anger when they parted, Farnsworth swearing that there should be a city at Sheboygan, while Milwaukee should struggle vainly to attract settlers. Juneau is said to have invited Farnsworth to do his worst.

Farnsworth instituted a campaign in the East by means of maps and pictures. New Yorkers were made to believe Sheboygan at that time was a considerable town, with handsome public buildings and docks, a harbor extending the whole length of the river, and streets reaching half-way to Plymouth. Credulous investors were not wanting. To one of these Farnsworth sold a thirty-second interest in his paper city for the cash sum of $30,000, while another purchased a thirty-second interest for $25,000. It has been asserted that documents attesting both of these transactions are still on file in the office of the register of deeds at Green Bay. Corner lots were quoted at all the way from $8,000 to $25,000, and until the bottom suddenly dropped out of the speculative market most of the property within the platted limits of Sheboygan was difficult to purchase at any price. When the bubble burst the depression was as notable as had been the confidence by which it was preceded. People who had brought their families with the expectation of settling in Sheboygan, and had built houses representing considerable investments, lost heart and moved away.

The Rublee family, of which Horace Rublee, subsequently minister to Switzerland and editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, was a junior member, cast its lot for a time in Sheboygan and

afterward pushed farther into the country. Several of the pioneer settlers of Sheboygan found their way to Milwaukee. So did some of the buildings originally erected in Mr. Farnsworth's over-boomed metropolis.

The City Hotel was a pioneer hostelry of Sheboygan. It stood on Pennsylvania Avenue, the street leading to the two long piers which stretched out into the lake, and over which moved hundreds of immigrants coming to the West in search of homes. The Indians, who in those days occupied all the territory now included in the counties of Sheboygan, Fond du Lac and Manitowoc, received their annuities at Sheboygan, and once each year representatives of the great father at Washington came by boat to make the payment. The money was brought in kegs, and each member of the paymaster's party kicked a keg of silver coin before him as he walked from the steamer the length of the long, swaying dock to the shore, and up the long hill to the hotel. Each man in the party was belted, and two and sometimes three long-barreled flint-lock pistols were thrust into his belt. When night came the paymasters barricaded themselves in their room, heavily armed, prepared to resist robbers; but no attempt to rob them was ever made. With the bursting of Farnsworth's boom came loss of patronage for the hotel. Finally its landlord became discouraged and went away. After standing empty for several years the City Hotel was moved to Milwaukee, and placed on a new foundation, at the corner of Lake (now Pittsburgh Avenue) and Ferry streets, where it gained a thriving business during the period preceding the construction of the straight-cut entrance to the harbor, and, under the name of the Lake House, remained a landmark till comparatively recent times. Milwaukee newspapers of 1842 contained references to what at that time was known as "the Wells building." It was a two-story frame structure which had arisen just north of the Cottage Inn, and was the property of H. N. Wells, who had brought its materials from Sheboygan, where its original owner had put them together in the form of a warehouse. When Sheboygan lost its original settlers the warehouse was disposed of to Mr. Wells, who tore it down for reconstruction in Milwaukee. With everything else in the block, this early "Wells building" was destroyed in the fire of April 7, 1845. A two-story frame house which many Mil-

waukeeans now living will remember as standing not many years ago at the southwest corner of Milwaukee and Michigan streets was brought from Sheboygan by Richard Hackett. Mr. Farnsworth himself brought one of his Sheboygan houses to Milwaukee, setting it up at 417 Jackson Street. As many as a dozen—perhaps more—of Sheboygan's early buildings found their way to Milwaukee.

When Sheboygan developed symptoms of revival, Milwaukeeans offered words of cheer. The following is from the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of May 2, 1845: "The townsite [Sheboygan], some fifty miles north of Milwaukee, is one of the most beautiful in Wisconsin. Some buildings were erected and a start made there nearly as early as at Milwaukee, but little was done toward improving the town or the country in its vicinity till the spring of 1843. Since then it has been constantly increasing in population."

Though the speculative mania of 1836 affected injuriously the infancy of Milwaukee, a considerable portion of its maleficence was averted from the region immediately tributary by reason of the fact that most of the Government lands in what was known as the Milwaukee Land District were not open to purchase till 1839, by which time capital all over the country had become chary of investment in wild lands. On this subject E. D. Holton said, in his Chamber of Commerce address of 1858:

"No more fortunate event ever occurred for Milwaukee. As a consequence of the forbearance of non-residents to buy the fine lands throughout the Milwaukee Land District, they were left for the actual settler, and he, owing to the straitness of the times, came with small means, and was obliged to put up with a comparatively small tract of land. And, since he could not have the beautiful piece of land adjoining him, covet it though he might, ever so much, the best he could do was to get his next friend to purchase and settle upon it. And thus the whole region about Milwaukee became densely and permanently settled by an active body of farmers, the actual proprietors of the soil; so that at this moment, probably, not less than three hundred thousand people are within the boundaries of the old Milwaukee Land District, who more or less contribute to the commercial interests of Milwaukee."

To people of the present day it is natural to think of Milwaukee as the front door of Wisconsin, but this was not the case when the initial rush of American settlers in this direction began. The fortune-seekers and home-builders of the Lead Region entered Wisconsin by way of the Mississippi River, or came overland through Illinois. Measures taken in more recent years to preserve the old capital at Belmont revived traditions of a time when the bulk of Wisconsin's white population lived in the southwestern corner of the area now included within the borders of the State. Milwaukee at that time was neither the State's front door nor the region of preponderant population. Jerome R. Brigham, who was long a respected member of the Milwaukee bar, wrote as follows in 1895:

"The present counties of Grant, Iowa and Lafayette supported a busy and thriving community, prosperous in mining and agriculture, several years before Solomon Juneau had a white neighbor. As late as 1836, after the tide of settlement had begun to flow over Eastern Wisconsin, the population of Iowa County, which included all west of Madison and south of the Wisconsin River, was just about twice that of Milwaukee County, which included all the eastern part of the State, except Brown County, as far west as Dane County. The legislative records of that year show that of the thirteen members of the Council, Iowa County had three, while Milwaukee had two, and of the twenty-six members of the House, Iowa had six, while Milwaukee had but three."

Even after Green Bay's outburst of ridicule at Milwaukee's presumption had subsided, and after the preponderancy of the southwest had been superseded by that of the lake shore region, Milwaukee did not attain undisputed supremacy at a bound. Southport, now Kenosha, considered herself an important rival, and so did Racine. At both these places there was keen competition for lake traffic, Southport building the first pier into the lake, and Racine exhibiting remarkable enterprise in harbor improvement. At the final session of the Territorial Council, Racine County was represented in that body by two members, while no other county had more than one.

Despite inevitable clashes of interest from time to time with neighboring townsite projects exasperating from the standpoint of individuals whose main concern was selling lots in Milwaukee,

there was a general perception that whatever benefited the Territory of Wisconsin as a whole would ultimately redound to Milwaukee's advantage. With this broad understanding, there was issued a stream of propaganda attracting attention to the Territory at large. The following letter, dated "Milwaukee, W. T., March 31, 1837," was published in the *Maysville* [*N. Y.*] *Sentinel* and widely copied:

"Two persons may travel over the same ground in a new country, and one be disappointed, while the other is interested and pleased. On my way to this Territory I took occasion to converse with those who had visited Wisconsin. From one I got in substance as follows: 'Too far north; too cold; a great want of timber; wheat winter-kills; land not in market; club law; too many Indians about; country too level!' To cap the climax, this one said: 'I have been all over. I now am going home, and mean to be contented.' From another, however, I got this: 'Delightful country; beautiful scenery; healthy climate; abundance of pure cold water; grand mill privileges; fertile soil; alluvial bottoms; all kinds of timber; as warm as New York State; rosy, undulating prairie; mineral country.' To round the period, this one said: 'I am going after my family, and mean to spend my days in delightful Wisconsin.'

"But to my own description: A glance at the map will show you the favored position of this Territory, which contains an area sufficient for five States. You will see it is drained by two of the noblest rivers in the world, and washed on the east and north by two of the greatest fresh water seas of the western continent. Aside from her commercial position, Wisconsin is now the land of wonders, enterprise and speculation. Before the emigrating mania began to drain the East, and make it celebrated for being good to move from, Wisconsin was known only as a far west Indian country; and where now is the haunt of the white man, the savage danced around the council fire. But you want to hear about the country. Wisconsin is a land of variety. Here are the 'regular-built' woodlands of New York. Here are the oak openings—scattering oaks, with no underbrush—here are the bewitching undulating prairies, and here are the wild wonders. The face of the country is level, undulating, seldom hilly. The soil is alluvial mould, clayey, sandy, or a rich black loam. All

kinds of wild vegetation grow in luxuriance. As to the climate, I can say that after nearly a year's residence in the Territory I am satisfied it is as warm and more even and agreeable than New York.

"This country is as yet too much in its infancy to permit me to give you accurate details as to what it is capable of producing in the greatest abundance, but I can say that as far as the farmer has chosen agricultural experiments in preference to those of speculation, he has not been disappointed, but has received his tenfold reward."

Almost contemporaneously with the above, the *Providence [R. I.] Journal* published a letter to its editor written from Milwaukee under date of May, 1837, and signed "J. E. A." These are the initials of Jonathan E. Arnold, who might have been its author. The writer said:

"A large portion of the lands in this Territory are not yet for sale. The surveys were completed last winter, but it seems to be the policy of the administration to keep them from the market. This, however, should be no hindrance to the immigrant. These lands are all open to the 'claims' of 'squatters,' and those claims will be protected and secured either by the government or by the 'squatters' themselves. Besides, the settler gets credit for his land till such time as it comes into market. During the time he will probably make enough from his claim to pay for the land. Thus it [the Government's policy] is no disadvantage to anyone and an actual benefit to the poor man.

"That these claims are perfectly safe cannot be doubted. Government will probably secure them by the passage of pre-emption laws. If not, they are secure by public opinion and the fixed determination of the settlers. Throughout the Territory the settlers are thoroughly organized. At a general meeting in this town last winter they agreed upon a code of rules and regulations which they have published to the world and to which they will adhere to the last. By these rules, the quantity of land which a person may claim and the improvements to be made in proportion to the quantity are accurately specified. A Register is appointed to enter all claims that may be made, and his books are the evidences of title. The office is in this place, and at the present time it is doing a much larger business than Uncle Sam's office. The

number of new claims made daily is very large—scarcely a man at Milwaukee but has one—and actual settlers are pouring in from all quarters. Many of these claims are already valuable, and sell for high prices. A gentleman at Prairie Village informed me that he had just been offered $3,000 for his 'claim' to 160 acres, which he refused. Another evidence of their value is that the great business of lawyers here is in disputed claims. These disputes are tried and settled by the 'constituted authorities,' and the Register's certificate is the legal evidence as to priority of claims.

"This value is something real, and arises from the produce to be raised from them and the high prices of the market. A squatter in this vicinity raised from one acre of land 800 bushels of potatoes which he sold in this town for $800. Another sold the oats which he raised on a claim during the first year of cultivation for $2,200. Owing to the increase of immigration, the demand will continue as strong for some years as at present. Any man who makes a claim now between this place and Rock River will find this land worth from $10 per acre upward whenever it comes into market."

Still another letter, published in the *Sentinel* of July 4, 1837, discussed the situation in Milwaukee growing out of the panic of that year, and sagely observed:

"The very recent settlement of the town precludes the possibility of a large outward-bound debt. Our merchants, if they are straitened for remittances, are only so on account of their first purchases for this market, unlike those of the older towns, where repeated extensions had swelled unpaid balances to enormous amounts. Much of the land in this vicinity remains in the possession of the original proprietors or of those who purchased from them at moderate prices, a large majority of whom are residents of the town or near by and engaged in efforts to sustain and carry forward this beautiful land. Another circumstance which must tend to weaken the effect of the panic here is that whatever is due or becoming due upon lands in Milwaukee is due from non-resident purchasers to the residents of the place. Although the pressure may prevent a portion of such debts from being punctually paid, yet the enhancement of value since any considerable sales of land have been made will prove ample as

security against ultimate loss, while all that is received will be immediately re-invested in substantial improvements, giving employment to the artisan and profit to the merchant."

Moses M. Strong, in his "History of the Territory of Wisconsin from 1836 to 1848," has this to say on the subject of early settlement and the influence exerted upon it by speculation in land:

"The spirit of migration, the desire for change, is believed to be the chief reason for the wonderful progress which has marked the advance of American civilization, especially in the States formed out of the Northwest Territory. Whatever the cause, the fact is now acknowledged that the rapidity of settlement in Wisconsin for the fifteen years next succeeding 1835 was almost if not quite unprecedented in the settlement of new States. Previous to 1835, much the largest proportion—about two-thirds—of the population of the Territory was to be found in Iowa County. They had, however, generally come in search of lead, and nearly all with the expectation of soon getting rich and returning to the homes they had left behind them. It was emphatically a *floating* population. Many, however, some attracted by success and some compelled by the necessities resulting from ill-luck, remained, and became permanent inhabitants of the country which they had visited only as an adventurous experiment.

"After the Indian rights of occupancy on the lands south and east of the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers had been extinguished, and lands had been surveyed and offered for sale, which to a limited extent occurred in November, 1834, and more extensively in August and September, 1835, the purposes of most of those who came with no fixed intention of remaining became changed. They purchased land and became permanently identified with the country; and the same influences which were thus operating upon those who were already here produced a like effect upon a large number possessed of the migratory spirit but whose feet had never trod the soil west of Lake Michigan, and induced them also to become permanent inhabitants of the new Territory.

"Another class, who were characterized by the settlers as 'speculators,' visited the country, either personally or by agents, in great numbers, and purchased very large quantities of the choicest of the public lands, which had been offered for sale in

1834 and 1835. These purchases were almost exclusively made on speculation, and with no purpose of occupancy, but solely with the expectation of selling the lands at a future period at greatly increased price. The effect of these speculations was greatly to retard and prevent the occupancy of the country by permanent inhabitants.

"Some idea may be formed of the magnitude of this land speculation from the fact, which the records of the General Land Office show, that the total sales of the government lands in Wisconsin previous to December 31, 1836, amounted to 878,014 acres, of which as much as 600,000 acres were probably sold to speculators. The correctness of this estimate is confirmed by the fact that the total amount of sales during the years 1837 and 1838, after the spirit of speculation had ceased, amounted to only 360,919 acres, although the population during that period had more than doubled."

It was on the 11th of July, 1836, that Levi Woodbury, secretary of the treasury, directed to that effect by President Andrew Jackson, issued his celebrated "Specie Circular," which put an end to the practice of receiving the notes of state banks in payment for public lands. So far as Southwestern Wisconsin was concerned, this circular came too late to effect much good. As Mr. Strong observes, it was analogous to "locking the stable after the horse was stolen," as a large proportion of the valuable lands in that section had passed from the control of the government to that of speculators before the 5th of August, 1836. Mr. Strong goes on: "The result was that the great mass of immigrants in search of new homes during the years 1836, 1837 and 1838 avoided those counties which had been affected by the mildew of speculation and swarmed upon the counties * * * where the lands were not offered for sale until 1839, and where a choice of location was open to them, and into which the blight of land monopoly had not yet entered."

A stimulus to the erection of buildings in Milwaukee was imparted by the enactment at the first session of the Territorial Legislature of a law introduced by Daniel Wells, Jr., for the purpose of encouraging actual settlers to make improvements on their lands. The provocation for resort to unusual expedients in this direction was the extent to which purchases of land for specu-

lation had been made by non-residents, who followed the policy of holding their realty for a rise, making no improvements whatever and benefiting greatly at the expense of the actual settlers. The statute framed by Mr. Wells and passed by his confreres in the Legislature, provided that in making assessments for the purpose of taxation a valuation should be placed upon the land alone, not upon the improvements, the result of which was that the improved farm of the actual settler was made to pay no more toward the support of public service than was exacted from the owners of equal acreage in the untouched wilderness about it. Here was a practical application of the principle afterward brought to the attention of the world by Henry George in his famous book entitled "Progress and Poverty," a concrete suggestion of the truth of the old saying that "there is no new thing under the sun." At the time, and for the purpose in view, the statute worked in the interest of equity and to the benefit of the community as a whole. "Circumstances alter cases," and it might easily occur that under conditions differing from those existing when it was adopted, the system might be provocative of hardships. When it had served the occasion that led to its adoption, the statute was repealed.

The Republican was the name of a weekly newspaper published in 1837 at Ottawa, Ill. Following is the text of an editorial article which appeared in its issue for April 24 of that year:

"Water Communication With Milwaukee.—The practicability of an easy, permanent and cheap communication with Milwaukee, one of the most important points on Lake Michigan, is no longer, we believe, a matter of doubt. Fox River is susceptible of improvement to within fifteen or twenty miles of that flourishing lake town, and a short canal over a country peculiarly adapted to its construction will make the chain complete. The navigable feeder directed to be constructed by law 'from the best practicable point on Fox River to the Illinois and Michigan Canal at Ottawa' will when completed open eight miles of the above line of communication, and that the most difficult of the line, and a dam now standing is known to create slack water for more than forty miles. Unlike most other streams in this State, Fox River is very little affected by the rains and thaws of spring and fall, seldom rising so as to overflow its banks. The benefits that must in-

evitably flow from the opening of such communication are almost incalculable. To Milwaukee it will open a more direct water communication than any other in contemplation with the Illinois and Mississippi and the country bordering upon those important streams and with the great Southern mart New Orleans. To the rich, thickly settled and highly flourishing agricultural country adjacent to Fox River it will open an outlet through which all the surplus produce of that district (and that in time must be very great) will be conveyed to market. To this place (Ottawa) the advantages are too obvious to need mention. We learn that this subject has been recently agitated at Milwaukee, and that cursory examinations have been made which have resulted favorably."

Transportation facilities were an imperative necessity for the development of the material resources of the West, and when thinking of transportation facilities in 1837 the people of the West were thinking of wagon roads and waterways. The steamboat, an American invention, had made its appearance on the Ohio in 1807. Now it bore freight and passengers on the Ohio and the Mississippi, and plowed the waters of the Great Lakes. Railroads were in the experimental stage, while steamboats had proved their worth. Moreover, railways were expensive compared with steamboats, and money was scarce. The railway was a far-off possibility; the steamboat a great good thing apparently within easy reach. Nature had done much to make paths for the steamboat, and canals could be constructed to connect the natural watercourses, giving the products of the West easy access to the ocean and thus to the markets of the world.

In 1837 Chicago had not attained the urban premiership of Illinois. Galena, owing to its relation to the Lead Region, was a place of great importance. Ottawa was a forward-looking town by reason of its location at the head of navigation on the Illinois River and its anticipated early connection with Chicago by canal. The satisfaction with which the editor of its newspaper welcomed the prospect of canal communication with Milwaukee indicates the high esteem in which Milwaukee was held at that time as a place that was destined for future greatness. Undoubtedly one of the major factors in producing the reputation enjoyed by Milwaukee in real estate circles at the outset of its march toward cityhood was the prospect that it would be provided with direct

communication by water with the Mississippi and consequently with the Gulf of Mexico. The Milwaukee and Rock River Canal had been used as a talking point for Milwaukee from the time of the arrival of Byron Kilbourn in 1834. It was this that induced Daniel H. Richards, founder of the first newspaper in Milwaukee, to cast his lot with the city in 1835.

After the congressional grant of land to aid the canal enterprise, political complexities arose, creating prejudice against Milwaukee among settlers in the canal zone, and arousing rival ambitions on the part of promoters of the region farther north, who threw obstacles in the path of the Milwaukee project and worked for the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin waterway. Only a mile of the canal from Milwaukee to the Rock River was ever dug, and this was used not for transportation but for waterpower. As early as 1843, however, the waterpower derived from the canal was employed in the operation of a sawmill, a grist mill and a woolen factory, all of which yielded profit to their owners. The vicinity of Cherry Street soon became a center of industrial activity, giving an impetus to manufacturing enterprise in various other directions, and contributing in a substantial degree to the city's subsequent growth and prosperity.

The energy and capital liberally expended by Milwaukeeans in improving wagon roads making the city accessible to dwellers in the interior constituted another important factor in attracting and retaining business. This was in advance of the building of railroads. After 1850 railroads and lumbering were for a long time the most influential agencies in causing or preventing shifts of regional activity and importance. Alexander Mitchell, whose opinions on practical problems of his day carried more weight than those of any other man in Wisconsin, declared that if, when railroads began to be built in the West, the citizens of Milwaukee had remained passive, doing nothing to command the trade of regions to the north and west of them, the city would have missed its opportunity and been relegated to the position of a quiet country village. To this he added these impressive words: "The location of Chicago at the head of Lake Michigan forced greatness upon her. The citizens of Chicago, individually, or in their corporate capacity, did comparatively nothing for the first railroads which entered that city; while if it had not been for the

enterprise and public spirit and liberality of the citizens of Milwaukee, both individually and collectively, Milwaukee today [in the '80s] might have been no larger than Manitowoc or Sheboygan."

The pages of the *Congressional Record* may be scanned with profit for material shedding light on the subject of regional vicissitudes connected with city-building in the West. March 1, 1854, there occurred a lively debate in Congress, on the subject of what was known as "the Wisconsin railroad bill." Mr. Letcher, of Virginia, replying to remarks made by Mr. Eastman, of Wisconsin, said:

"The gentleman tells us there is nothing in this bill which is calculated to conflict with the interests already created by legislative acts in the State of Wisconsin in the establishment of other roads. Now I shall endeavor to satisfy the House from a map I have before me that there is a direct and positive conflict; and that if Congress shall step in and pass this bill in the shape in which it has been introduced into this House, it will lend itself to the destruction of the private rights and the pecuniary interests of various individuals on the line of the Milwaukee and Madison road which have been embarked in that scheme. What is it the advocates of the measure propose to do? Under this bill they propose to grant lands to a railroad which is called the Rock River Union Valley Railroad, that commences at Chicago and runs northwest to the town of Janesville. Then, sir, it runs northeast to Fond du Lac. Then it runs nearly in a north direction for twenty miles. Then it runs in rather a northwesterly direction, somewhat zigzag, to the point on Lake Superior. Why is it, I ask, when a road is projected [the Mississippi and Lake Shore Railroad] from the town of Chicago direct to Fond du Lac, a distance of one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty miles, that they are seeking by this road to establish another between the same points by running around through the interior so as to avoid the harbors and the cities located on the lake shore? In our country, and, I imagine, even in the State of Ohio, in which the chairman of the committee on Public Lands lives, there is a feeling of State pride. There is an anxious desire on the part even of the gentleman himself to build up Cincinnati as the great commercial, the great business point, the chief city for the State

of Ohio. You would never find him here making a war on a city within the limits of his own State for the purpose of carrying the trade out of it over to Louisville, in the State of my friend who sits near me [Mr. Preston]. Yet we have this anomaly here. Here are two representatives of Wisconsin on this floor warring on Milwaukee and the other cities of their own State, situated on the lake shore, for the purpose of building up Chicago in the State of Illinois. What is the interest of this government? Is it not to make connections between the harbors on the lakes and the back country? Should not that be the great object it should have in view? Is it not the great interest of the government itself, in the event of difficulty or foreign troubles, to have its connections with its own harbors, so that it can transport whatever is to be sent to those points to the interior of the country? But the government here is asked not to adopt that policy, but to disregard it, and to go for the establishment of another road, which runs some sixty miles at one point from the lake shore. Now will any gentleman tell me that it is the interest of this government to make appropriations of that sort? But let me test these gentlemen still further. They say that there is no conflict by this scheme with the private interests of those who have embarked their means in the construction of this Milwaukee and Madison railroad. Mortgages on the farms of those living along the line of it have been executed and are now in full force, as I understand. The only hope for the redemption of these mortgages, and the relief of the landholders, is by the profits which they anticipate upon the completion of the Milwaukee and Madison road. From Janesville to Madison is about fifty or sixty miles, and the proposed road runs nearly parallel with the line of the Milwaukee and Madison Railroad. Twelve miles is the furthest that those lines are apart; so that there will be an average distance between them of something like six miles."

Continuing, Mr. Letcher said: "Here then is a conflict of interests. Here the government is asked to furnish lands to this Rock River Union Valley Railroad Company for the purpose of enabling it to make a parallel line from Janesville to the town of Madison; and yet gentlemen say that it cannot produce any conflict of interest; that it will do no harm to the Madison and Milwaukee Railroad. I put it to the common sense of every

gentleman in this House, if there is even a show of plausibility in such a statement. * * * Now, sir, I think I have shown that there is a conflict of interest. Then there is another consideration. There is not a foot of public land, as I am informed, from the city of Chicago, in Illinois, where the road commences, until you get beyond Madison, a distance of perhaps one hundred and fifty or sixty miles. Then take the other line of the proposed road. There are no public lands till you get twenty miles above Fond du Lac. So here they are running a road for one hundred and ninety miles in one direction to that point, and one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty in another direction, through a country where there is not a foot of public land. * * * Sir, the object of this bill is to revive the credit of this company, and thus enable it to break down private interests, and subject those interested in the Madison and Milwaukee Railroad to serious pecuniary loss."

Further along in his speech Mr. Letcher said:

"Now why does not this road run from Chicago to its terminus on Lake Superior by the most direct line? Is it necessary to run northwest for eighty or ninety miles, and then northeast for about the same distance, and then zigzag, and then northwest again to Lake Superior? If the road were run straight from Chicago to Lake Superior, the distance would probably be one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles less than by the proposed route."

Mr. Cobb (interrupting)—"Yes, but that route is perhaps impracticable."

Mr. Letcher—"Oh, no doubt; of course it is impracticable, when the company wants to make war on these lake shore towns for the benefit of Chicago. It was that which made it impracticable. There cannot be any other reason for running the road in the manner proposed. * * * They run the road in the manner pointed out from their desire to withdraw trade from the lake shore towns, that they may take it to Chicago and reap the profits of its transportation. If it comes down by the Lake Shore Railroad it passes these towns. Trade would most probably stop at some one of them. The Lake Shore Railroad is now in progress, and a portion of it has been graded. Other portions have been contracted for. And yet these gentlemen tell us that this road, almost straight, and forty or fifty miles shorter than

the road proposed, and which runs from Chicago to Fond du Lac, is of no consequence, and gravely insist upon it that Congress must make this [other] road for their accommodation, although in so doing they seriously injure the interests of those who have invested their money in the Lake Shore road, and as seriously injure the trade of Milwaukee and the other lake shore cities and towns. Is it not asking too much?

"Now, sir, I cannot understand these things. It strikes me that any man who will reflect, and who will look at the causes which regulate the conduct of men, must come to the conclusion that there is something in this matter which demands and requires some more satisfactory explanation than has yet been given. * * * I understand that some two or three memorials passed the Legislature of Wisconsin in regard to railroads, and that under the Constitution of the State of Wisconsin the governor of that State is required to approve the acts, resolutions, etc., of the General Assembly before they become laws, or have the force of laws. It is somewhat remarkable that the memorial in regard to this particular law is not approved by the governor. I will send to the clerk's table a letter of ex-Governor Farwell which the clerk will read to the House."

The letter was read, as follows:

"Washington, February 28, 1854.—To the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Wisconsin: Gentlemen, on my arrival in this city on Saturday evening, the 25th inst., my attention was called to the memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, passed April 16, 1852, asking of Congress the grant of public lands to aid in the construction of railroads in that State, upon which memorial I understand the action of the delegation in Congress has been based; and I find on examination of the said memorial that it is not in the form in which it passed the Legislature of said State.

"I would state for your information that an important amendment was attached to the said memorial as it finally passed, setting forth the terms upon which the State of Wisconsin desired land grants in aid of the railroads within its borders, which amendment does not now appear in the memorial. You will find a memorial, passed April 14 of the same year, and approved by the Governor, which embodies the principles of the amendment

referred to. I would also state that the memorial first mentioned was never presented to me for executive approval, but was sent in, contrary to usage, and without my knowledge, through the office of the Secretary of State. A reference to the acts passed by the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, for the year 1852, a copy of which will be found in the Congressional Library, will show that this memorial alone, of all passed during that session, did not receive the approval and does not bear the signature of the Governor of the State.

"I have deemed it my imperative duty, as the late Governor of the said State, to call your attention to these facts, leaving you to take such action upon them as you may deem due to yourselves and to the interests and honor of the State which you represent.

"I remain, gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"Leonard J. Farwell."

"That," said Mr. Letcher, "is a letter from the late Governor of that State, and in looking through this book you will find the facts to be as he has represented them; that everything save this single memorial, so far as I have examined it, has the signature of the Governor appended to it in the way of approval. How does it happen? * * * Is there not enough in this case to excite the suspicions of this House?"

For years after its delivery, the speech of Mr. Letcher of Virginia remained fresh in the memory of many of the people of Milwaukee, and even at this late day the extracts which are reproduced above will be read with interest.

Beyond question, artificial conditions highly adverse to Milwaukee influenced the selection of certain routes and the distribution of land grants during the initial stage of railroad building in Wisconsin. Her indomitable men of vision fought for her with might and main, sometimes unsuccessfully, but never cowed by defeat, and enlisted help from near and far, their enterprise and persistency commanding final victory.

In the Wisconsin legislative session of 1858 a bill was introduced having for its object the removal of the capital of the state from Madison to Milwaukee. The measure came up in the Assembly on the 15th of May, having been ordered to a third reading the day before. On the first vote there was a tie, the

speaker not voting. J. H. Knowlton, who was opposed to the bill, changed his vote from nay to aye, to secure under parliamentary rule the privilege of moving for reconsideration, which he did, when, instead of being rejected the bill was carried by one majority—thirty-nine for to thirty-eight against. When the final vote was taken, however, every member voting, the result was a tie—and thus the proposition to make Milwaukee the capital of Wisconsin was lost, as it requires a majority to carry a bill, and this was lacking. Tuttle's "History of the State of Wisconsin," published in 1875, contains the following statement: "The history of this movement is a singular one. It was begun in jest; but, by one means or another, it grew into a serious matter, and came so near to success that on the day previous to its defeat the proposition had a majority of six in the Assembly." Tuttle was an Eastern man, and in the writing of his history was said to have derived considerable aid from Secretary Lyman C. Draper of the State Historical Society, who was a resident of Madison, and who presumably was the author of the passage quoted above. There may have been much more than a jest in the idea of changing the seat of government. Milwaukee people, among them James H. Rogers, had been assured that the bill would go through, and Mr. Rogers had made up his mind that in this event an ideal location for the Capitol building would be the commanding site on the Spring Street of those days, at the intersection of Twenty-fourth Street, long afterward chosen for the palatial Schandein residence, and now occupied by the Milwaukee County Dispensary. The property in 1858 was the home of Cyrus Hawley, and, while within the city limits, was at a distance from the built-up portion and practically well out in the suburbs. It is interesting to conjecture what might have been the influence upon real estate development had the effort to bring the Capitol to Milwaukee succeeded. In all probability the benefit conferred upon Milwaukee would have been trifling compared with the disadvantage to Madison, which, in spite of its natural beauty of location, owes a large share of its material growth to the fact that it is the seat of the State Government and the State University. What have been matters of overshadowing importance in the development of Madison would have been mere incidents in

connection with that of the commercial and manufacturing center which before 1858 had risen to the position of metropolis of the State.

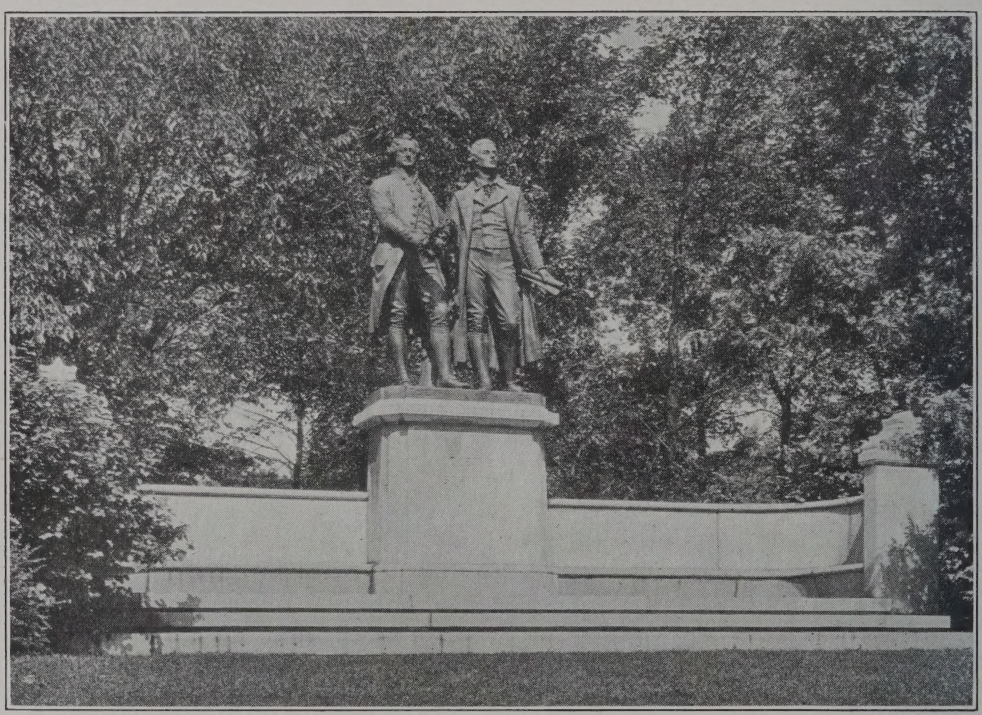
The closing of the water route to the gulf by reason of the Civil war forced all the commerce of the West to seek the seaboard by way of the railroads and the lakes, which redounded materially to the advantage of Chicago and Milwaukee. When peace between North and South was restored it was the judgment of some of the leading men in the grain trade that the relative importance of the gulf route would be restored. One of Milwaukee's prominent shippers, L. J. Higby, held so strongly to this opinion that he sold his elevators here and removed to New Orleans. In his valuable book on the history of the Father of Waters as a commercial highway, George B. Merrick says:

"In the pioneer days of Wisconsin, commerce went by two routes, the less important being through Milwaukee and down the lakes. The other, like the ore trade of Southwestern Wisconsin, went down the Mississippi to New Orleans. In the end, due to the railroads, the eastern route triumphed, and the trade of Wisconsin gradually was diverted to Lake Michigan ports."

Of the extent to which the brief revival of post-Civil war traffic on the Mississippi succeeded, Mr. Merrick gives a graphic account. Pilots sometimes received as high as $800 a month. For the season of 1865 the net profits of the St. Paul Packet Company were $249,000, which was more than the capital stock. The *Burlington*, the smallest sidewheel steamer of the Northern Packet Line, represented an investment of $30,000, and in 1866 her net income was $70,000. Hauling barges proved a profitable innovation. It began with four, and increased to six or eight hauled by one packet. In the early '70s one of the Diamond Joe boats could draw a fleet of barges carrying 100,000 bushels of grain. It came to be widely credited that the heat at the gulf was responsible for injury to the grain, but this idea is challenged by Mr. Merrick. However, after 1867 the barges on the Mississippi declined in number, and, as Mr. Merrick records, the trade was diverted to the lake routes.

The trend of railroad-building after the war, which brought Milwaukee into intimate relations with the northern portion of

the State and with the upper peninsula of Michigan, was another factor of vital significance in enhancing the prosperity of Milwaukee, and with this the enterprise of individuals who were residents of Milwaukee had much to do.



GOETHE-SCHILLER MONUMENT AT WASHINGTON PARK

CHAPTER V

FOUNDERS OF MILWAUKEE

MEN WHO LOOMED AS LEADERS DURING THE CITY'S INFANCY—STRONG AND INTERESTING PERSONALITIES, DIFFERING GREATLY IN CHARACTERISTICS AND METHODS OF PROCEDURE.

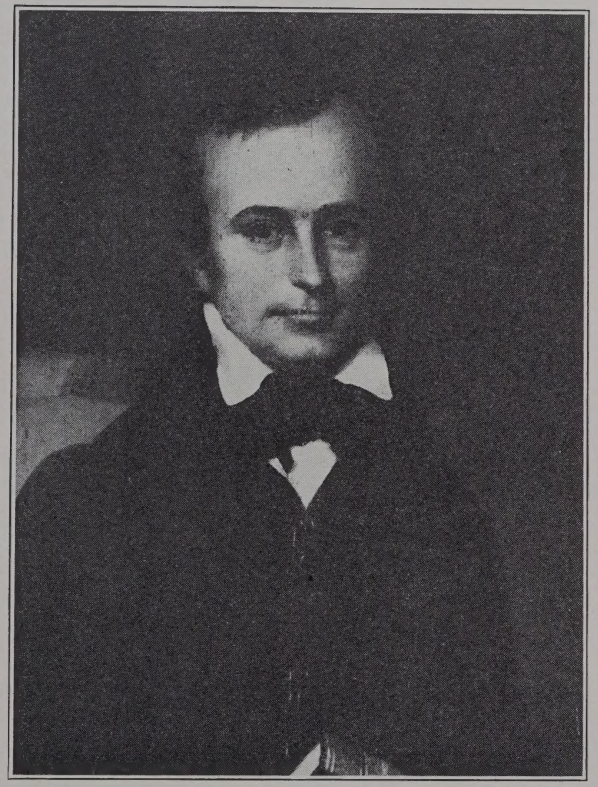
As resident proprietors Solomon Juneau, Byron Kilbourn and George H. Walker were outstanding individualities with whom the earliest settlers came into intimate association. Credit for energetic and competent leadership belongs to all of the three, and to other proprietory participants, not in the foreground, who contributed able initiative as well as indispensable financial assistance toward laying the foundations of the city.

Two non-residents, both men of large ability and high character, conspicuous in the public life of their time, were impressed with Milwaukee's possibilities at an early day, and, independently of each other, contributed materially toward initiating its development—Micajah T. Williams of Cincinnati and Morgan L. Martin of Green Bay. It was at the instance of Mr. Williams that Byron Kilbourn came to Wisconsin. Mr. Williams advanced money with which Kilbourn purchased land and financed improvements on the west side of the river. He suggested the project of a canal to the Mississippi. He used his influence to induce congressional action extending the pre-emption law of 1830, thus earning the gratitude of many of the hardy pioneers in the region that is now Wisconsin. By appointment of President Andrew Jackson, April 15, 1831, Mr. Williams became surveyor general of the Northwest Territory, holding that position till March, 1835. It was he who appointed Mr. Kilbourn as a government surveyor, assigning him to a district near Green Bay. December 13, 1835, he bought a half interest in the lands patented by Mr. Kilbourn on the west side of the Milwaukee River, and also bought other property in the same locality. On the occasion of

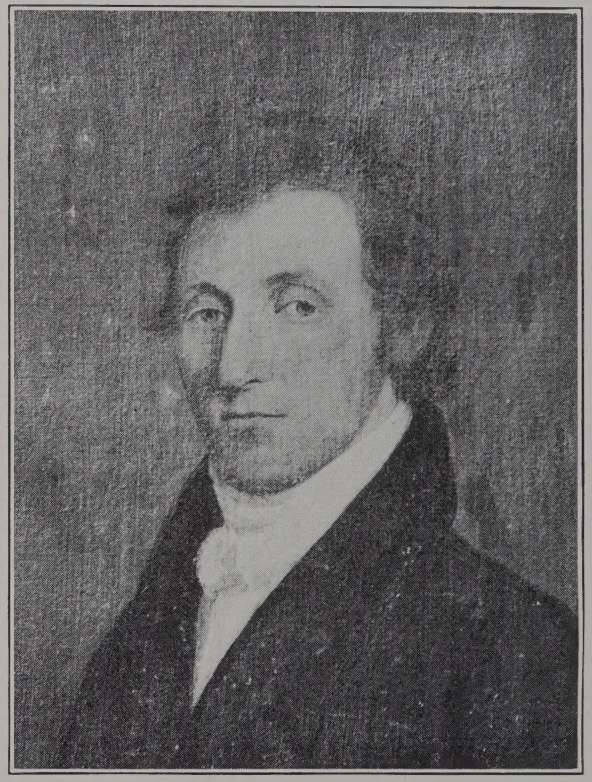
his visit to Milwaukee in 1842, the place had attained a population of 2,000. Mr. Williams died in 1844, up to which time all his affairs in connection with the city he helped to found were in charge of Mr. Kilbourn and I. A. Lapham. Charles H. Williams, son of Micajah T. Williams, came to Milwaukee in 1844, taking charge of his father's estate, and resided here for nine years, serving as a member of the Council and taking an active part in the promotion of street improvements and other public concerns. Two of his sons are respected residents of the city at the present time.

Morgan L. Martin's part in the founding of Milwaukee has been made the subject of a monograph by Edwin S. Mack which embodies the results of painstaking study. It was prepared for and published by the Wisconsin State Historical Society, of which he is a member. Mr. Mack says:

"John Farmer's map of the territories of Michigan and Ouisconsin, published in 1830, showed the 'Milwalky Bay' and 'Milwalky River,' with a notation that a Pottawatomie village and two American families were there, and this gave perhaps the first public information as to the desirability of this site. However, the first person who definitely seized on the idea of making Milwaukee a city, appears to have been Morgan Lewis Martin of Green Bay. Michael Dousman agreed with Martin to share any purchase for a townsite on the Milwaukee River; and Martin came to Milwaukee in July, 1833, to explore the harbor facilities. He then surveyed the outlet of the river and made a map of the vicinity, in which he showed the direction of the river, the location of the swamps, the Pottawatomie village, and the houses of Vieau and the two Juneaus. He evidently very quickly matured his plans for a city, and he made a bargain with Juneau by which they were to share equally in the development of the townsite, Martin in fact representing Dousman as well as himself in this transaction. The date of this agreement is given as October, 1833, and this is strongly corroborated by a very interesting letter discovered at Green Bay by Dr. Thwaites, written by Juneau to Martin on December 1, 1833. * * * In this document Juneau outlines the work he is doing in making improvements on the west side of the river, in addition to those on the east side, with the evident purpose of establishing his right to pre-emption



MORGAN LEWIS MARTIN
Solomon Juneau's partner in the platting of Milwaukee. From a painting by Bradish, of Detroit.



MICAJAH T. WILLIAMS
Prominent Cincinnatian influential in the founding of Milwaukee.

of the entire quarter-section now forming part of the lower Seventh [changed to upper Third], Second and Fourth wards of the city.

"Martin and Juneau acted in full and friendly accord, but Martin was the directing spirit of the enterprise. His projected town must have been steadily in his mind, for we also find among his papers a power of attorney given to him March 2, 1835, under which he is authorized by Sheldon Thompson, D. G. Jones, Charles Townsend and others to purchase lands having an extraordinary value above mere farming land, and evidently having reference to this Milwaukee townsite. * * *

"A letter written by Kilbourn for the first number of the *Milwaukee Advertiser* [July 14, 1836] shows that the first visit to Milwaukee which impressed him was in November, 1834, when he stopped there on his way from Green Bay. In this letter he states that the land was being surveyed, that attention was being attracted to it by reports of surveyors and others, and that immigration commenced that winter [apparently 1834-35]. Kilbourn himself did not settle in Milwaukee until the following year, 1835.

"Even before Kilbourn's visit, settlers had begun to arrive, and a sawmill had been built. In April, 1834, the settlement had become prominent enough to excite comment and a prediction of future immigration from the *Green Bay Intelligencer*. Thus, while it is no doubt true that Micajah T. Williams and with him Byron Kilbourn foresaw the possibilities of a city on the west shore of Lake Michigan, and that Kilbourn subsequently concluded that the mouth of the Milwaukee River would be its site, still we must bear in mind that well before Kilbourn's first thought of the subject, and certainly a year before his conception of Milwaukee as a townsite, settlement had already commenced, Martin had surveyed and mapped the locality, had made a definite bargain with Juneau with a view of establishing the townsite, and had directed Juneau's work of perfecting his title by pre-emption.

"In the work of opening the city for settlement, however, Kilbourn undoubtedly soon overtook Juneau and Martin. But Kilbourn was only one of many settlers who came to Milwaukee beginning with the years 1834 and 1835. George H. Walker came in 1834, and exploited the South Side as energetically if not as speedily as Kilbourn did the West. Further, Kilbourn was not

alone in his ventures, and his first West Side plat is signed by a number of fellow owners, including Solomon Juneau himself."

To this summing-up, Mr. Mack adds:

"The dates of the first surveys are necessarily hazy. The first recorded plat of the East Side covered thirty blocks. It is signed by B. H. Edgerton as surveyor, under date of August 20, 1835, and was recorded September 8 following. However, the plat must have been in use before this, because earlier in the month sales of lots by reference to the plat were made. Further, there is credible information that the four blocks between East Water Street and the river, extending from Huron to Oneida Streets (blocks 1, 2, 3 and 4, in the Third and [old] Seventh Wards), were really surveyed by Edgerton from an original survey made in 1834 by William S. Trowbridge. Trowbridge's survey was thus fully a year prior to any possible survey under Kilbourn's direction, and may have been made even before Kilbourn's first visit to Milwaukee. The plat extended from the river to Van Buren Street, and from Oneida Street south to the present Buffalo [then Lake] Street. In the records it is entitled 'Milwaukee East Side River;' but the proprietors' certificate merely recites that it is the 'Plat of the Village of Milwaukee in the Territory of Michigan.'

"The first plat of the West Side was made by Byron Kilbourn, Archibald Clybourn, John M. McCarty, Albert Fowler and Solomon Juneau, being dated October 8, 1835, and recorded the following day. The entry of the plat in the volume of recorded deeds is entitled a plat of the town of Milwaukee; but in the recorded plats it appears under the heading of 'A Plat of the Town of Milwaukee on the West Side of the River,' and the proprietors' certificate recites that it is a 'plat for a town situated and known as the "town of Milwaukee" situate on the W. side of Milw. River in the Co. of Mil. and Ter. of Mich.' The date of the survey for this map does not appear, but the record shows that the survey was made by Garret Vliet, which is corroborated by the manuscript biography of Garret Vliet, written by his son, and now in the State Historical Library. It appears from this biography that Vliet met Kilbourn at Green Bay and there received from him the direction to make this survey. On July 4, 1835, Vliet was at Fond du Lac on his way south from Green Bay, so that

the survey must have been made at some time subsequent to that date. In a letter written by Daniel Wells, Jr., August 30, 1835, we find a statement showing that the West Side was then platted; and it is quite probable that Vliet's survey may have been in progress before Edgerton's survey was completed. However, the inference from the dates of deeds, as well as the dates of recording, goes to corroborate the evidence that the East Side survey was the earlier.

"Although Juneau joined in the plat of the West Side, nevertheless the direction and location of the streets on the East Side, and the phraseology used in the certificates to the plats, go to show that separate towns were planned on the east and west sides of the river. The East Side plat uses the term 'Village of Milwaukee;' the West Side plat designates the 'Town of Milwaukee situate on the west side of Milwaukee River'—each mapping a townsite complete in itself."

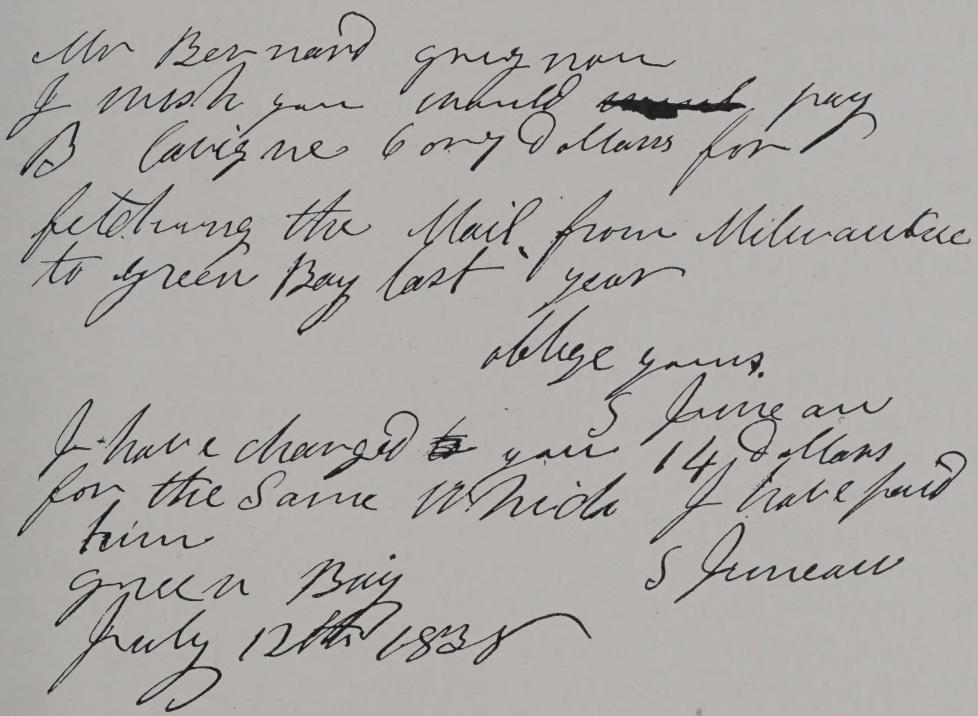
The letter from Solomon Juneau to Morgan L. Martin, written at Chicago, December 1, 1833, which is referred to by Mr. Mack, was received by Mr. Martin while he was at Detroit in attendance at the Legislative Council. The pertinent portion is as follows:

"I have received your letter dated the 1st November last, to which I have the honor to reply. Though rather late from that period, you must be aware that I am residing some distance from Chicago. I am about, as you know, eighty miles from Chicago, but being here now on business, I am handing you this letter.

"From what you had spoken in your letter concerning the lots on the other side of the River Milwawkey, I have by other hands through your orders inclosed a certain piece or tract of land, and planted thereon some posts. This is what I could do for the present year.

"You must be aware that being busy about the interests of the American Fur Company, I am not able to do as much as I would wish for my present concern. Notwithstanding these daily occupations, I have not neglected to do what was necessary in order to substantiate my rights on the said premises.

"I arrived very late at Milwawkey. I was detained more than three weeks at Chicago after the conclusion of the Treaty by the non-arrival of the Packet to carry my goods.


Mr Bernard gives you
I wish you would pay
B Cadigne 6 or 7 Dollars for
[illegible] the Mail from Milwaukee
to Green Bay last year
obliged yours.
S Juneau
I have charged to you 14 Dollars
for the Same which I have paid
him
Green Bay S Juneau
July 12th 1838

COPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY SOLOMON JUNEAU IN 1838

"You may safely rely that in regard to this important place on the other side of the River Milwawkey, that this winter I shall have logs drawn up on the spot, and early next spring I will build a handsome little building as a dwelling house. This improvement will substantiate more for the right claims.

"I would let you know that Cleaveland is at my place of residence, Milwawkey, that he intends and hopes by the promises of Governor Porter to get a section of land on that very spot. But you know that in the Treaty there was no reservation made on that subject.

"Wherefore you may rest assured that no person would ever impose on me by such talks on this concern. I have already inclosed the best parts of lands on my side, and I intend to make more inclosures."

Equally interesting with this letter of Juneau's to his associate in the planning of Milwaukee is an epistolary communication from Byron Kilbourn to the Cincinnatian who was concerned with him in the town-development project that hastened improvements on the side of the river farthest from the lake. Looking over family relics a few years ago, Samuel M. Williams found among correspondence which his grandfather had preserved a letter dated "Milwaukee, February 27, 1837," from Byron Kilbourn to Micajah T. Williams. Regarding it as "interesting and historical," he made a copy of it for the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, from which it is reproduced:

"Mr. Clybourn [Archibald Clybourn of Chicago] was here some ten or twelve days since and I obtained a full settlement with him—having sold out his remaining interest here. I was enabled to square off accounts with him, nearly; he still remaining in my debt only about $200. I have now made out a statement of receipts and expenditures up to December 31, 1836, which shows a balance due you of $9,875.70. I have nearly this sum in hand, and propose to use it for the present in payment for work now progressing, but to be refunded out of future receipts. The business being now in my own hands entirely, I shall be able at any time to make out a statement and dividend without delay—and shall do so 1st July next, and sooner if desired. My proportion of receipts has been entirely consumed and a little more, in building, etc., in addition to my part of road and street expendi-

tures. My buildings alone have cost rising $13,000, having been done under the most disadvantageous circumstances. In Ohio the same work could have been done for less than $5,000. But it was important in the highest degree that the proprietors should do something in the way of improvement and business, by way of giving an impulse, and to counter-balance in some degree the efforts on the other side made by the proprietors there. Douceman [Dousman] is a man of wealth, and has expended as much or more than Juneau, having built a warehouse, store and one or two dwelling houses. Martin has built two very respectable houses, and several other original owners of minor interest have contributed considerably in actual improvements. This action on their part, together with a year the start of us, has given them an apparent advantage thus far, and it is necessary that we should take a similar course to turn the tide in our favor. That we can do so is obvious, and that the means will be tried, I hope is also certain. The effect produced by taking the lead in improvements may be seen by that around my residence. Although so far up the river, there is now a very respectable village around me, a very large part of which I have good reason to believe would not be here but for the commencement made by me. From block 50 [where the Second Ward Bank was erected later] to Spring Street [Wisconsin Avenue], it is now pretty well improved; but between my house [near the corner of Third and Chestnut streets] and block 50 it is still vacant, and requires filling up to give a connected appearance to the town. Your lots are situated about the middle of this space, which, if improved with one or two good buildings, would mend the appearance of the town, give tone to improvements in that quarter and enhance the value of other surrounding property more than the cost of the buildings—and the buildings would rent for a fair interest. I will therefore ask whether you would be willing for me to have a good building erected on the corner of block 47, and a warehouse or storehouse on the corner of block 49, or either—and if so to send me a description of the size and value of the buildings you would choose to erect.

"Times begin to brighten with us. Several good sales have recently been made at second hand, and building is commencing with a brisk air. As soon as navigation opens, and lumber can

be received, our mechanics will have full employment; and there will be business for as many more as soon as we can get them. Some time back, lot 1, block 72, was sold for $5,500; lot 1, block 59, $5,000; lot 2, block 59, $4,500, and about a week since lot 3, block 59, at $5,000, $1,000 in hand, the remainder in six, twelve and eighteen months. Should the times mend a little, we may hope for some good operations during the coming season.

"I have been, and am now, laboring with all diligence in the matter of roads to secure their proper locations, and by next fall, if you will make us a visit, I feel sanguine in demonstrating to you that the business of Milwaukee is to be done on the West Side. My bridge over the Menomonee marsh will give Walker's Point a cooler, as all agree who look at its bearing on the business of the place—and as to a bridge over the river [the Milwaukee River, at Chestnut Street] I consider it out of the question; but if they should succeed, contrary to all expectations, in erecting it, I will take good care that they shall have no use of it—for we can construct a couple of small steamboats for harbor use, and pass them through the bridge so frequently that it can never be closed. It will cost us less to do this than it will them to build the bridge, and the bridge will be of less use to them than a ferry. It wants a strong pull, etc., and the story is told.

"I have purchased and paid on joint account for 5 [acres?] in Sec. 5, Town 7, R. 22 for $1,000, which makes our mill tract and privilege there complete.

"I hope you will make some improvements here, as I believe it would be money well expended, even if no return should ever be had from it direct. Very respectfully, Byron Kilbourn.

"I received a letter a few days since from Messrs. Dwelle and Warren giving notice that my plats were completed and ready to be sent off by first opportunity if so directed by you or me. If Mr. Vliet is coming out soon it would be well to send them by him; but if he is not *certain* of starting soon, I will ask of you the favor to write to A. Buttles, Esq., of Columbus, and ascertain whether he will come out early, and if so request him to fetch them. I presume they could be sent to him by the stage or by some passenger. I hope they will arrive, as I am daily in want of them, and have been greatly disappointed not receiving those

sent by Vliet, which with him performed the tour of the Northwest, and then, I suppose, returned to Cincinnati.

"If you see Mr. Vliet, just mention to him that claim-jumping is the order of the day, and that in all probability before he arrives here his claims at Menomonee Falls will be occupied by families. Several persons have been talking of this, and I think unless he is here early and secures them by *occupation*, he will lose them. Jackknife and non-resident claims are getting much out of fashion. B. K."

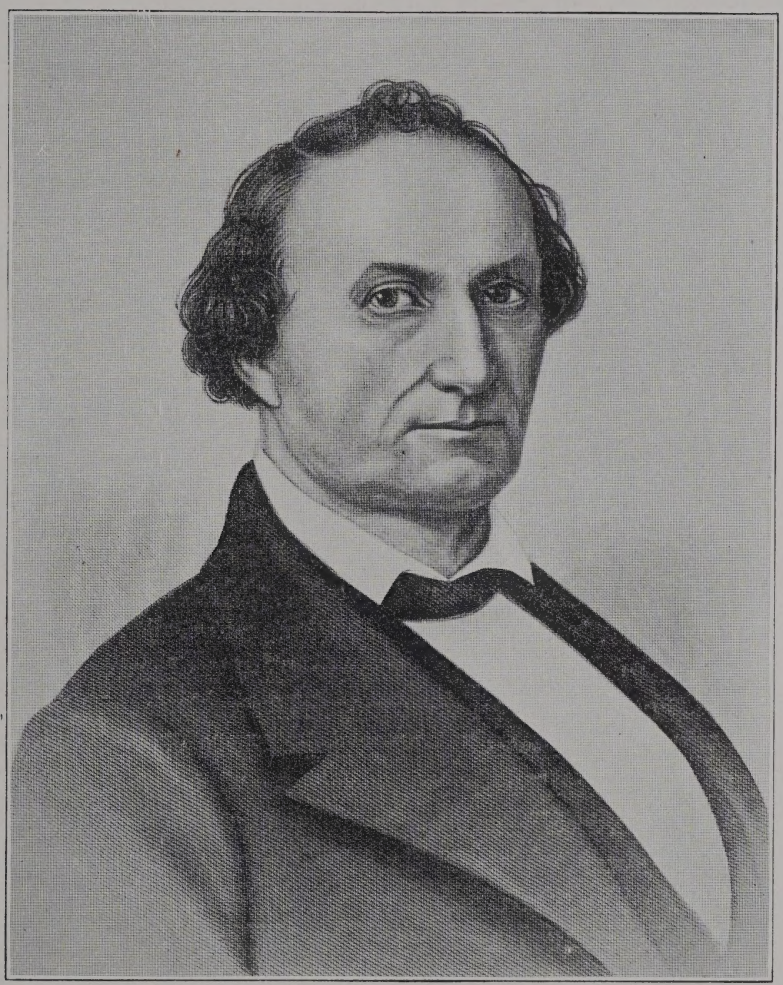
Many an early resident of Milwaukee long since departed from the earthly scene would have been edified by the perusal of the passage in Mr. Kilbourn's letter that deals with the problem of bridges.

"Solomon Juneau, a Biography, with Sketches of the Juneau Family," by Isabella Fox, a granddaughter of Mr. Juneau, was published in 1916, supplying interesting information of which earlier biographers had been unaware. His parents, known to their Canadian neighbors as Francois and Therese Juneau, were refugees of the French Revolution, who migrated in 1789, disusing their family name—La Tulipe—and establishing a quiet and humble home in the tiny village of L'Assumption, on the St. Lawrence River, near Montreal. Solomon Laurent Juneau, second son of this exemplary couple, was born on the 9th of August, 1793, and grew up in his native place, coming West at the age of 23 to seek his fortune.

Assuming that, like many other French Canadians who found their way to Wisconsin, he had passed all his early days on the river and in the woods, people who came into contact with Juneau while he was at the height of his career used to marvel not only at the breadth of his intelligence but also at the polish and elegance of his manners. Miss Fox's sketch supplies the explanation: "The statement frequently made that Mr. Juneau made two trips to the Northwest is an error. He made but one trip, in 1816, then remaining permanently. He attended the village school at L'Assumption, later entering a Catholic college, where he completed his education. He was well educated in French, and was in this country but a short time before he mastered the English language, which he spoke fluently. He was well versed in many Indian dialects."

It was at Mackinac, in September, 1816, that the young man made the acquaintance of Jacques Vieau, into whose employ he entered as a clerk, and with whom he came to Milwaukee in 1818, two years later marrying Vieau's daughter Josette, and thereafter carrying on as agent of the American Fur Company, in which capacity he continued to function till the removal of the Indians from Milwaukee in 1838. Mr. and Mrs. Juneau resided continuously in Milwaukee for thirty-two years, removing in 1852 to Theresa, on the banks of the Rock River, where in the early 'thirties Mr. Juneau had established a little trading post that subsequently became a prosperous village. Of seventeen children born to the Juneaus, three perished in youth. Mrs. Juneau, to the profound grief of her faithful consort, died in 1855.

Mrs. Solomon Juneau was born at Fort Howard, April 16, 1803. One of her maternal grandfathers was Ah-ka-ne-po-way, a chief of the Menomonees. Miss Fox says: "There has always been much doubt in the minds of descendants of Mr. and Mrs. Solomon Juneau as to what tribe of Indians Mrs. Juneau belonged. The following taken from the enrollment list in the Menomonee Reservation, Keshena, near Shawano, Wisconsin, will prove conclusively that Mrs. Juneau was of the Menomonee tribe: In 1849, when the mixed bloods were given money by the United States government, Solomon Juneau drew money for his wife and family. Following are those for whom he drew money: Solomon Juneau, for wife, Josette; Narcisse, son of Josette; Paul, son of Josette; Theresa, daughter of Josette; Harriet, daughter of Josette; Francis, son of Josette; Charlotte, daughter of Josette; minor children of Josette—three boys and three girls; Madeline, wife of Narcisse, and three children; Anna Josette Juneau, daughter of Paul; Solomon Juneau White, son of Theresa." Miss Fox also observes: "As years passed, and the tide of immigration continued to flow into the infant metropolis, the inhabitants numbering thousands where a few years before the country was but a wilderness, Mrs. Juneau longed for the quiet of the country, and persuaded her husband to remove to their summer home at Theresa. There, surrounded by every comfort an indulgent husband could give her, she settled down to enjoy the declining years of her life. After removing to Theresa she became ill and grad-



SOLOMON JUNEAU

From engraving preserved by Old Settlers' Club.

ually failed. Mr. Juneau took her to Milwaukee to consult their family physician, Dr. E. B. Wolcott. It was found her malady was of a more serious nature than was at first supposed. Doctor Wolcott, assisted by Doctor Hewitt and a specialist from Chicago, held a consultation, and it was found necessary to perform an operation, which proved unsuccessful." At the time of her death, which occurred November 19, 1855, Mrs. Juneau was in the fifty-third year of her age.

After his removal to Theresa, Mr. Juneau traded with the Indians, carried on a general merchandise store and operated a sawmill and a grist mill, besides doing business in real estate. Notwithstanding the financial reverses he had sustained at Milwaukee, it is recorded that he closed his life in the possession of a competency. His death, the result of sudden illness, aggravated by inclement weather, occurred at the Indian agency at Keshena, on the 14th of November, 1856, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His remains were interred at that place, but later removed to Milwaukee, receiving the tribute of a public funeral notably impressive in all its details, and now repose in Calvary Cemetery under a monument inscribed as follows, which was erected as a tribute of public respect at the expense of Milwaukee County: "In Memory of Solomon Juneau, Founder of Milwaukee." The inscription also states the date and place of Mr. Juneau's birth. On the reverse side of the monument are the words: "Josette Juneau, Wife of Solomon Juneau, Born at Fort Howard, 1803."

Mr. Juneau was a commanding figure, six feet four inches in height and well proportioned. His hair was brown and curly, his large eyes were grey and his features clear-cut. While of a jovial temperament, and noted for affability, he never lacked dignity. Kind and benevolent, he was the friend and confidant of all, irrespective of race, creed or station—a strong, true man upon the rock of whose integrity it was invariably safe to rely.

As years went by the members of the Juneau family became widely scattered, though several of them continued to be identified with the locality of Milwaukee, and a number of the founder's descendants are respected residents of Wisconsin at the present time. Narcisse, the eldest son, born at Green Bay in 1821, while Mrs. Juneau was on a visit to her parents, was his father's assistant in the fur trade. In 1842 he married Miss Madeline Yott of

MRS. JOSETTE (VIEAU) JUNEAU

Wife of Solomon Juneau.

Green Bay. He made his home in Milwaukee till 1852, when he removed to Theresa. He was register of deeds for Dodge County in the year of his arrival there, and a member of the State Assembly in 1855 and 1858. In 1864 he was adopted into the Citizen's Band of Pottawatomies, and in 1869 he was one of the leaders of a colony to what is now Oklahoma. Later he became a farmer in Kansas.

Paul Juneau was the first of the family to be born in the log house at what is now the intersection of East Water and Wisconsin streets. Coming into the world in 1822, he attended school at Milwaukee and Detroit. He served several terms in the Assembly, representing a district in Dodge County, and was register of deeds of that county when accidentally killed in 1858 by a boy engaged in target practice. His wife was Cylinda Buttles of Milwaukee, their marriage occurring in 1848. The eldest of their seven children becoming the wife of James McGee in 1872. Fruits of this marriage were four children, one of these being Charles A. A. McGee, who in 1909 was district attorney of Milwaukee County, later removing to California, where he now resides. Charles A. A. McGee married Miss Theline Mann, of Milwaukee, who died after becoming the mother of a daughter, Juneau Theline McGee, who as a little girl took part in the ceremonies in front of her great-great grandfather's monument at Juneau Park on the occasion of the public commemoration of the centenary of Solomon Juneau's arrival in Milwaukee. Some time after the death of his first wife Mr. McGee married Miss Anna Meyer. They are the parents of another great-great grandchild of Juneau, Anna Helene McGee. The second daughter of Paul Juneau, Bertha, became the wife of Robert Strong Dousman, a son of Dr. John Dousman. They went to Philadelphia to reside. Marion Juneau, third daughter of Paul Juneau, married Henry Rousseau King of this city, who died in September, 1930. Their children are Harry Juneau King of Chicago, Hellen Juneau King (Mrs. William Ott) of Milwaukee, and Paul Juneau King.

Theresa Juneau, the eldest daughter of Solomon Juneau, was born at Milwaukee while her parents were living in the log house on East Water and Wisconsin streets, in 1825. She was educated at Green Bay and Detroit. In 1847 she married Henry Kirke

White, a well-known lawyer of his day, the ceremony occurring at the Juneau home on the corner of East Juneau Avenue and Milwaukee Street. In the Civil War Mr. White was quartermaster of Company A, Nineteenth Volunteer Infantry. She survived his death by many years, passing away at the home of her daughter, Mrs. W. P. Cosgrave, in this city, April 26, 1887.

Harriet Juneau, born at Milwaukee, April 26, 1829, attended school here and at Detroit. She was an accomplished musician and sang in the choir of St. John's Cathedral. Her marriage to Frank Fox took place at Theresa in 1856. For many years Mr. Fox was in the employ of the American Express Company and afterward was agent of the Western Union Railroad at Shannon, Illinois. Of their nine children the one best known in Milwaukee is Miss Isabella Fox, who for many years has resided at Kaukauna. She has written interestingly on Wisconsin history, the most notable of her contributions being the volume containing the biographies of members of the Juneau family.

The fourth daughter of Solomon Juneau, Charlotte, partook in disposition of the quietness of her mother. She obtained her schooling in Milwaukee and Detroit, and for a time was a pupil of Colonel George W. Featherstonhaugh when he conducted a school in French and painting. For two years she taught school at Theresa. She spoke French, German and English, and was familiar with more than one Indian dialect. In 1860 she became the wife of Charles J. Walthers, who served with honor in the Union Army during the Civil war and died at the Soldiers' Home in Milwaukee in 1912. The son of this marriage was Louis Juneau Walthers of Milwaukee, an accomplished linguist.

Margaret Juneau, born in 1833, fifth daughter of the pioneer, became the wife of George H. Walthers, who before coming to the United States had been a lieutenant in the Hessian army. He went into the Union Army with the rank of captain in the Civil war and rose to the colonelcy of the Thirty-fifth Wisconsin. Colonel Walthers was for years a resident of this city, holding several public offices at different times and being elected to the Assembly. His last public service was performed as justice of the peace for the First, Seventh and Eighteenth Wards. Colonel Walthers died in 1895, Mrs. Walthers died in 1861.

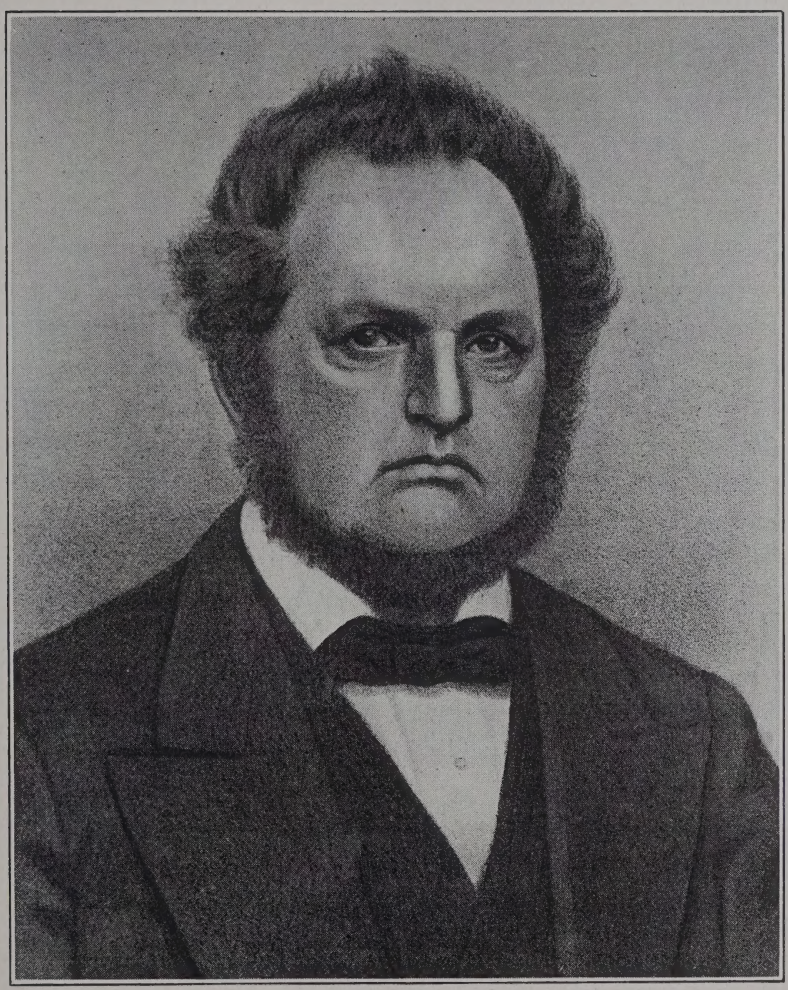
Ellen Frances Juneau, born in 1839, in the homestead at

Division and Milwaukee streets, was educated at St. Joseph's Academy, Emmetsburg, Maryland, becoming an accomplished singer. At about the time of her father's death she was offered an attractive salary to sing in the Cathedral at New York, but for family reasons preferred to remain in Wisconsin. She taught school and gave music lessons at Theresa till her marriage in 1860 to Charles F. Wolters. Mr. and Mrs. Wolters became the parents of ten children. The death of Mr. Wolters occurred at Beloit in 1914.

Marie Juneau, born at Milwaukee, March 29, 1841, was educated here and in a private school at Theresa, to which place she removed with her parents in 1852. In 1863 she married Jean Pierre Husting, a native of Luxemburg. Of their eight children the most noted was Paul O. Husting, who was United States senator from Wisconsin at the time of the World war, and whose lamented death as the result of a hunting accident was a reminder of the fate that cut short the career of his uncle Paul, in remembrance of whom he was christened. An interesting incident of the visit of President and Mrs. Wilson to Milwaukee at the end of January, 1916, was the meeting between the mother of Senator Husting and the wife of the President, both of them descendants of early red inhabitants of America who had married white husbands.

Juneau being an unusual name, it is a thing of frequent occurrence for people interested in the biography of the outstanding pioneer of Milwaukee to express curiosity regarding the circumstances under which that designation came to be bestowed upon a city in the far-off Territory of Alaska. Juneau, Alaska, was named for Hercules Juneau of Dodge City, Kansas, a nephew of Solomon Juneau. Hercules Juneau was prominent in securing the enforcement of law in the Territory of Alaska. Later he was in the lumber and hardware business at Dodge City.

Next to Solomon Juneau in the category of Milwaukee's resident proprietors it is customary to place the name of Byron Kilbourn. Mr. Kilbourn was born at Granby, Connecticut, on the 8th of September, 1801. His father was Col. James Kilbourn, and his mother the daughter of John Fitch, who is remembered in connection with the invention of the steamboat. In 1803 the family removed to the later site of Worthington, Ohio, where



BYRON KILBOURN

Colonel Kilbourn, as head of the Sciota Company of colonists, achieved distinction indicated by his election to Congress, and became interested in the manufacture of woolens, prospering until a change in the tariff caused the failure of that industry throughout the country and reduced him to bankruptcy. This occurred when the younger Kilbourn was seventeen years of age. In the meantime he had been reared amid easy circumstances compared with the generality of youths of his time in the country west of the Alleghanies. Attending good schools till he was thirteen, he had then become a clerk in his father's store. While selling groceries and dry goods, he devoted his leisure to the study of mathematics and the reading of history and law, besides giving attention to music, for which he possessed a natural fondness. But for his father's opposition he would have become a lawyer. For merchandizing he conceived a disinclination, and when thrown upon his own resources he took up surveying and engineering. During his early manhood he was active in work on Ohio canals and served as resident engineer in the construction and superintendence of the Miami Canal from Dayton to Cincinnati. It was in 1833 that he received from Surveyor General Williams the commission as surveyor of public lands which brought him to Wisconsin in the month of May, 1834.

Making government surveys, he became familiar with all the region between Green Bay and Chicago, basing on intimate knowledge the opinion that the locality near the mouth of the Milwaukee was favored beyond others for the concentration of business and offered the most eligible site for the commercial metropolis of the region that is now Wisconsin. For the greater part of four years, from 1834 to 1837, he was a traveler on horseback, sometimes with a companion, sometimes alone, where Indian trails were the only highways and his guide was the sun or his pocket compass. He carried blankets and provisions, and in winter feed for his horse. Sometimes he found entertainment in the wigwams of the Indians, but oftener was accustomed to make his camp in the forest wherever he happened to be overtaken by nightfall. Among his pleasantest experiences was that of hospitable entertainment at the wildwood home of Solomon Juneau. Rivals in business as time went on, Juneau and Kilbourn always met as friends. They were together at the land

THE KILBOURN RESIDENCE

Built in 1855, it stood at the northwest corner of Wisconsin Avenue and Fourth Street, and when this view was taken had been remodeled for business.

sale in Green Bay in 1835, when they secured title to their respective domains, destined to become the East Side and the West Side of Milwaukee.

Having in mind at the beginning the idea of improving communication between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, it was natural that Mr. Kilbourn's main concern should be the acquisition of land on the west side of the river, commanding the spot for the opening of the projected canal. Compelled eventually to abandon the canal project, he found consolation in the fact that incidentally it had supplied a water-power stimulating the establishment of manufactures in Milwaukee. For the improvement of transportation, railroads would be superior to canals, and now he concentrated his energies upon railroads. He was the first president of the first railroad out of the city—the Milwaukee & Mississippi. He conceived and championed the plans which resulted in the construction of the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad, being elected to the presidency of that corporation and carrying out his own ideas as long as he retained control. The panic of 1857 swept across the country like a tornado, leaving wreckage on every side. Gathering up the fragments of Wisconsin railroad corporations and reorganizing them on a remunerative basis was the work of other hands; but it was the building of the railroads which had insured Milwaukee's future. Byron Kilbourn's indomitable energy in the promotion of early railroad-building is remembered as an outstanding factor in the making of Milwaukee.

Mr. Kilbourn was not possessed of wealth when he came to Wisconsin. While engaged in his struggles as proprietor of one of the town-plats from which the future metropolis was to develop he was "land poor;" but he formulated clear ideas, clung to them tenaciously, and usually succeeded in impressing others with the validity of his plans, securing little by little the means for their realization. Grimly, indomitably, he persevered, until what had been chiefly a swamp at the time of his arrival was transformed into busy streets, lined with sightly and costly buildings, in the business center of a populous and thriving city.

Afflicted with rheumatism, Mr. Kilbourn departed in 1868 for a tour of the South, in the hope that a warmer climate would

afford him relief. He located at Jacksonville, Florida, where he died of an apoplectic stroke on the 16th of December, 1870.

The night of November 12 and the early morning of November 13, 1833, are remembered in astronomical annals for a remarkable shower of meteors witnessed in all parts of the United States. Observers said that they filled the air like snowflakes—the earth seemed to be undergoing bombardment from the sky. As might be supposed, the phenomenon occasioned excitement, especially on the part of people ignorant of its nature and inclined to superstitious dread. Among the colored population of the South it was regarded as a certain indication of the approaching end of the world. It greatly impressed the Indians, who occupied nearly all the area now included in the State of Wisconsin. At Fort Winnebago, at Prairie du Chien, and at other places where whites resided in contiguity to large numbers of aborigines, it was observed that the red men were almost frantic with terror, some of them perishing from sheer fright.

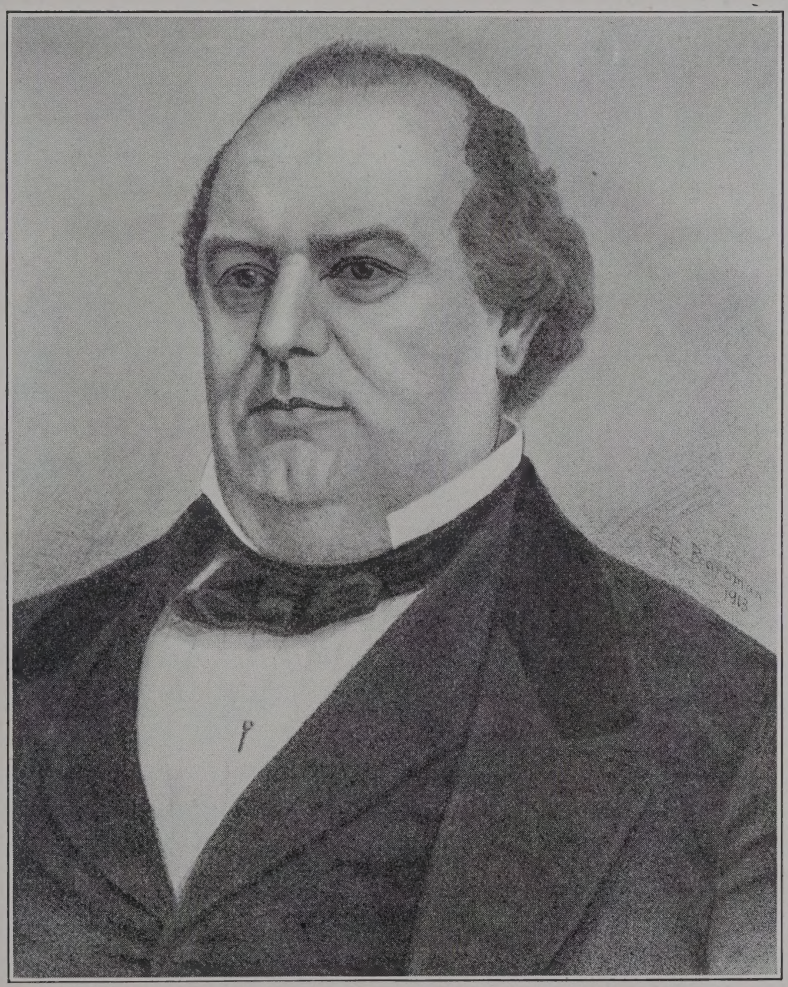
On that night Col. George H. Walker, destined to renown as one of the founders of Milwaukee, was asleep in a rude cabin at a place then known as Skunk Grove, on the Root River, in Racine County. Soon after the shower of blazing stars began to descend, the Colonel was aroused by the terrified yells of a band of Indians twenty or more of whom burst into his shelter. Supposing himself attacked, he sprang for his gun, but the leader of the intruders called upon him not to fire, as they had no hostile intention. When asked what was wanted, the Indians replied: "The good spirits are having a fight. We have come for powder and bullets to frighten away their enemies." With this explanation, they broke open his stores, seized a keg of powder, and darted off, their departure being followed shortly by a fusillade outside. When the Colonel went forth into the night he found the landscape lighted by meteors and the Indians firing his ammunition at the heavens, pointing their guns in the direction where they supposed the enemies of the good spirits were marshaled in battle array.

Colonel Walker's presence at Skunk Grove on this exciting occasion was due to the difficulty of travel at that time in the region west of Lake Michigan. He had set out from Chicago for Milwaukee in October, but had lost his way, and, being encumbered with stores, had built a shelter in which to spend the winter

prior to pressing on to his destination in the spring. This plan he carried into effect, reaching the future metropolis of Wisconsin on the 20th of March, 1834.

Similar to the position occupied by Juneau on the East Side and Kilbourn on the west side, was that of Walker on the South side of the settlement which grew to be Milwaukee—a central figure, respected and esteemed, whose counsel was sought and whose advice was followed in many a personal and private emergency as well as in matters affecting political and public concerns. Less fortunate than Juneau and Kilbourn, Colonel Walker found himself disputed at the land sale by holders of "floats," and unable for many years to give unclouded title to lots in the quarter-section on which he had settled in 1834. Eventually, however, the would-be "claim-jumpers" who had annoyed him were defeated, to the great relief of the Colonel and the benefit of South Siders and of Milwaukeeans in general, for while uncertainty as to ownership continued it embarrassed and retarded the development of the region south of the river. The removal of the incubus was promptly followed by the conjunction of Milwaukee's three geographical divisions under the aegis of a municipal government, greatly redounding to the advantage of the community as a whole, and hastening the forward march of Milwaukee.

In 1845, a government Land Office having been established at Milwaukee, Colonel Walker was appointed Register, which position he held with credit, serving till 1849. In 1847 he was elected to membership in the Territorial Assembly, that body choosing him for the speakership. Twice—1850-1 and 1852-3—he was elected mayor of Milwaukee. Largely owing to Colonel Walker's personal popularity and influence, his brother Isaac P. Walker was one of the first two men from Wisconsin—Governor Dodge being the other—chosen to sit in the Senate of the United States. A Virginian by birth—he was born at Lynchburg in that State, October 22, 1811,—Colonel Walker had come West with his father at the age of fourteen, four years later entering upon the independent career of a trader in the course of which he had identified himself with the interests of Milwaukee. Heart and soul he was in sympathy with the spirit of the West, and when the South seceded he betrayed no hesitancy in allying himself with



GEORGE H. WALKER

the loyal supporters of the Union. With friends like Judge MacArthur, Judge Hubbell and Matt H. Carpenter, Democrats, as he was himself till the crisis of the war, he devoted all his political influence from the time of the firing on Sumter to the upholding of the government at Washington. Public-spirited, patriotic devotion characterized the last act of his life—his visit to Washington in the interest of the location near this city of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers. He had been in feeble health and the exertion consequent upon the journey resulted in a breakdown from which he was too weak to rally, his death occurring at his residence on the 20th of September, 1866.

Favoring whatever would promote the general interest, Colonel Walker was from the first an active mover for the building of railways. He was one of the stockholders in the Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien Railroad, a member of its board of directors, and for a time its president. For several years previous to his demise he lived on the East Side. It was on that side of the river that he built the first street railway in Milwaukee. Beloved for his social qualities, respected and esteemed for his ability, his energy and his broad generosity, Col. George H. Walker was one of the most popular men in Wisconsin, a worthy compeer of his associates in the trinity of Milwaukee's resident founders.

Interested in the beginnings of Milwaukee, and a visitor at intervals for nearly twenty years, Michael Dousman never resided here; yet Milwaukee was the place in which he bid farewell to scenes of earth. The following is from the issue of the *Sentinel* for August 12, 1854: "Michael Dousman, the patriarch of Mackinac, died in this city yesterday afternoon at the advanced age of 83. Mr. Dousman came here some days since on a visit to his children. He was taken sick on Thursday week, and for the first time in his life within his recollection was confined by illness to his bed. It was not supposed that the attack was mortal, but yesterday afternoon he suddenly expired. His disease was an affection of the heart. Mr. Dousman was one of the oldest pioneers of the Northwest. He came to Mackinac in 1791, and had resided there continuously for sixty-three years. By his prudence, industry and sagacity he had acquired a handsome estate. A wife and six children survive him, four of his sons being prominent citizens of this State."

CHAPTER VI

ACQUIRING POSSESSION

GOVERNMENT LAND SALES OF 1835 AND 1839—PRE-EMPTION RIGHTS AND "FLOATS"—SETTLERS' PROTECTIVE ORGANIZATION —HOW THE PIONEERS OF MILWAUKEE LIVED WHILE THEY WERE FITTING THE LOCATION FOR A METROPOLITAN FUTURE.

Morgan L. Martin wrote a letter in 1882 bringing together matters contributory to a clear understanding of the subject of Milwaukee's beginning as a place of white abode. It opened with expression of regret that circumstances kept him away from the Old Settlers' dinner in celebration of Washington's Birthday, and proceeded as follows:

"The whole region west of Lake Michigan, in 1826, the date of my arrival in what was then known as the Territory of Michigan, extending from Lake Erie and Detroit River to the Mississippi, was occupied by native Indian tribes, except the inconsiderable settlements at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. It remained so occupied until by cession their title was extinguished. The laws of the United States regulating trade and intercourse with Indian tribes were extremely stringent, and were rigidly enforced. Contracts with Indians were forbidden, and 'settlement' on Indian lands was made a criminal offense. Traders were licensed by government agents and allowed to sojourn temporarily at designated places only for purposes of trade. The country had never been brought under the exclusive jurisdiction and control of the United States authorities after the horrible massacre at Chicago, until 1816. It was everywhere thronged with British traders, inciting the Indians to continue hostilities after the close of the war, and inducing many of the white inhabitants to believe that the ascendancy of British authority would soon be restored. There were therefore cogent reasons for the adoption of the most stringent measures by our government to exclude British sub-

jects from intercourse with the lately hostile tribes. Strong military posts were kept up at Chicago and Green Bay, jealously guarding every avenue of intercourse with the natives, and none but American citizens could be licensed to remain in the Indian country. The trader, of course, did not venture into the interior without a sufficient number of employes, as clerks and voyageurs, for whose good conduct he was compelled to give bond, and was held responsible that no violation of the law should be committed. It was therefore impossible that traders or their employes could become more than temporary residents at their trading posts. Claiming under permits given for a limited time and for a particular purpose, they could not become 'settlers' in violation of law.

"It is understood and perhaps very generally credited that Jacques Vieau was a trader at Milwaukee in 1818. Solomon Juneau could not have been a principal in the business, because he did not become naturalized as a citizen until after 1828, and must have been Vieau's clerk. Vieau was and had been since 1780 a well-known citizen of Green Bay. In 1821 James Kenzie was trading at or near Milwaukee for the American Fur Company. Matthew Irwin, U. S. factor, wrote to the Department at Washington in that year that Kenzie was ordered out of the country, being detected in selling liquor, and that he had employed Jacques Vieau, an esteemed and responsible citizen of Green Bay, to supply the Indians at Milwaukee with goods, to the amount of $2,200.

"When I first came to Green Bay, in the spring of 1827, Vieau was still a trader, and was supplied with goods by the late Daniel Whitney. Mr. Juneau, if trading for the American Fur Company, as I believe he was, must have taken the place which James Kenzie had been compelled to abandon; both having been traders for the Fur Company. I am informed by some of the older residents that there was a man by the name of Mirandeau in the employ of the old traders at Green Bay. That he or any other of his name could have 'settled' at Milwaukee in violation of law is manifestly impossible.

"On July 9, 1832, the treaty was ratified ceding the country north of the Milwaukee River to the government. Township lines were run the year following, and in 1834 subdivisions were made.

My first advent to Milwaukee was in June, 1833, where I found Juneau's trading house in charge of one of his employes. It was situated at the crossing of Water and Wisconsin streets, and not far distant was a small house occupied by the family of his brother Peter. On the south side of the Menomonee was the trading house of Jacques Vieau, and on the high bluff opposite was an Indian village. This at that date constituted all there was of human habitations in your now magnificent city. Even when I made my visit it is doubtful whether there were any 'settlers' except Indians. Jacques Vieau certainly was not, for his residence was at Green Bay. Solomon Juneau, on my meeting him at Chicago in October, 1833, proposed to sell out his 'possession,' and it was very evident he had not contemplated a permanent occupancy of his place at Milwaukee. In any event, he could not be regarded as a 'settler' until after the treaty was ratified, on July 9, 1832. * * * The public sale [of lands opened to settlement] was advertised, as usual, for several months, in newspapers and posters. All the citizens of Milwaukee attended who felt an interest in the sale, and there must be many now living who were present in 1835 and can testify to the fairness of Mr. Juneau and the merit of his claim. I had an equal interest with him; he acted in all matters with my advice and knowledge."

The pre-emption law of 1830 expired by limitation one year from the date of its passage. In 1834 it was revived, to be continued in force for two years, with the proviso, however, that its benefits should apply only to settlers who had cultivated during 1833. The consequence was that with the exception of purchasers of lands from the proprietors of the two townsites on the east and west sides of the Milwaukee River, all who came to Milwaukee after 1833 and before 1839 were technically in the position of "squatters on public lands," and subject, if they made improvements, to lose them to others purchasing the lands at the sale of the last-named year. A provision of the pre-emption act itself constituted an additional menace to members of the incoming multitude. This permitted two rival claimants for the same quarter-section to divide it equally, each taking half, and each receiving from the Government Land Office, in lieu of the other half, a certificate authorizing him to locate his additional eighty acres elsewhere in the same land district, "not interfering with

other settlers having the right of preference." But this privilege of preference was conceded only to settlers antedating 1834. Claims filed by holders of these certificates were known as "floats," and naturally were greatly dreaded by the newcomers. The "floats" were transferable. Speculators bought them from their original holders for the purpose of using them to secure lands upon which "squatters" had made valuable improvements, or lands which for any other reason seemed especially desirable.

Many were the bidders at the land sale at Green Bay in 1835 who failed in the effort to obtain title to property on which they had settled and made improvements and in the possession of which they had deemed themselves secure. One of these, as has been noted, was Albert Fowler. He had framed a cabin on the West Side, north of Spring Street on West Water Street, and made a claim to the land, which, however, was taken on a "float" by Byron Kilbourn. To compensate Mr. Fowler for his disappointment Mr. Kilbourn, conjointly with Solomon Juneau, gave him a deed to the undivided eighth part of lots 5 and 6 in section 29, this transaction constituting what has been called the first sale on the West Side.

The firm of White & Evans, whose members had arrived in 1834, and erected a building near the present foot of Huron Street, in which they had opened a store, claimed 160 acres south of Wisconsin Street, extending from the river to the lake, but found themselves among the unsuccessful bidders, as also did Samuel Brown, who had made a settlement about where the Sixth Ward School was erected in later years, and purchased a claim to it from a French Canadian residing in Chicago; but the tract went to Mr. Kilbourn, who covered it with a "float." Acting on the advice of Mr. Kilbourn, however, who was sorry to disappoint him, but considered the location needful to the carrying out of his townsite project, Mr. Brown established a settlement on land farther west, to which he succeeded in securing title later. A notable instance of disappointment at the sale of 1835 was that of Col. George H. Walker, who had built a warehouse on the site later occupied by the Ricketson House, southeast corner of South Water and Ferry streets, and made other expensive improvements, and duly filed his claim. Green Bay people who had an eye on the property made trouble for him, and litigation followed

which lasted for many years. It was not until after a special act of Congress put his ownership beyond cavil that in 1849 he obtained the patent for 160 acres which cleared his title from all clouds.

Colonel Walker's brother, Isaac P. Walker, attended the sale and bid off the tract known as "Milwaukee Proper," which had been claimed by Jean Baptiste le Tendre. The future senator sold his purchase to Capt. James Sanderson for $1,000, and subsequently Sanderson sold an undivided half-interest to Alanson Sweet. One of the circumstances complicating settlement on the South Side was that the treaty with the Indians on that side of the river was of later date than that with the Menomonees who ceded the land north of the river to the Government as early as 1831. Except north of the Milwaukee River no occupation except by "floats" could be claimed before 1835.

There was little law in the Wisconsin of the early '30s. Neither was there much crime, the majority of the people being well-disposed. The hardy pioneers had transferred themselves to a distance from the seat of central power, and conceived a necessity for taking the regulation of their affairs into their own hands, pending the setting up of formal government in a new land. Tentative expedients adopted extemporaneously under pressure of instant need, which in some of their aspects might seem crude and drastic in old established communities, proved efficient under the conditions amid which they arose, and as soon as practicable were superseded by formal legislation.

Racine was a part of Milwaukee County until December 7, 1836. It was to defend themselves against injustice and despoilment that "squatters" effected at Racine in 1836 a voluntary organization called the Milwaukee Claimants' Union, adopting a constitution which seemed right in their eyes and to whose provisions they pledged allegiance. The chairman of the meeting at which this action was taken was Gilbert Knapp, of Racine. Alanson Sweet, Benoni W. Finch, Albert Fowler, Horace Chase and Henry C. West were in attendance as delegates from Milwaukee. A copy of the Constitution of the Milwaukee Claimants' Union is preserved in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The subsequent organization known as the "Judiciary Committee," whose headquarters were in Milwaukee, and whose

jurisdiction was co-extensive with the county as bounded in 1837, had a purpose identical with that of the Claimants' Union, the announced reason for its establishment being doubt in the minds of those who formed it that the Constitution of the Claimants' Union was drawn with sufficient clearness and explicitness to guarantee in every instance all the equities of the actual settlers whom it was the purpose of both organizations to protect.

At their first meeting, held in Milwaukee, on the 13th of March, 1837, the settlers adopted a code of rules suggested by I. A. Lapham, under which the county was to be divided into precincts, each with its precinct club, and with a precinct committee to whom all disputes were to be referred, and from whose decisions persons considering themselves aggrieved thereby were accorded the privilege of appeal to a central body, this being the County Judiciary Committee, consisting of fifteen members. The men chosen to constitute the County Judiciary Committee were A. A. Bird, Dr. Enoch Chase, Solomon Juneau, N. F. Hyer, Samuel Brown, Albert Fowler, D. H. Richards, A. O. T. Breed, Samuel Hinman, W. R. Longstreet, H. M. Hubbard, James Sanderson, C. H. Peak, Daniel Wells, Jr., and Byron Kilbourn.

All contingencies which could be foreseen appear to have received consideration in advance. The rules provided that a man could hold a claim to a quarter-section by building a cabin and cultivating three acres of ground, and that he could hold a claim to a half-section by cultivating ten acres. Each settler was to register his claim with an officer of the organization and pay a fee, the latter being only trifling in amount. In defense of the rights of one another, in instances where there had been conformity with the rules, the members pledged themselves to stand together as one man.

At a meeting at the courthouse in Milwaukee, held on Saturday, November 10, 1838, further precautions were agreed upon for the protection of settlers' rights. Of this meeting Asa F. Kinney of Lake Township was chairman and C. Walworth secretary. Delegates from other counties present in the assemblage were invited to participate in its proceedings. It was prescribed that every man desiring the benefit of the organization's rules should register his claim before 12 o'clock of a certain day, and that the settlers in each precinct should select one person as their

agent. Furnished with a list of all the registered claims in his precinct, the agent was to bid off all such claims in the names of the respective claimants. This was to prevent confusion, which otherwise, it was believed, might be promoted by outside speculators to their own advantage and the disadvantage of honest men. Resolutions drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose were adopted by the meeting. From two which were as follows the practical character of all of them may be inferred:

"Resolved, That the settlers will be present to aid and assist in carrying fully into execution the foregoing resolutions, at the land sales, and no person shall be permitted to bid on any lands save the agents aforesaid.

"Resolved, That it is the duty of those who reside upon the land reserved from coming into market, to stand by and protect settlers on that tract now to be sold; and those who may now obtain theirs will continue their protection to others, until all the land claimed in this county shall have been offered for sale."

John F. Potter, afterward a county judge and a member of Congress from the district embracing Milwaukee, had settled upon a tract in Walworth County, and was present at the meeting. For the purpose of putting on record the temper of the settlers in words that would be a warning to the class of people against whose machinations they had organized for defense, as well as to indicate that underlying all the proceedings of the meeting was a deep-seated respect for justice and law and order, Mr. Potter offered the following supplementary resolution, and it was adopted:

"Resolved, That in meeting together this day, it is not our wish or intention to violate the laws of the country, or to bring them into contempt; nor to set at defiance the officers of the government; but to oppose and prevent from being carried into execution the intention of the heartless speculator who would appropriate to himself the improvement of a settler; who would speculate on the toil and industry of others, and filch from the mouth of the poor man his hard-earned bread."

The sale began on the 16th of February, 1839, and closed on the 16th of March. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* of February 17, 1839, reported: "The sale of public lands commenced yesterday, and over $50,000 of lands were disposed of, all going to actual

settlers." A correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, who was on the spot, described the proceedings as peaceable and orderly, adding by way of comment, that "this was an unlooked for feature." Supplementing this summary with more detailed description of what actually occurred, he observed: "We learn, however, that one man had the temerity to bid against a settler, for which he was instantly seized and hustled off to the river, with the avowed purpose of throwing him in, but upon his begging piteously he was suffered to depart. One example seemed to suffice to satisfy all that the settlers' proposal to stand by each other in enforcing their rules was not idle talk." The *Tribune* correspondent declared that "it was the largest sale of land ever made in the United States."

I. A. Lapham, who not only had drafted the rules of the settlers' voluntary organization, but who also had been made incumbent of what he called "the very profitable office of register of claims—plenty of business and no pay"—wrote as follows to his brother in Cincinnati, under date of March 17, 1839:

"I should have written you before but I have been so busy for the last month that I scarcely had time to eat or sleep. The largest land sale ever made has just closed—the receiver has been busy counting money night and day for the last four weeks! Nearly $600,000 received! About all the land in the county has been bought from the government at not more than $1.25 per acre. Actual settlers have obtained their farms, and very little of the land was bought by speculators. I had to go to Chicago twice, riding day and night, to procure 'Land office money' for 'Eastern funds,' which are not received at the land office. On one of these occasions, a dark stormy night, the driver lost his way on the prairie, and we had to remain in the coach until morning, when we found all the water on the prairie was solid ice! The coach could not be moved till we got an axe from a farm a mile away and chopped the ice! The poor driver froze his feet, fingers and ears, but I got home alive, and all the nine passengers escaped unharmed."

At the meeting of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee held on the Fourth of July, 1870, Judge Andrew Galbraith Miller read a joint production of himself, D. A. J. Upham and W. A. Prentiss, acting as a committee of the club, entitled "A Paper on the Judi-

cial and Legal Condition of the Territory of Wisconsin At and After Its Organization," from which is taken the following:

"The Territorial Revised Statutes superseded, in a great measure, the claim laws of the early settlers and the miners' rules in the mineral country. Squatters' rights were superseded by a code of laws adequate to the protection of the interests of an enterprising and rapidly growing population. Before lands were brought into the market by the President's proclamation, the settlers had adopted a system for their mutual protection. The settler who first entered on a quarter-section of land, or any fraction of a section, was protected in his possession against jumpers of his claim. By the settlers' code the jumper was summoned before their committee, who summarily disposed of the case. If the complainant was found to be an actual settler, and entitled to his claim, the jumper had to surrender without delay. There was no resisting the judgment of the committee, for the whole town formed a posse to enforce the execution. This was under the circumstances a wise and humane provision for the early settlement and improvement of the country; and in many instances personal quarrels were thereby prevented.

"In the early days of the Territory, immigrants from Eastern States purchased of the settlers claims on government lands, and for a portion of the consideration gave their obligations. A great number of actions were brought on those contracts, which were defended against on the ground that, the settler being a trespasser on the lands, the contract was void. The courts held such contracts valid, notwithstanding the settler might be considered strictly in the light of a trespasser on government land. Where the government had not dispossessed either the original settler or the purchaser, and the settler had made some improvements or done some work on the land, possession was secured to the occupant by the settlers' rules until the land was sold by the government. The actions of ejection and of trespass followed those primitive systems."

Piecing together scraps of information obtained from his father and mother, the date of whose arrival was October 22, 1835, Charles Milwaukee Sivyer wrote in 1896 the following description of living conditions in Milwaukee during the first few months of its existence as a place of settlement:

"The few log and board cabins which at that time housed the inhabitants were for the most part far from one another, many of them on squatters' claims. Paths or trails wound around stumps and trees. Little of the underbrush had been cut away, and there were but few evidences of ox teams cut into the trails. Large American horses were animals rarely seen, though Indians on ponies daily moved in and out of the place from their camps in the timber near the settlement, their wigwams usually being located in groves on the banks of the Milwaukee and Menomonee rivers.

"No wheat had yet been raised here. No mills had been built in anticipation of coming crops. Flour in barrels brought from the East by boats was expensive, often costing as high as $25 a barrel. No fresh meat of domestic animals was obtainable; all was game meat. Vegetables also were scarce and expensive. For the first barrel of flour my father bought he paid $25. He paid $15 for a bushel of seed potatoes, on the deck of a small schooner that had just arrived from Buffalo. This was a few months before I was born. Those potatoes had a delicious flavor. My parents said they never tasted anything they raised from the ground which they relished so much. Of those which were cooked all was eaten, even the jackets; but most of them had to be planted. A few years later potatoes grown in Milwaukee sold during one season as low as ten cents a bushel.

"In the spring each boat from the lower lakes was crowded with homeseekers. Many had to camp on the lake beach and elsewhere until cabins or shacks could be built for them. These structures were usually constructed of tamarack logs. Before long, however, vessels sailed into the harbor laden with lumber from the pine forests near the more northern ports, making it possible to construct more sightly and roomier abodes. The houses in which the first two white children were born cost less than $100 apiece, and some of our neighbors' cabins could hardly have represented investments of more than half that amount. We had a floor, and they had none, using defective, unsalable furs to walk on. We had two single-sash windows, each with four and six lights of 7x9 and 8x10-inch glass. Some of the settlers' houses had no glass whatever, the light coming in from the door when it was open and from the fireplace when it was closed. Stoves

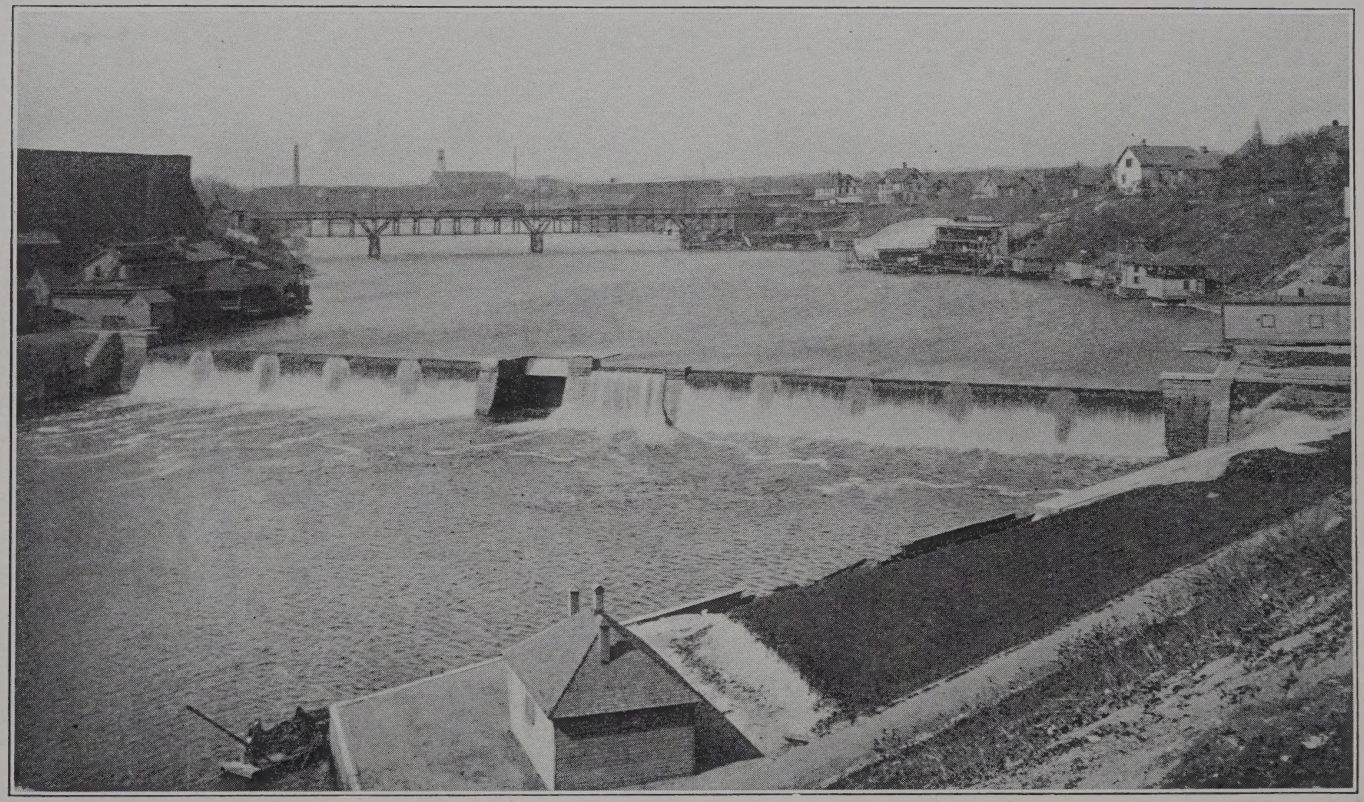
were scarce; few people had even one of them. Logs dragged to the cabins by ponies or oxen were converted into fuel. Nearly all of the settlers of 1835 and 1836 built their homes near the river, and used its clear water for all purposes. There was abundance of material for the primitive houses of our earliest pioneers. They could cut tamarack trees and poles in the densely-studded swamp where the Auditorium is now. Having cut down such timber as they needed, they dragged it to the river, and by means of canoes pushed their rafts over to the east side of the stream. In winter, the logs and poles were hauled over the ice.

"Milwaukee Smith and I were born but a short distance from the river. I was born May 4th, 1836, in an upright board shanty, about 200 feet north of the east end of Grand Avenue bridge, near the river bank. The tablet marking my birthplace is on the front of the lot. Juneau's store, which was located at the corner below my birthplace, where the Pabst [First Wisconsin Trust Company] building now is, and Breed's store, across the street south of it, were stocked with such things only as people had to have."

With bustle and excitement on the part of some of the individuals concerned, and with persistent daily toil and fixed purpose strengthened by confidence in a glowing future on the part of others, pioneers were transforming the wilderness. In 1834 and 1835 Dr. Amasa Bigelow and Otis K. Hubbard had laid the foundation of manufacturing industry in Milwaukee by erecting sawmills. Both mills were located on the west bank of the river, Doctor Bigelow's being near what is now called Capitol Drive, and Hubbard's near the present Milwaukee dam. By the close of 1835 there were twenty-eight finished and three partly-finished buildings in Milwaukee. In 1836 sixty frame buildings were completed and fifty more under contract. A lime-kiln and a brick-kiln were in operation, and another sawmill was started. The number of inhabitants claimed at the end of this year was 500. Streets were graded and a courthouse built on the East Side by Juneau and Martin. Lots were laid out in all directions. On June 13, 1836, Sylvester Pettibone, engaged for the purpose by Juneau and his partners, began to cut down the hill back of the Cottage Inn and grade East Water Street. Grass began to be trodden down in the neighborhood and the sound of the hammer

was heard. Ships came to anchor in the bay. Often the banks of the river were lined with strangers. Parallel rows of stores arose. On one of the heights a liberty pole was erected, and the Stars and Stripes were displayed from its top. July 14, 1836, Daniel H. Richards began the publication of the *Advertiser*, Milwaukee's first newspaper. Others than the founders were coöperating manfully in many ways for the promotion of the great undertaking. Some who performed worthy tasks remained to grow up with the community and profit by its ultimate prosperity. Others made important contributions to the general good without gaining wealth for themselves, but commanding respect from their neighbors and transmitting to their descendants the heritage of good examples and honored names. Not a few who functioned outstandingly at the start concluded their careers elsewhere. There were early settlers, busy from the beginning, who played parts essential to the drama but at a distance from the center of the stage. They "farmed it" in the outskirts at first, and later moved into town, participating in industrial or mercantile activities which brought them into notice. Profits from real estate in the long run were often missed by those who had devoted themselves to real estate development as a business and garnered by owners of tracts which were useful only for tillage until the expansion of the city took them in.

Not a few of the early arrivals in Milwaukee were mechanics, attracted by the prospect of finding employment, who when periods of slack demand for labor occurred went off to seek their fortunes elsewhere. This was what happened in the case of Quartus Carley, who was one of the Fowler party who pushed ahead of Colonel Walker and gained their first view of the location of the future city in 1833. Carley went back for his wife, believed to have been the first white woman who ever set foot on ground within the present limits of the metropolis of Wisconsin. She was a native of Paris, N. Y., and at the age of eighteen married Mr. Carley at Brownell, in that state, whence they journeyed first to Ohio and then to Chicago, from which latter place Mr. Carley brought her to Milwaukee in the spring of 1834. Unwilling to subject her to the discomforts and perils of travel by land, through a region in which they might encounter unfriendly Indians, Mr. Carley, with two of his acquaintances, constructed



THE OLD DAM AT NORTH AVENUE AND THE UPPER MILWAUKEE RIVER

a scow in which to journey by way of the lake. The party embarked in this rude vessel, propelling it by oars and poles, and hugging the shore all the way to their destination. Including Mrs. Carley, the company consisted of six individuals, and the trip was without adventure, except that rough weather more than once compelled them to drag the scow upon the beach while they waited for the waves to subside. Carley obtained work in the Bigelow sawmill. In the fall of the following year he and his wife went to Root River, where another sawmill had been started, and where he was employed till 1836, when he engaged in sailing on Lake Michigan, continuing in that occupation till the boat of which he was master was wrecked. In 1844 the couple removed to Watertown, from which place Mr. Carley departed for Texas in 1848, and never was heard from afterward. Mrs. Carley thenceforward lived with her son-in-law, Harvey Warriner, in the town of Emmet, four miles north of Watertown, and, at the age of eighty-nine, was a resident of that place in December, 1901. Her recollections of Milwaukee were that Juneau's store and dwelling were the only buildings till Colonel Walker erected his log edifice on what she called "the island," and that while she was here there was no other white woman in the settlement. The next white woman to arrive in Milwaukee seems to have been Mrs. Samuel Brown, and Mrs. Brown remained.

Samuel Brown, who was one of the pioneers of 1834, and who from the time of his arrival to the end of his life, in December, 1874, was tirelessly engaged in useful activities, was born at Bethlehem, Massachusetts, in 1804. The claim which he secured, outside of the settlement in the beginning, was destined later to become part of the Ninth Ward and to undergo great enhancement in value. Meanwhile he made it his home and kept it under cultivation till the town grew out and took it in. He was skilled in practical affairs, many of the early buildings being erected under his direction, and some of them partly by his hand. He was a careful financier, and exemplary in all the relations of life, commanding the confidence of the community in a high degree. Mr. Brown was the chairman of the meeting held in September, 1836, of which Mr. Kilbourn was secretary, that adopted resolutions in favor of a railway from Milwaukee to the Mississippi and another from Milwaukee to Lake Superior. When the first

railways were built he invested in their shares to the extent of his means, and this crippled him financially for a number of years following the panic of 1857, but he kept his head, adhered to habits of industry and maintained a cheerful confidence in the ultimate destiny of Milwaukee. He was not litigious, though conspicuous among the mortgagers of their farms for railway building who organized for self-protection under the name of the Home League. Mr. Brown's investments in railways occasioned him no little anxiety for several years, but finally he was lifted out of his difficulties by the enhancement of the value of his real estate consequent upon the growth of the city which the building of the early railroads greatly contributed to promote.

Of the Chase brothers mention has been made on an earlier page. The following list of arrivals in 1835, which is as full as care can make it, contains some names that meant much once, but diminished in local significance for the reason that those who bore them went away. However, there are many people of today, descended from pioneers, who regard pioneering as having been an achievement in itself. The list is published with the conviction that it is interesting, though doubtless incomplete:

George Adams, Owen Aldrich, P. Balser, Dr. Lucius I. Barber, William Baumgartner, Amasa Bigelow, Hiram Bigelow, John Bowen, H. H. Brannon, Benson Brazee, A. O. T. Breed, Daniel Brown, Chauncey Brownell, William Bunnell, Morgan L. Burdick, Paul Burdick, Samuel Burdick, Ellsworth Burnett, Hiram Burnham, Loren B. Carlton, Dr. Alfred Castleman, Matthew Cawker, ——— Cawker, William H. Chamberlain, Frank Charnley, John Childs, Luther Childs, Dr. Enoch Chase, Benjamin Church, Harvey Church, William Clark, James Clyman, Luther Cole, Parker C. Cole, David Curtin, M. W. Cornwall, Enoch Darling, Capt. John Davis, Martin Delaney, Philander W. Dodge, Andrew Douglas, Barzilla Douglass, George D. Dousman, Talbot C. Dousman, Andrew Ebel, E. W. Edgerton, N. Eseling, E. S. Estes, Hiram Farmin, Uriel Farmin, James Flint, Jonas Foltz, Elon Fuller, George Furlong, Dr. William Gorham, Worcester Harrison, Joshua Hathaway, Cyrus Hawley, Frank Hawley, P. W. Hodge, Thomas A. Holmes, John C. Howell, Henry H. Hoyt, Thomas D. Hoyt, H. M. Hubbard, Nathaniel F. Hyer, David Jackson, Charles James, George James, Milo Jones, Isaac

B. Judson, J. K. Lowry, Jacob Mahoney, James McFadyen, B. S. McMillen, James McNeil, David Morgan, Gordon Morton, James Murray, Patrick D. Murray, Noah Prevo Nelson, John Nelson, John Ogden, Nelson Olin, Thomas H. Olin, Alfred Orrendorf, Almon Osborn, Zebedee Packard, Sampson Parsons, William Piper, Joseph Porthier, George Reed, Daniel H. Richards, Thomas M. Riddle, Hiram J. Ross, S. Rowley, Edmund Sanderson, Capt. James Sanderson, Henry Shaft, Walter Shattuck, Robert Shields, William Shields, Henry Sivyer, Samuel Sivyer, William Sivyer, William H. Skinner, Isaac Smart, Joseph Smart, Alexander Stewart, I. Stewart, Samuel C. Stone, Joseph Tuttle, William O. Underwood, Garret Vliet, E. Weisner, Daniel Wells, Jr., George H. Wentworth, George H. West, Henry West, Benjamin F. Wheelock, Joseph Williams, Wallace Woodward, William Woodward.

Daniel L. Wells, Jr., outlived all the others enumerated in this roll of honor. He began to be busy at the first and continued occupied long after he had enjoyed for years the title of oldest inhabitant of Milwaukee. He was the proprietor of the city's first lumber yard, and became identified eventually with some of the most extensive lumber interests in the West. He served as a justice of the peace in 1836, as probate judge in 1838, as undersheriff in 1842, as member of the Territorial Council, and two terms as member of Congress. With slender means at the time of his arrival, he acquired great wealth, and was a notable factor in advancing Milwaukee's interests at every stage of its development. As a nonagenarian he erected one of the finest office buildings in the city.

When he first came to Milwaukee, in the summer of 1835, Mr. Wells was accompanied by a friend from Maine, Winthrop W. Gilman, who made investments in land and returned to the East. Gilman rarely came back to Milwaukee. As the city grew his real estate enhanced in value, and he added to it by later purchases, among them being what was known as Lockwood's Addition, on the lake front. When Gilman died, in 1885, his Milwaukee holdings constituted an important item in the large and valuable estate that went to his heirs. In Milwaukee there were people who regarded Gilman as a miser, but this was a mistake. Frederick Rietbrock, who acted as his legal advisor,

defended his memory by calling attention to the fact that he paid the city thousands of dollars in taxes which he could have successfully resisted, and by further citing his paternal regard for employes in his mills and tanneries at the East. He was accustomed to refer to his old employes as his "folks." Four hundred of them were cared for by him after age had impaired their usefulness. When fire destroyed one of his mills, throwing a large number of his workers out of employment, he kept them on the payroll till the structure was rebuilt, "just as if he had been their insurer," to use Mr. Rietbrock's words. Perhaps he performed some of his generous deeds because of social consciousness inspired by his reception of what Henry George would have termed "unearned increment" from investments in the West.

Parker C. Cole of New York was one of the Eastern men who made purchases at the land sale at Green Bay in 1835. His holdings in Milwaukee included a large part of the lake front, what afterward became the finest quarter of the old Seventh Ward, and a part of the old Third Ward. Matthew Keenan, who knew Mr. Cole, said: "The lake front always had a charm for him. He predicted that with its bluffs sloped and terraced it would surpass in loveliness the famous Bay of Naples. At one time he fenced in a strip three blocks wide with a view to its utilization as a park and in the hope that other owners to the north would join him, but at that time the project fell through." Mr. Cole died at New York in March, 1895.

Worcester Harrison was one of the earliest workers in Milwaukee, but fancied he saw better prospects at Port Washington, to which place he removed, and where he started a townsite boom that promised so well at the outset as to enlist the interest of Milwaukeeans, including Solomon Juneau. Juneau made several thousand dollars on lots at Port Washington by selling them while they were in speculative demand. But the Port Washington excitement was short-lived. Harrison hung on after others deserted, and for some time was almost the sole inhabitant of the place.

The name of James H. Rogers does not figure in the list of 1835, for though he is said to have looked over the place in that year he did not come as a settler till 1836. Mr. Rogers was a native of Troy, N. Y., and had enjoyed the benefit of varied experience in business at an early age. First he clerked in a

general store at Glens Falls. Next he tried hotel-keeping at Lake George. Then he executed Government contracts for building lighthouses and carrying the mails. Born in 1794, he married in 1832, by which time he had accumulated some capital and had begun to conceive the idea of identifying his future with the West. When, in February, 1836, with his wife and family, he set out from Keeseville, N. Y., for Milwaukee, he had made careful preparations for the journey. His means of transportation was a four-horse sleigh, covered with canvas and provided with wheels which could be carried under the bottom of the vehicle and brought out for use when needed. Inside were comfortable seats and a cookstove, with such articles of furniture as might be useful on the way, and an ample store of provisions. His wife, two young children and a servant were the fellow travelers of Mr. Rogers in his long journey. They came through woods and trackless wastes; they forded streams and floundered through marshes; but they kept on, and reached Milwaukee on the 7th of May.

It is to the credit of Mr. Rogers that he was a pioneer who foresaw the future of Milwaukee far in advance of many of his contemporaries. Part of his small capital he invested in a tract of 100 acres on the East Side, comprising the land bounded on the north by Brady Street and on the south by Division Street (now Juneau Avenue), and running from Racine Street to the lake. At a later date, desiring to borrow money on this property, he placed its value at "about" twelve hundred dollars. For a long time after his purchase it was far beyond the town. He also purchased sixty acres fronting on what is now Grand Avenue and running back into the Menomonee marsh. This too was then at a distance from the center, and there was a time when he placed upon it the modest appraisal of $48 per acre. Today the marshy portion, which long proved unavailable, is the heart of a region devoted to industry and commerce. Always confident of the future of Grand Avenue, Mr. Rogers erected on that thoroughfare, then Spring Street, in 1857, the palatial structure at the southwest corner of Fifteenth Street, which after his death became the residence of John Plankinton, and, with its park-like grounds, was for many years one of the most notable residences west of Lake Michigan. At that time he had contributed to the

growth of the city by building a row of brick stores on East Water Street and a large frame structure at the corner of West Water and Spring streets. Long before that he had become one of the owners of the United States Hotel, at the corner of Huron and East Water streets. The latter, erected in 1844, was in its day the principal edifice of its character in the city, and was famous for being the first building in Milwaukee supplied with water by a piping system. The source of the water was a spring which flowed from the side of a bluff south of Wisconsin Street between Jackson and Van Buren streets, and the pipes that carried it were made by boring tamarack logs. The hotel was consumed in 1854 by the most disastrous fire which up to that time had occurred in Milwaukee. Mr. Rogers was a man of public spirit, and noted for his quiet deeds of charity, as well as his wide-reaching enterprise. He gave the city the breathing-space park at Prospect Avenue and Knapp Street, ornamented by the Burns Monument and a fountain at the present day. His death occurred on the 30th of April, 1863.

At the time of his death, July 23, 1891, John Ogden was one of the oldest residents of Milwaukee. He was born February 18, 1801, in Essex County, New Jersey, and descended from John Ogden of England, one of the colonists of Plymouth. On his mother's side his antecedents were Scotch. Wagon-making was his first occupation. Learning the trade in early life, he followed it for twelve years, and then engaged in mercantile business at Elizabeth, N. J. It was a time when enterprising men were listening to the call of the West. The fall of 1834 found Mr. Ogden in Cincinnati, whence he went to Chicago to attend the great land sale of 1835, at which he made purchases for investment, coming on to Milwaukee in September of the same year, and buying several hundred acres of land on the lake shore south of the then entrance to the harbor, including what in after years was to become the site of the Rolling Mills. Mr. Ogden built the first tavern in the little settlement which clustered around the end of the tamarack swamps in the Kinnickinnic Valley near the old mouth of the river. It was of logs. After four years he agreed to sell and deliver it to a man who lived in the heart of the city, supposing that it would be easy to find some one to undertake the work of transporting it up the river. Instead of being

easy, this was impossible. But Mr. Ogden was not disposed to retreat from a bargain. He went to Chicago, hired two scows, brought them to Milwaukee and moved the log building himself, setting it in place near the corner of Huron and East Water streets, where it remained till it was destroyed by fire in 1857. In 1843 Mr. Ogden moved into Milwaukee, establishing the city's first carriage factory, on the north side of Spring Street, between Second and Third streets, and at the head of this business he remained till 1867, when he was succeeded by two of his sons, George W. and Henry, under the name of George W. Ogden & Co. Mr. Ogden was always interested in religious matters. On April 11, 1837, with Moses Ordway and the Rev. Cutting Marsh, he participated in the organization of the first Presbyterian Church in the Territory of Wisconsin, which in course of time became Immanuel Presbyterian Church.

Capt. James Sanderson and Alanson Sweet were dynamic figures in the early days in Milwaukee. Sanderson sailed in from Cleveland as master of the schooner *Nancy Dousman*, and in 1835 settled on forty acres in the Town of Lake, building a frame house and a barn on what later became Grove Street, south of Railroad Street, now Greenfield Avenue, just beyond the original limits of the city, and also acquired other pieces of land, several of which attained importance in the development of the South Side. One of his quarter-sections afterward was known as the Bryant place; another was the location later owned by Clark Shepardson. The Pfister & Vogel tannery, the South Side branch of the Pabst brewery, Madame Wunderly's residence and part of the Milwaukee & St. Paul railway yards were on property once owned by Captain Sanderson. He devoted some attention to cultivation of the soil, but soon was actively engaged in laying out and grading streets and making other improvements which contributed substantially to the development of that section of the city. The Captain was more conspicuous for energy than for refinement, but possessed practical ability of no mean order, and gained recognition from his fellow citizens as a factor in affairs, as was attested among other things by his appointment as one of the board of canal commissioners. In 1850 he purchased an interest in the steamer *Globe* and took personal charge of the vessel on her trips between this city and Chicago. About this

time he became involved in business difficulties. In 1853 he disposed of his homestead of forty acres to William B. Martin for the nominal sum of $4,000, and departed for California, where he encountered ups and downs, but never regained his old financial standing. In February, 1882, he came back, a poverty-stricken old man. Former acquaintances rallied to his aid. He was made as comfortable as possible, and placed in charge of the Little Sisters of the Poor, in whose Home for the Aged and Infirm he remained till his death in May of the following year. Before the end he professed the Catholic faith.

Alanson Sweet was a native of Owasco, N. Y., a stone mason by trade, and came West in 1831, settling at Chicago, where he built a house for his family and followed his calling, accumulating money which he brought with him when he came to Milwaukee in May, 1835. Conversations with John H. Beaubien, Antoine le Clair and Solomon Juneau had given him a good opinion of the city's future. As a settler he established claim to a tract of land near the northern terminus of the Twenty-seventh Street viaduct, which became his farm. After a time he purchased a warehouse which Captain Sanderson had erected on the bank of the Kinnickinnic and moved it to the foot of Washington Street, where he carried on a forwarding business in partnership with William Jervis. He became the owner of other valuable properties, and showed enterprise and competence in business. At the outset he showed interest in politics, and was elected to the Council of the Territorial Legislature, participating in the sessions at Belmont in 1836 and at Burlington in the following year. As a champion of the cause of settlers on the canal lands, he came into clash with Kilbourn, but later the two had a conference at which it was reported they arrived at an understanding. In 1848 he erected the first steam grain elevator in Milwaukee, which was the wonder of its day. The bins had a capacity of 200,000 bushels, and during the first winter he filled them at an average cost of 60 cents a bushel. The institution was conducted first by Sweet alone, then by Sweet & Reed, then by Sweet's brother Richard in conjunction with Duncan C. Reed, then by Sage & Wheeler (Russell Sage and Charles H. Wheeler), then by Kellogg & Strong, then by Gustav Pfeil, and finally by L. J. Higby. As years went by Mr. Sweet met reverses in business and became

involved in litigation. During the early '60s he left the city, in which, however, he took a friendly interest as long as he lived. Dying in April, 1881, at the home of his son, in Evanston, Ill., when he had attained the age of eighty-seven, he requested that his burial should take place at Milwaukee. His remains repose at Forest Home.

Barzilla Douglass, who died at Brodhead, March 9, 1898, in his ninety-second year, was one of the men who helped to organize the township of Milwaukee when it was a part of Brown County, Michigan Territory, on the 7th of September, 1835. That was the time of Milwaukee's first election and Mr. Douglass was one of the town officers, others being Solomon Juneau, George H. Walker and the Chases. He was of Scottish descent, a native of Clinton County, New York, and had come to Milwaukee that year from Ottumwa, Ia. Until 1841 he resided on his claim, which is now a part of Bay View. Then he moved to Prairieville. He had been sheriff of Waukesha County, and earned the respect of all who knew him.

James Murray came to Milwaukee from Crieff, Scotland, in 1835. When news was received of the killing of Ellsworth Burnett, Mr. Murray was one of the party which went in pursuit of his Indian slayers and aided in their capture. He was the platter of Murray's Addition. He died in June, 1863. The tract of land formerly the site of the poor house, later that of the Industrial School for Girls, the Protestant Orphan Asylum and St. Rose's Orphan Asylum, he sold to the authorities for the nominal sum of $10 per acre, amounting in effect to the gift of a splendid property for public uses creditable to humanity.

William Phillips, another of Milwaukee's pioneer Scotsmen, arrived in 1836, remaining for twenty-one years. His widowed mother in the Land of Heather had become the second wife of the father of Alexander Mitchell. Mr. Phillips essayed farming on section 32 in the Town of Wauwatosa, north of what became Cold Spring Course and later was the scene of several State Fairs. One night, after a hard day's work on the Menomonee flat, he climbed the steep bank to find that his cabin had been reduced to ashes. His watch and a collection of gold and silver coins had been melted into an ingot by the heat, while his roll of paper money had been entirely consumed. With nothing left but

the ingot, the title to his land, a yoke of cattle, a log chain, an ax and the clothes on his back, he gave up agriculture and went to work burning lime for William Smith, at the foot of what is now Twenty-seventh Street. In the winter of 1837 salt was one of the things that were scarce in Milwaukee. With his cattle hauling a sled, Mr. Phillips went to Chicago and bought ten barrels of salt. Ill fortune still pursued him, for on his return trip, as he was crossing the Milwaukee River with his load at the foot of Washington Street, the ice gave way and all he saved out of the wreck was himself and his oxen. Embarking in other business, he dealt in cattle, real estate and lumber. For six or seven years he was the confidential agent of Col. George H. Walker, his headquarters being at the northeast corner of South Water and Clinton streets. Sometimes, during those days, he had as much as $10,000 or $15,000 at a time in an old foalskin trunk which he had brought from Scotland, and which stood near the stove, with wood piled about it, where everybody could see it. His clothes were in another trunk, which he kept under the bed, reasoning that if thieves should prowl about they would look into the trunk under the bed rather than into the one which was in plain sight. Phillips was the manager of Colonel Walker's political campaigns, and was said to be the author of noted public papers that made their appearance while the Colonel was mayor. He had charge of the commissary department which went to Madison at the time of the election of Isaac P. Walker to the United States Senate. It was said that $500 was invested in the oysters, cigars and refreshments in general which Mr. Phillips took with him to Madison from Milwaukee. The candidate of the regular Democrats was Stoddard H. Martin, while Walker came out independently. The Martin men issued an abusive handbill on the morning of the election. Phillips turned this to the disadvantage of its authors, and Walker was elected. During the last fifteen years of his residence in Milwaukee Mr. Phillips, in partnership with Wilson Graham and Daniel Wells, Jr., owned the bayou property near Reed Street bridge, which was set down in Lapham's early map as overflowed land, and which was fenced in as a venture by the partners and granted them by special act of Congress engineered through both houses by Daniel Wells, Jr., when he represented at Washington the district including Mil-

waukee. Mr. Phillips was also interested, with John S. Harris, afterward United States Senator from Louisiana, in several real estate deals on the South Side. Together they bought the Douglass farm in the Kinnickinnic Valley, where the Northwestern yards were located later, paying $50 per acre, and disposing of it for double that amount. When in 1857 Mr. Phillips departed for Scotland, he sold a warehouse at the foot of Clinton Street, and his interest in the old claim near the Menomonee bridge at the foot of Reed Street, taking pay in Watertown railway bonds. These for a long time afterward were accounted worthless, during which period they remained in the keeping of a Milwaukee bank. Had he remained in Milwaukee long enough to profit by the rise in real estate preceding the panic of 1873, he would have become a very rich man. He left partly on account of failing health and partly because of the political unrest foreshadowing the Civil war. When he died, June 14, 1893, at Stirling, Scotland, he bequeathed to his son, who was his sole heir, the equivalent of $50,000. Mr. Phillips was born in Forfarshire and brought up on an Aberdeenshire farm. In his own estimation, undoubtedly, his Milwaukee adventure was financially a distinct success. He was eighty-eight years old at the time of his death.

William M. Williams, born in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, in 1812, came to America alone in his twentieth year, having learned the trade of a carpenter. After working for a time in New York he came West. At Chicago he bought an ox-team, and with two Welsh friends, Thomas Llewellyn and John Davis, pushed on to Milwaukee, arriving here on the 3d of June, 1835. It was a backward season, and on June 4 there was a storm that covered the ground with four inches of snow. He bought a quarter-section of land near the southern boundary of the Town of Lake, not far from the Howell Road, and after farming for a time erected a sawmill on the canal in Kilbourntown, where he turned out sash, doors and blinds. He was a pioneer dairyman, his herd of cows being among the first ever brought to the city. In 1840 he married Miss Emily Howell, daughter of Major Howell, after whom the Howell Road was named, and who had fought in the War of 1812 and the Black Hawk war, and who later was a member of the Town Board of Supervisors. For a time Mr. Williams and his wife lived at Biddle and Jackson

streets in one of the first frame houses in the city. Then they resided in the Town of Lake until 1895. His son, also William M. Williams, was one of the founders of South Milwaukee.

Eliphalet Cramer became a resident of Milwaukee in the spring of 1836, having migrated from Waterford, N. Y., where he had been educated as a lawyer. He speculated in real estate to a considerable extent. He was precise and keen in business transactions, but always honorable. He purchased the stock of the Milwaukee Gaslight Company, after it had been started by John Lockwood and others. He became president of the State Bank, holding that office after its reorganization under the national banking law and until his retirement from business was necessitated by failing health. Mr. Cramer died in 1872.

John W. Pixley and his brother Maurice were conspicuous in the early days. They conducted a general merchandise store on East Water Street near Wisconsin Street. On the dissolution of this business and the removal of his brother to the East, John W. engaged in real estate speculations. It was his practice never to give money in charity to persons soliciting contributions, but to inquire into the circumstances of persons whom he considered worthy and necessitous, and to such in a quiet way he frequently extended liberal aid. Toward the end of his life these benefactions amounted to several thousand dollars a year. He never married. Mr. Pixley died in 1874.

Lyndsey Ward, who was born at Syracuse, N. Y., November 24, 1804, grew to manhood in that state, and was one of the contractors for the building of the Erie Canal and the construction of other public works. Coming to Milwaukee in July, 1838, and entering into partnership with his brother, under the firm name of J. & L. Ward, he was for many years one of the most conspicuous figures in the business life not only of Milwaukee but of the Territory at large. The firm of J. & L. Ward opened a store in Milwaukee and others at Prairieville, Lone Rock, Mineral Point and Platteville. Devoted at the outset to general merchandising, it was not long before the partners had come into control of four flouring mills and twelve lead furnaces, transacting a large general business and employing 500 teams hauling lead from Dodgeville and its vicinity to Milwaukee, whence it was shipped to Eastern markets. For several years the Wards

were the owners of the shot tower at Helena. In a single twelvemonth their shipments of lead from Milwaukee to New York and other Eastern destinations aggregated 200,000 pigs. Mr. Ward retired from general business at about the time of the panic of 1857. In 1860 Judge Miller of the United States District Court appointed him receiver of the Milwaukee & Horicon Railroad, which was under his charge for about four years. He was one of the early members of the Board of Trade. In 1839 Mr. Ward received the unanimous support of the people on the east side of the river for the office of village trustee. He was president of the Board of Trustees when Milwaukee became a city, and in that capacity administered the oath of office to Solomon Juneau, the first mayor. He erected the second brick dwelling house that arose in Milwaukee. It stood on the east side of Milwaukee Street, between Mason and Oneida streets, and was his residence till he died in November, 1883.

D. H. Richards earned particular distinction among the pioneers of 1836 by founding the first newspaper in Milwaukee. He was a native of Burlington, Otsego County, New York, born on the 12th of February, 1808. At the age of sixteen he went to Canada, where he learned the printing trade. In 1834 he was married to Miss Eliza Ann Dana. Coming West the following year, he embarked in general merchandising at Peoria, Ill., but quickly changed his base of operations to Chicago, with the intention of purchasing the *Democrat*. Hearing of Milwaukee, he became so much impressed with prospects at this point that he altered his plans and came here to establish the *Milwaukee Advertiser*, the first issue of which, with Hans Crocker as editor, appeared on the 14th of July, 1836. As publisher of the *Advertiser* he carried on till 1840, meanwhile making investments in real estate and working in many ways for Milwaukee's advancement. The Rock River Canal was an enterprise which enlisted his enthusiasm from the beginning. When its light went out, he transferred his energy to the procurement of railroad facilities. In common with John B. Smith and others he was prominently concerned in the promotion of the Milwaukee & Horicon Railroad, which later became a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul. Laboring indefatigably in the interest of Milwaukee, he earned the respect of his fellow Milwaukeeans, while reaping very

slender returns in the way of financial gain. He was elected to the Assembly, but to the end of his life was less conspicuously identified with politics than with business. His death at his homestead in the old Thirteenth Ward occurred on the 6th of February, 1877. After the death of his first wife, Mr. Richards was married in 1845 to her sister. He raised a family which, following the traditions of its founder, has been actively identified with projects for the advancement of Milwaukee.

Josiah A. Noonan arrived in Milwaukee in 1836, his first employment being obtained in the office of the *Advertiser*, of which he became proprietor and editor in 1841, changing its name to the *Courier* and making it the liveliest and most influential publication which up to that time had been seen in Wisconsin. He rapidly rose to prominence in business and politics. Mr. Noonan was the son of Dr. Nathan Noonan, a physician and farmer, and was born in the Town of Amsterdam, Montgomery County, New York, May 13, 1813, receiving an academic education and beginning his long connection with the newspaper business at an early age, his first experience being gained in the offices of rural weeklies. In 1832 he made his way to New York City, where he and Horace Greeley on the same day sought and obtained employment as typesetters in the printing office of Mark Aiken, the two forming a friendship which continued to the end of their days. It was after several experimental attempts to found newspapers of his own at places in New York State and Ohio that Mr. Noonan came to Milwaukee. In 1838 he established the first newspaper at Madison, the *Weekly Enquirer*, which sprang at once into more than local fame. Dodge and Doty were the contending giants in Wisconsin politics at the time, and Noonan was an adherent and champion of the sturdy Dodge. Returning to Milwaukee in 1841 and purchasing the *Advertiser*, he merged it with the *Enquirer* under the name of the *Courier*. In 1843, under President Tyler, Mr. Noonan was appointed postmaster at Milwaukee, succeeding Solomon Juneau. Politically the appointment was fiercely opposed, but this put Mr. Noonan on his mettle. He not only carried on the growing business of the post office to the satisfaction of the business men of the community, but, loyally guarding the interests of Dodge, rose to a position of political counsellor among the Democrats of Wiscon-

sin. He sold the *Courier* in 1845 to John A. Brown, and in addition to discharging his duties as postmaster carried on business enterprises of various descriptions with a noteworthy degree of success for many years. Dodge was as true to Noonan as Noonan was to Dodge. Under the Whig administration of President Taylor, Noonan was superseded in the postmastership by Elisha Starr, but, at the suggestion of Dodge as United States Senator was reappointed by President Pierce. For years he had been interested in the manufacture of paper and the sale of printers' materials. He enjoyed friendly personal relations with newspaper men of different political commitments in every corner of the State. In the early '50s Mr. Noonan became involved in litigation with John J. Orton, originating in a dispute regarding the waterpower at Humboldt, which had been leased by Noonan for his paper mill. Orton erected a flour mill drawing motive power from the same source, after which it was Noonan's contention that he failed to receive the amount of power that was contracted for in his lease. The legal battles growing out of his dispute lasted nearly thirty years, involving Mr. Noonan in heavy expenses for attorneys, while Mr. Orton, who was a lawyer, was usually able to look after his own interests at court. Finally Mr. Noonan was forced into bankruptcy. Late in life, after settling with his creditors, he began the publication at Chicago of a paper called the *Industrial Age*, intended to be the mouthpiece of the Granger organizations, attacking corporations and espousing the cause of the greenbackers. While commanding considerable attention, for it was conducted with characteristic aggression, the *Industrial Age* was not a financial success. With a shattered constitution, Mr. Noonan devoted his remaining energies to the arrangement of his affairs and died December 11, 1882.

Dr. Lemuel W. Weeks was among the pioneers who came to Milwaukee early, was an indefatigable worker in many directions for the city's good, and earned the respect and esteem of the public. At times he was in possession of considerable wealth, and at other times he was a heavy loser. But he was active to the last, and closed his career in the enjoyment of a comfortable home, an unblemished reputation and a serene mind. Born at Hardwick, Vt., he received an academic education, studied medicine

and entered upon the practice of that profession first at Ticonderoga and afterward at Keeseville, N. Y. In 1836, he came West, traveling by stagecoach and on horseback, and securing by personal inspection a knowledge of conditions at St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee which convinced him that Milwaukee was the better location of the three. That matter decided, he returned for his family and made his home here. Business opportunities enlisted his attention from the start, and he made no effort to secure patients, but opened a store and invested extensively in real estate. He also took an active part in politics. In 1838-40 the Doctor was one of the Rock River Canal Commissioners. For a time he held the office of deputy United States Marshal. He organized and was president of the Merchants' Mutual Insurance Company, which for many years was the leading marine insurance company on the lakes. He erected several buildings and bought the Checkered Warehouse, on the South Side. Later he owned the Blue Warehouse and the South Pier. One of his enterprises was the purchase of the block bounded by Reed, Clinton, Elizabeth and Walker streets, which he converted into a garden that was one of the showplaces of the city. A high board fence shut in the square on all sides. Entering through a gate on Elizabeth Street, now National Avenue, visitors followed a winding path which led to the door of a Swiss cottage, sentineled by a towering oak tree, a hill in the rear forming an appropriate background. There were other Swiss cottages nearby, inhabited by a colony of Swiss people who wore their native costumes while occupied in truck gardening, and added to the picturesqueness of the scene. In the northeast corner of the square was a small lake, with water-lilies and ducks. Vianden painted a picture of the place, which he sent to an exhibition at the East, where it took the first prize. Later he placed it on view in Milwaukee, insuring it for $10,000. The building, with Vianden's painting, was destroyed by fire, to the artist's great distress, for he was proud of his little masterpiece, rating its value beyond money. Doctor Weeks owned the Blue Warehouse and the South Pier. He was on the first board of directors of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway Company, and was a prominent member of the Chamber of Commerce. Purchasing from Alexander Mitchell a large tract on the South Side, he laid it off in lots, under the name of Weeks'

Subdivision. He operated largely in grain, and was hard hit by the sudden drop in the price of that commodity which followed the close of the Crimean war. The panic of 1857 came when he was ill prepared for it, causing him embarrassments from which it took him years to extricate himself, but he did it in the end. Ill health during his latter years led to the Doctor's removal from the city to a farm at Summit, where he became interested in improved agriculture. He was one of the first dairymen in Wisconsin to adopt the ensilage system of feeding cattle, and his writings on the subject were the means of convincing many others of its utility. The Doctor died May 18, 1884, at the age of seventy-nine.

George Abert, who came in 1836 and pre-empted land which he purchased at the sale in 1839, was a native of Alsace, born in 1817. He built many of the early houses and roads, and for several years was in the employ of Byron Kilbourn. He dealt in firewood. He graded streets in the Second and Fourth wards. In 1860 he was elected to the Common Council. He was a member of the Legislature for many terms. Seven children survived Mr. Abert when he died in March, 1890, one of the respected reminders of the era when Milwaukee was in the making.

When Benjamin Church arrived in Milwaukee in 1835 with a drove of hogs for which he had taken the chance of finding a profitable market, he was not disappointed. Moreover, he was charmed with the aspects of the settlement, and formed so good an opinion of its promise of development that he decided to remain. Mr. Church was a builder by trade, a native of New York, born in 1807. He was the contractor for the construction of the Washington House and a number of other edifices which long survived as landmarks, one of them being his own residence on Fourth Street, in what used to be known as "the American settlement," which still stands, a testimony of the taste and skill of the early builders. When he died, in 1887, his son, John Church, and a daughter survived him.

William Sivyer, another of the builders who arrived in 1835, came with his brothers, his wife and one child, making a claim at Oak Creek, but moving into the city, and making brick at the head of Oneida Street on the lake front of which he constructed the city's first brick chimney in Milwaukee for Solomon Juneau,

and a brick dwelling house for himself—the first brick house in Milwaukee. He and Mrs. Sivyer were the parents of the first white boy born in Milwaukee, to whom they gave the name of Charles Milwaukee Sivyer. The last contract taken by Mr. Sivyer was for the construction of St. John's Cathedral. He died at the age of eighty in August, 1890.

Daniel W. Patterson was the pioneer blacksmith of Milwaukee, coming in 1834. He shod a horse for Juneau and many oxen for others of the pioneers, while his shop was on East Water Street, near Mason. Then he took up land south of the city and became a farmer. Mr. Patterson was the oldest resident of Milwaukee at the time of the city's semi-centennial, the title passing at his death to Daniel Wells, Jr., who had lived here since July, 1835.

Joseph Williams came with his wife and two small children in April, 1836. The sister of Mrs. Williams was Mrs. Joel Wilcox, who, with her husband, had come here about a year before. The Williamses traveled by canal from eastern New York to Buffalo, and by lake from there to Detroit, where Mr. Williams procured a team of horses and a covered wagon, in which, with his family, he made the journey to Milwaukee via Chicago. At what later became Bay View he purchased 180 acres from the government at $1.25 per acre. The farm was located on Kinnickinnic Avenue, and for many years he tilled his land. Later he purchased another farm, which later was sold to the Rolling Mill Company. He cut up his property into lots, realized a comfortable fortune, and died in 1876, at the age of 82, an honored citizen. Sanford J. Williams was his oldest son. Mrs. Charlotte Rycraft and Mrs. A. B. Ricketson were his daughters.

George H. Wentworth, who died December 22, 1901, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Emma E. Thompson, 613 Homer Street, had settled in Milwaukee County in the spring of 1835, and resided here continuously during the remainder of his life.

Mr. Wentworth was born at Lexington, Ky., September 9, 1815, removing with his parents to Lewiston, Ill., in 1818. The family had lived in Darlington and had gone to Chicago in 1828. The boy had enlisted to fight the Indians in the Black Hawk War. Though he saw only garrison duty he was enabled to obtain a soldier's grant of land, 160 acres, which he took up in the Town

of Lake when he came to locate in Milwaukee County. Here he was married in 1836 to Miss Julia Packard, a native of New York, the marriage being one of the first between white persons which was solemnized in Milwaukee. His tract was on the lake shore, near the present site of Cudahy. His brother-in-law, Elijah Estes, took up part of the land on which Bay View afterward rose, and the two aided each other in the work of clearing. Mr. Wentworth lived on his farm till 1891, when he built his house on Homer Street. His wife died in 1881, and four years later he married again, his second wife dying in 1892. He was related to "Long John" Wentworth of Chicago.

Joshua Hathaway, born at Rome, New York, was a civil engineer, and, with headquarters at Chicago made extensive surveys in Wisconsin as early as 1834, locating in Milwaukee in the following year. He was a man of sterling character, educated and able, whose knowledge of the territory enabled him to perform a leading part in its pioneer development. His office of district surveyor, at the time he held it, was one of high responsibility. In 1838 he was made public administrator for Milwaukee, equivalent to probate judge. Judicious investments in real estate, not confined to Milwaukee, but extending in all directions, and including a number of townsite locations, several of which commanded exceptional interest from the outset, made him wealthy. His affability made him popular. His sterling qualities caused him to be universally esteemed. The Hathaway home, at the southeast corner of Broadway and Mason streets, was one of the social centers of early Milwaukee. Mr. Hathaway died on the 4th of July, 1863, his widow, who survived him for many years, developing a remarkable aptitude for business and managing her husband's large estate till her sons became old enough to relieve her. Mrs. Hathaway remained in the old residence till the '70s, when she removed to the southwest corner of Juneau Avenue and Astor Street, where she remained till her death in 1894 at the age of seventy-six.

Garret Vliet, who was a civil enginer, arrived with Byron Kilbourn in 1835. He was a native of New Jersey, where his grandfather, coming from Holland, had settled before the Revolutionary war. Mr. Vliet was in charge of government surveys in the country west of Milwaukee. In the fall of 1837, he took

up his residence in a log house which he had built on the southwest slope of the hill in what came to be known as Quentin's Park, later as Schlitz Park, and finally was given the name of Lapham Park. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1846, and was prominent in enterprises for the advancement of Milwaukee's interests. Mr. Vliet was one of the losers by investments in early railways. He died at an advanced age in 1877.

George D. Dousman, who came from Mackinaw Island in 1835, and was a leading man in the settlement for many years, built the warehouse at the foot of East Water Street which was the second in the place—that of Horace Chase at the mouth of the river, being the first—and carried on a forwarding business, his brother Talbot C. Dousman, acting as his clerk, but later taking up a farm on a claim outside of the city. The first shipment of wheat from Milwaukee was made from his warehouse in 1841. The *Sentinel* in 1845 observed that more vessels moored at his dock than at any other place on the river. There were several years during which the Dousman warehouse served as the front door of Milwaukee. "To his indomitable industry," the *Sentinel* declared, "the town owes almost everything for the great improvements on the banks of the river in the vicinity of the South Ward." Mr. Dousman was much in public office in the early days when public office was indeed, as Grover Cleveland termed it, "a public trust," and when it had not become the fashion to pay salaries to the generality of public officers. At one time he was county treasurer, and at another town trustee. His last years were spent upon his farm in Wauwatosa, where he died on the 15th of March, 1879. One of his sons, named for his father, was for many years the oldest living native of Milwaukee. His daughter, the widow of Judge Eugene S. Elliott, is still living, retaining many cheerful memories of the time when her home was on Wisconsin Street where the first federal building in Milwaukee was erected in 1855, and where the Wells Building now stands.

In June, 1835, Charles James, Emanuel Cawker and Samuel Brown located on section 13, township 7, range 21 east, which tract was later included in the town of Wauwatosa and finally became a part of the Ninth and Tenth wards of the city of Milwaukee. Indian title in that vicinity was extinguished in the

following year. After some delay, growing out of the canal grant complications, the settlers succeeded in purchasing their claims from the government at $1.25 per acre. Mr. James during the early years of his residence in Milwaukee secured employment as a carpenter, in which capacity he worked on the Juneau warehouse, which occupied the site now covered by the building of the Wisconsin Trust Company. Later he lived and labored on his property, making a creditable record as a farmer. Five acres of the tract he embellished by planting cedars and hedgerows, surrounding a flower garden which is remembered by old settlers as one of the beauty-spots of Wisconsin, and part of which remained till after the city had grown out far beyond it. He never married. His sister was in charge of his home, and during many years the two had the companionship of their aged father. In 1891 he sold the major portion of his holding for $200,000. He died on the 31st of January, 1900. The Cawker property remained in the possession of the heirs of its original owner until the time arrived for disposing of it in the form of city lots. What happened in the case of the purchase made by Samuel Brown has already been related.

David S. Hollister, who came from Ohio in June, 1836, bringing $5,000 in cash, lost no time in acquiring extensive realty interests, and found himself seriously crippled by the panic of the following year. Mr. Hollister was a Baptist, an Abolitionist and a Whig, figuring prominently in all of those capacities as well as in business. During his brief career he was one of the prominent men of Milwaukee. For a short time he lived in the elaborate dwelling at the west end of Elizabeth Street afterward known as the Jacobs mansion. He owned the Checkered Warehouse, and built a comfortable residence on Hanover Street. In 1838 Mr. Hollister ran for the Assembly and was defeated. His heavily mortgaged property went under the hammer. Closing out his affairs at a disadvantage, he went away avowing the intention of returning, which, however, he never did, dying after a varied career in different distant parts of the country.

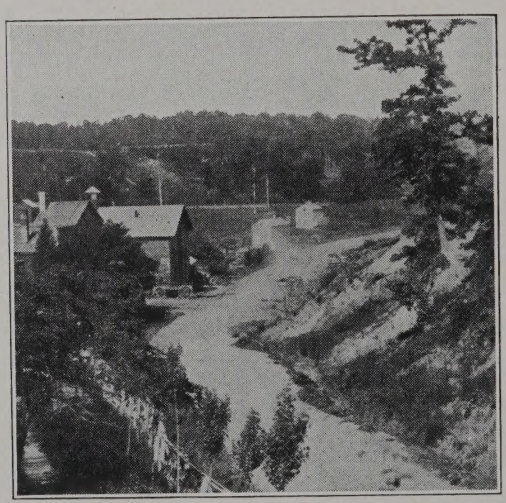
John Furlong was one of the men of Irish descent who came to Milwaukee in 1835. He was endowed with sterling qualities, sound in his judgments of men and things, and active and successful in business. Beginning as a grocer, he became a packer of

beef and pork and also of fish, of which he shipped large quantities to Eastern markets. He acquired interests in lake vessel property and conducted a fishing establishment on Washington Island. He erected a valuable brick building on East Water Street and made other substantial improvements. For politics in the way of office-holding he had neither time nor inclination, but his views on public matters were sought by others. His home circle was more to him than all the garish pleasures of the world. Mr. Furlong was a consistent Catholic. He was helpful in the erection of St. John's Cathedral, which was built at a time when Western communities were richer in zeal than money. When he died, in 1884, at the age of seventy, his passing was sincerely mourned as that of a pioneer and upright citizen who, without ostentation, had contributed in many ways to the making of Milwaukee.

Many other early settlers were worthy and interesting men. The examples cited indicate a wide diversity of talent, training and character coöperating when the town was in the making. The assemblage of human beings attracted to Milwaukee at its beginning was not a hap-hazard collection of border ruffians, but remarkably representative of the choice and master spirits of the time—purposeful, enterprising young men of character and energy—the best possible nucleus for the setting up of a new center of American civilization. Many of them were from the farms of New York and New England, where they had been inured to hard work and trained in right living. They were handy with tools and at need could render efficient assistance in the rearing of buildings or the construction of ships. Not a few had enjoyed the benefit of experience in buying and selling, possessing adaptability for business that later in many directions led to results advantageous to the community as well as to themselves. So far as formal education went, only a few had received more instruction than was to be acquired during winters in the district school, but nearly all could read and write, and possessed the capacity to think for themselves. The early arrivals from Ireland, Scotland and England, with a few exceptions, were either farmers or mechanics. In addition to the people accustomed to work with their hands the settlers included a considerable number of professional men—doctors, lawyers and teachers—a sprinkling

of preachers completing the category. Self-reliance was a characteristic of the community as a whole, as had been demonstrated in a striking way when it organized efficiently for protection against scheming speculators disposed to take advantage of technicalities at the land sale.

The back country had to fill up before there could be business for Milwaukee on a larger scale than was requisite for supplying the needs of its own inhabitants for subsistence, and these at the beginning were moderate in the extreme. With few exceptions people remaining in the vicinity after the subsidence of the speculative fever of 1836 were reduced to living from hand to mouth, grasping eagerly at every opportunity of gainful employment, many of them cultivating the land, raising pigs and poultry, and feeling prosperous in the ownership of a cow. Meanwhile most of them cherished the hope of "a good time coming," though the date of its arrival might be far in the future.



MENOMINEE VALLEY, NEAR END OF STATE STREET, 1866

CHAPTER VII

EARLY MEDIA OF EXCHANGE

THE CURRENCY PROBLEM A VITAL ONE IN THE WEST, AND DIFFICULT TO MEET—HOW IT WAS SOLVED FOR MILWAUKEE—"THE BANK OF MILWAUKEE" A PERIL THAT WAS ESCAPED—GEORGE SMITH A HELPFUL FACTOR IN THE SITUATION, AIDED BY DANIEL WELLS, JR.—THE ADVENT OF ALEXANDER MITCHELL.

Those were great days for money-lending. There were plenty of people ready to pay 25 per cent. a year, and many paid more than that, yet made profit on borrowed money. A land speculator or a settler wanting to buy a tract and commanding no more than 10 per cent. of the amount required would get a money-lender to buy it for him at the government price of ten shillings an acre, agreeing to take it at the end of a year or two at twenty shillings an acre and pay heavy interest on the latter sum. Where the purchaser had improvements on the land, as was frequently the case, he was not unwilling to enter into terms like these, rather than sacrifice all he possessed. In a considerable number of instances the transaction turned out to the advantage of both parties to the contract, for land values sometimes underwent very rapid enhancement. On the other hand, the depression following the panic of 1837 brought about a collapse of real estate values which left lenders as well as borrowers in the lurch. All through the East there were money-lenders with Milwaukee lots thrown upon their hands, eager to dispose of them to anyone who would take them for half what they had cost.

Illustrative of the utter wreck of confidence in the value of Milwaukee real estate which followed the bursting of the initial boom, Silas Chapman told a story of a man named Thurston, whom he knew. Thurston, who was a carpenter, and who had performed work in 1836 for which he could not get his money, brought suit against his debtor and secured a judgment, in satisfaction of which the debtor offered him one of the lots at the

northwest corner of Broadway and Wisconsin Street that subsequently became the site of the first office building of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company. The amount of the judgment was $75, but Thurston refused to take the lot.

This depression continued for several years. In 1842 Micajah T. Williams offered to sell John Hustis all his Milwaukee interests, comprising 300 lots and a large tract of outside property, for $25,000, but Mr. Hustis declined to risk the investment. Three years later the situation had improved. In the interim Mr. Williams had died, and his son, C. H. Williams, had appeared on the ground to settle his father's estate. One hundred of the lots, disposed of at auction by Caleb Wall, under direction of C. H. Williams, brought $29,000.

Great was the contrast between life in Milwaukee during 1836 and in the years immediately succeeding the panic. Writing of the earlier period, one who passed through it said: "During the first years of its settlement there was not a poor man in Milwaukee. Such a wealthy, munificent set of fellows could not be found elsewhere. They were all oppressed with riches; money was actually a drug. They paid it out to the host of the Milwaukee House, not as you or I in this parsimonious age would dole out dollars, but by the bundle. They paid a fiddler fifty dollars to come up from Chicago and help them dance. They never said, 'That's too high a bill.' Even though it were a pyramid of charges, they said, 'What's the damage, stranger?' and out came the wallet." After the collapse everybody felt poor, and very nearly everybody actually was poor. In Milwaukee, as elsewhere throughout the country, there was a dearth of money, and of credit also, for the reason that even individuals cheerful by nature and not entirely bereft of worldly wealth were for a time disposed to take a gloomy view of the future. Adventurers possessed of the means of getting away departed, which resulted in a sudden and serious decrease of the population. A considerable number of storekeepers went out of business. Real estate became "a drug on the market."

Dearth of money forced recourse to paying in store orders rather than in cash. This system is explained by Buck as follows: "A wants to build a house. B contracts to do the work. C, who has a store, makes B an offer of 20 per cent. off if he will pay

the workmen in orders on his store." To the 20 per cent. which was the price of this accommodation the storekeeper often added as much more to the prices for goods which he charged the unfortunates who came to present the orders for redemption. Buck observes that this high cost of accommodation, added to the ruinous prices charged for goods, all "came out of the workmen," and by way of illustration adds: "The writer worked for D. S. Hollister in 1838 for $12 per month, and paid $15 for a pair of pants, working one month and a quarter to earn them. Such a state of affairs would clothe a man in rags and keep him so." Hopeful souls conceived the idea that the situation would be relieved if Milwaukee could be equipped with banking facilities.

The first money used by the settlers in Milwaukee, except the gold and silver currency of the United States, of which very little was current in the West in early days, was the treacherous issue of Michigan wildcat banks, which brought upon those who handled it losses ranging all the way from 10 to 100 per cent. In 1836 the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature authorized the organization of three banks—the Bank of Milwaukee, the Bank of Mineral Point, and the Miners' Bank of Dubuque.

In April, 1837, a charter having been obtained from the Legislature at Belmont, notice was issued that books for receiving subscriptions to the stock of the Bank of Milwaukee would be opened on the first Monday of June at the office of Rufus Parks, under the superintendence of commissioners, whose names were signed to the notice. The office of Mr. Parks was the federal land office at Milwaukee, and Mr. Parks was the receiver of public moneys in the land office. The other commissioners also were men well known in the community, Solomon Juneau, Horace Chase, James Sanderson, Cyrus Hawley, George Bowman, Giles S. Brisbin, Jesse Rhodes and Sylvester W. Dunbar. There were some subscriptions, and there were calls for the payment of installments; but the panic came on, and the enterprise dragged.

The stock subscription books were kept open for eleven months, at the end of which time only sixteen shares of stock had been subscribed for and $160 paid in. In the month of December a personage named O'Farrell, claiming to represent Galena capitalists, made his appearance, offering to subscribe for the remaining 1984 shares, providing he should be appointed

fiscal agent of the institution and should have charge of the printing of the circulating notes. The proposition was promptly accepted, and at the end of the month—so formal entries in the books seemed to attest—all the shares had been taken and half of their face value paid in. The original minute book containing the entry to this effect is still to be seen, preserved among the relics of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. As a matter of fact, however, the magnificent O'Farrell was a penniless adventurer, and instead of the treasure approximating $100,000 of lawful money which according to his statement was contained in the strong box of the pioneer fiduciary institution of Milwaukee, the only valuable content of that repository was the $160 which had been subscribed and paid by Milwaukee men before O'Farrell's arrival in the city.

Solomon Juneau was chosen as one of the directors of the Bank of Milwaukee, and on the 31st of December, 1837, when it opened for business, word went round that he had made a deposit and had discounted some paper over the bank's counter. Other deposits were made, and $3,600 was loaned. This was a matter of vital interest to the business men of the infant city, all of whom had over-invested in real estate and were committed to early payments which they could make only with borrowed means. To their intense disappointment and disgust, it soon became evident that the bank was without resources for their accommodation. Suspicions arose. A majority of the board of directors undertook to investigate the situation, and the hollowness of O'Farrell's pretensions was disclosed. Swaggering defiance of the authority of the board did not avail him, and he departed as suddenly as he had appeared. Had he been able to carry out his plans, undoubtedly he would have perpetrated incalculable mischief. That all was in readiness for issuing notes in the name of the Bank of Milwaukee is attested by the fact that specimens, innocent of officers' signatures, are treasured today in the cabinets of curious collectors. In design and execution they are attractive examples of the engraver's art, and but for the circumstance that the Bank of Milwaukee never emerged from a tentative stage inevitably would have brought woe to thousands accepting them in lieu of real money.

At the first session of the Territorial Legislature after the

establishment of the capital at Madison, which convened in January, 1839, Dr. Lucius I. Barber represented Milwaukee in the lower house, of which he was chosen speaker. Rumors of banking crookedness filled the air and joint committees were appointed to make investigations. In his reminiscences, heretofore referred to, Dr. Barber says:

"The committee appointed to investigate the affairs of the Milwaukee and Mineral Point Banks was composed of Mr. Vineyard of the Council, Mr. Carver and myself of the House of Representatives. We first visited Milwaukee, and found the condition of the bank very unsatisfactory. Its capital stock was nominally $100,000, in shares of $100 each. On sixteen shares an installment of ten per cent. had been paid in gold and silver, amounting to $160. No other legal payment for stock had been made, and yet the bank had commenced business. From Milwaukee, having provided ourselves with a good supply of creature comforts, we set our faces westward, and in three days arrived at Mineral Point. In due time we presented ourselves at the bank. Its gentlemanly officers afforded us every facility for the discharge of our duties. By the sworn statement of the cashier, it appeared that there was in the vaults specie amounting to more than $36,000. It was a long time since we had seen so much genuine money. We decided to count it. Keg after keg was rolled out, opened, and found to be filled with veritable dollars. Here was something real! The dollars were rolled upon the floor and counted, being found to correspond in amount with the statement of the cashier, and sworn to by him to be the bona fide property of the bank. Of course we reported the bank to be 'in a solvent and safe condition.' A few months later it went up. Rumor had it that the dollars shown us had been furnished for the occasion from Galena. Such was banking crookedness at that time.

"One cause of the nonresumption of the Wisconsin banks at as early a period as the banks of the East was the fact that the Legislature at a former session had passed laws under which it was difficult or impossible to enforce the collection of debts. By these laws the courts were forbidden to enter judgment in any case unless the suit had been begun ninety days before the opening of the term, and gave a stay of execution on all judgments for one year from the issuing of the writ. Furthermore, in such suits

the plaintiff was deprived of the right to claim bail. Under such laws, the collection of debts could not be enforced, and banks could not do their legitimate business."

The Legislative Assembly repealed the charter of the Bank of Milwaukee in 1839, the same year in which it granted a charter to the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company to do an insurance business. One of the clauses in its charter authorized this corporation to receive money on deposit and issue certificates therefor. Eighteen thirty-nine was the year of Alexander Mitchell's advent in Milwaukee. He was a young man who had been brought out from Scotland by George Smith, who made him secretary of the Company, entrusted with the management of its affairs, thus conserving the Company's interests and performing a service to Milwaukee and the West which came to be appreciated as the years rolled by.

A brief account of the character and career of George Smith is essential as an introduction to the financial history of the Northwest. He came to this country from Scotland in 1831, and three years later drifted to Chicago, where he engaged in the real estate business. The little money he had brought went into city lots and wild lands where Milwaukee now stands. When the prices jumped after 1835 and 1836 he unloaded. The possibilities of the West were apparent to him. In 1837 he went back to Scotland, interesting Scotch capital. He organized the Scottish-Illinois Land Investment Company, made up largely of men in his native Aberdeenshire. When he returned to America in the following year he brought with him Alexander Mitchell, Strachan & Scott, James Carter, Robert Webster and Murray & Brand. Strachan & Scott located in New York, with a branch at Milwaukee. Murray & Brand went to Chicago, James Carter to Galena, and Robert Webster established himself in St. Louis, Mr. Smith making his headquarters at Chicago, and Mr. Mitchell holding the fort at Milwaukee.

Originally Mr. Smith's idea had been to make fortunes for himself and friends in Scotland who had entrusted him with money for investment by dealing in lands, but circumstances led him to abandon that intention and engage in banking. Lawmakers had enacted measures aiming at the suppression of banks, but banking facilities in some form were essential to business. A

medium of exchange was also essential. Mr. Smith found ways of carrying on that were profitable to the community as well as to himself. The currency which he issued was in the form of certificates of deposit in the Wisconsin Marine & Fire Insurance Company, in similitude to bank notes of all denominations. They certified that some one (usually James Christy, a nephew of Mr. Mitchell) had a certain sum with the company "which will be paid in gold to the bearer, on demand." They were signed by George Smith, president, and Alexander Mitchell, secretary. Nothing whatever was behind these certificates but the credit of George Smith and Alexander Mitchell, but so high was their standing that farmers often preferred them to any other portable representative of value.

The medium of exchange thus supplied was safe because it was issued in moderate quantity by honest and competent men who meant to and did redeem it on presentation. Experience taught the people through whose hands it passed that it was as good as gold. During many years while notes of regular banking institutions in the West would not pass current beyond the borders of the states in which they were issued those of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company were received wherever they were offered throughout the Western and Southern States. Many were the plots of his rivals to catch Smith napping, but for a period of twenty years he fought the battle with "stump-tail" currency and won the day. He was always prepared to outwit the contrivers of pitfalls, always able to redeem his paper. One of his strategic expedients was the establishment of a collateral bank at Atlanta, Georgia, the distance of which from Chicago was so great as to give him an advantage in protecting himself against sudden and sinister demands for gold. Embittered adversaries of Smith in Chicago and elsewhere endeavored to undermine him by asserting that he was operating in violation of law. Repeatedly clerks in his office were subpoenaed before the grand jury and examined to find out if the Marine and Fire Insurance Company notes were printed and issued from the Chicago office. This, if it had occurred and the fact had been established, would have subjected those concerned to legal penalties. But invariably such efforts proved unavailing.

In 1852, when Wisconsin enacted a State banking law, he

abandoned the Milwaukee office, selling his interest to Mr. Mitchell. Just before the Civil war, he went back to Scotland, with a fortune estimated at ten million dollars. Meanwhile, during the infancy of railroad building in the West, he had been active in assisting the men engaged in the construction of the Chicago & North-Western, the Milwaukee & St. Paul and the Rock Island railroads, getting in "on the ground floor" as a holder of their stocks and bonds. In 1863 he retired, dividing his time thereafter between the Reform Club in London, his estate in the Scottish highlands, and a winter home in the south of France. Mr. Smith never married. At the age of ninety he confided to a friend that his greatest enjoyment in life was sitting in his room at the Reform Club and reading the novels of Sir Walter Scott. He died on the 7th of October, 1899, leaving his estate to a nephew in New York who was known to the habitues of the Stock Exchange as "Silent Smith." After coming into his fortune "Silent Smith" married and departed on a wedding tour of the world, dying in the orient.

One of the Milwaukeeans to whom news of the death of George Smith brought vivid recollections was Daniel Wells, Jr., who contributed the following interesting data concerning the origin of the important fiscal institution of which at first George Smith and afterward Alexander Mitchell was the directing genius, and which towered like a citadel in the financial firmament of early Milwaukee: "I was what you might call a dummy director of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company when it was organized by George Smith. The first time I met Mr. Smith was at Green Bay in 1835, at the land sale. He bought up a lot of fractional parts of townships, including considerable land within the present limits of Milwaukee. He was in poor health at the time, and Stephen M. Edsell represented him in the sales. He bought the eighty acres on which a part of my home on Grand Avenue is located. A man named Maitland claimed it, and Smith gave him five acres in the southwest corner of the tract to satisfy him. Maitland laid it out in lots, and called it 'Maitland Place,' and my house is located on what was originally on the plats called Maitland Place. A few years later George Smith sold his remaining seventy-five acres to Hans Crocker for $12 an acre. Ludington got possession of Maitland Place, and I pur-

chased it from him. George Smith visited Milwaukee in 1838, with the object of getting a charter for a corporation for the purpose of loaning money at the rate of 12 per cent., and issuing paper money. The Territory of Wisconsin had no authority to charter banks. I was a member of the Territorial Council, and Mr. Smith, calling on me in Madison, asked me to assist him in obtaining the charter. He had with him charters of corporations organized under the laws of Illinois, Indiana and other States, but they did not seem to meet the needs of the case. Looking through the library at Madison, I found a copy of the charter of the Utica Insurance Company of New York. The question of its legality had been passed upon by all the courts of New York, but Martin Van Buren, who afterward became President of the United States, was the attorney-general of New York, and he declared it invalid on a technicality. With this act before me, I prepared the charter of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company, introduced it in the Territorial Council, and secured its passage in February, 1839. In the meantime another member had secured the passage of a law permitting individuals to loan money at 12 per cent. While the measure was pending before the Council, in December, 1838, an adjournment was taken for one month. You see, it was this way: We had been operating under the laws of Michigan, and the adjournment was taken to afford time for the preparation of a code for Wisconsin. We all started for our homes. There was but one house between Madison and Janesville. Mr. Smith started about two hours ahead of us, on horseback, and we followed in a wagon. We soon overtook him. The weather was terribly cold, and he had dismounted and could not get back upon his horse. He was nearly dead from the effects of the cold, but we succeeded in warming him up, and we arrived in Janesville after dark. We put up for the night at a log tavern, the best the place afforded, and slept in the attic. Notwithstanding his experience of the day before, Mr. Smith mounted his horse in the morning and started on his long ride to Chicago, while we came on to Milwaukee, the journey taking two days. Well, when the Council met again in February, 1839, the charter of Mr. Smith's corporation was passed, giving it power to do an insurance business. That was all right. The Manhattan Bank of New York was originally chartered to deal

in wood and water, and the Chemical Bank to test chemicals. Smith wanted a perpetual charter, but had to compromise on thirty years. I wish to say in conclusion that from my first acquaintance with Mr. Smith to the very last I always found him, in all business and social matters, very agreeable and honorable, and all my intercouse with him was very satisfactory."

As those who knew him while he was in Chicago remembered him, George Smith was a medium-sized man of sinewy build and somewhat stern aspect. His face was adorned with "Burnsides" and his head was both large and high. In speech he was deliberate, and there was that in his general make-up which inspired people to place unfaltering confidence in him, though he was strikingly deficient in the quality of attraction known as personal magnetism. All who came in contact with him seemed to recognize the master-mind. He was a great judge of men, and in loaning money he relied more on his own estimate of the borrower than on the collateral which was offered as security. As an illustration of this trait it is related that once while Smith was in New York Marcus C. Stearns asked E. W. Willard, the manager of the bank, for a loan of five or six thousand dollars with which to make a tour through Northern Indiana to buy wool. Willard wanted Stearns to mortgage his real estate as security, but Stearns demurred and said he would wait until George Smith returned. When the banker got back to his desk Stearns reported his experience with Willard, whereupon the old man opened his door and called to his manager at the other end of the big office in tones that could be heard a block and with the broad Scotch accent he dropped into when provoked: "Willard, let Starns hev what he wants and tak hees naute." "Starns" got the money on his "naute."

Alexander Mitchell resembled Mr. Smith in his sterling integrity and reliability, but differed from him in many ways. When he first appeared upon the scene, he was in the bloom of early manhood, endowed with exuberant vitality, physical and mental, well educated, and morally well poised. His reason sat in judgment on his enthusiasm, so that even at twenty-two, while nominally a clerk, with the modest salary of a thousand dollars, he commanded universal confidence and respect as "an old head on young shoulders." Enjoying society with hearty zest, he never

permitted its allurements to divert his attention from business. Unlike Smith, he was devoid of "crust," approachable, companionable, agreeable. Smith was essentially a lonely man. Aloofness is incompatible with popularity. Mitchell to the end of his life was on terms of intimacy with many of his neighbors and in touch with the community in various directions. Smith never married. He spent a quarter of a century in the United States without applying for naturalization papers, and returned to Great Britain after the generation he knew had passed away. To the end of his protracted life he was a human solitary—a man without a home. Great was the contrast between George Smith's opulent desolation and the cheerful environment which Alexander Mitchell contributed to create and amid which he lived and died.

Existing survivors of Milwaukee's earlier days recall Mr. Mitchell, not with the lithe and graceful figure that was his when he first appeared, but somewhat stocky, his open countenance betraying a certain degree of floridity—a great banker, a great railroad president, rolling to his place of business in a carriage,—but even then he was rarely unaccompanied by companions, like ex-Sheriff "Charley" Larkin or "Governor" William Young, with whom he chatted and laughed as he rode. The well-read, versatile and witty Hans Crocker was one of his cronies. There were others. To the end of his life he retained and cherished his early friendships. A pleasant manifestation of his kindly nature was his hearty good-will for old acquaintances in the humbler walks of life. Matthias Stein, the pioneer gunsmith, glowed with proud satisfaction as, just before departing from Milwaukee, he informed those who bade him goodby that Alexander Mitchell had stopped him on the street and inquired into his financial resources, offering to "look after him" if he were in need of money. Stein wore "seedy" clothing, but was an exemplar of German thrift and manly independence. He assured Mr. Mitchell that he was "able to get along."

Identifying himself at the start with Milwaukee, Mr. Mitchell became an American by naturalization. He joined the volunteer fire department. He neglected no civic duty. He married an American wife. Like many other leading Milwaukeeans of the early days, Mr. Mitchell's political affiliations were with the Democratic party. When the Civil war burst upon the country, he

was a War Democrat and a stanch supporter of the Union. When elected to Congress, late in life, on the Democratic ticket, he became at once a useful member of the House of Representatives, whose sagacious counsel was sought by other broad-minded members regardless of party ties. His speech on the currency, delivered in 1874, attracted wide attention, embodying, as it did, sound information on the history of finance and harmonizing with the stand taken by President Grant in his veto of the inflation bill. At an earlier period Mr. Mitchell's financial acumen had been an important factor in the restoration of the city's credit after breakdown following a revel of reckless expenditures. It was he who in 1861 conceived the plan that protected holders of shaky bank issues from heavy loss and enabled Wisconsin to negotiate a war loan without the disadvantage of selling its securities at a discount. Mr. Mitchell never was a "professional" philanthropist nor an "easy mark" for casual raisers of money by subscription, but his purse was always open when worthy objects needed aid. In a quiet way he made generous disbursements for charity, for religion and for education, when liberality in these directions was not as fashionable as it is today. Signal and lasting benefit to Milwaukee flowed from his masterful genius when after the collapse of experimental railroad building in the West he gathered the wrecks of shattered corporations, amalgamating them into a co-ordinated and profit-earning transportation system which gave this city facile access to the world.

A BANK NOTE THAT WAS NOT ISSUED

CHAPTER VIII

AS NATURE MADE IT

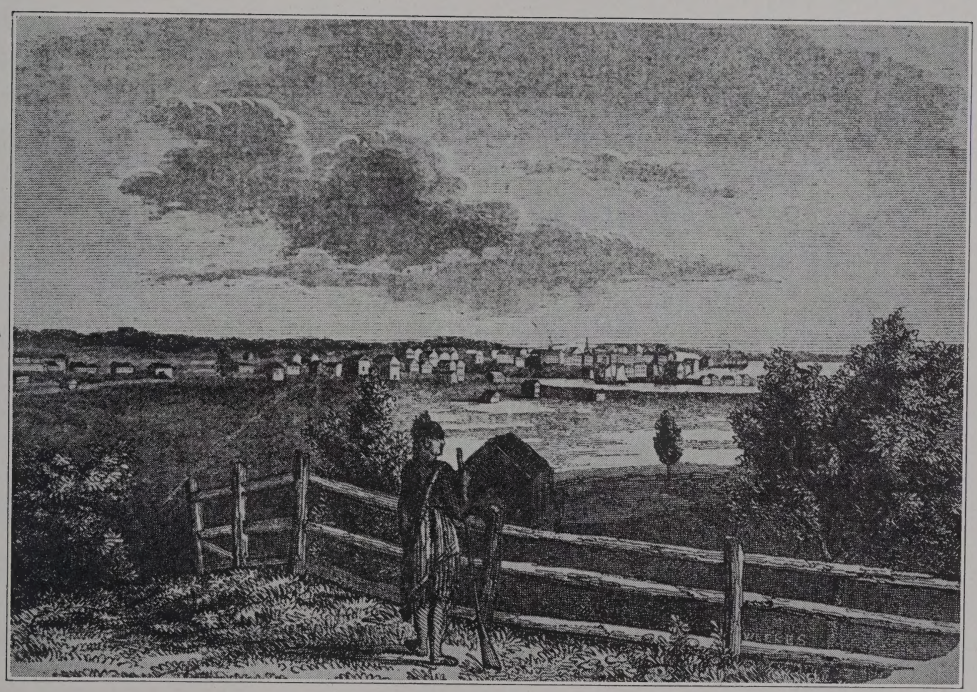
EARLY SETTLERS' ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGINAL TOPOGRAPHY OF MILWAUKEE—A PLACE OF HILLS AND DALES AND WOODS AND SWAMPS, DELIGHTFUL IN SOME OF ITS ASPECTS, AND IN OTHERS PRESENTING MANIFEST POSSIBILITIES OF IMPROVEMENT—SOME OF THE TRANSFORMATIONS EFFECTED AS THE CITY GREW.

As the first white settlers after Juneau found it, a considerable portion of what is now down-town Milwaukee was covered with water. Nearly all of the high land at first available for a townsite taking advantage of the transportation facilities afforded by the rivers and the lake was on Juneau's side of the stream from which the city derived its name, and on this side all that is now the flats in the First and Third wards, together with nearly all the portion south of Huron Street, except a strip along the river known as Mud Point, another strip half a block wide along the lake beach, and two islands each a little larger than a city block in extent, was an expanse of water and reeds. The West Side, south of Spring Street and east of a line midway between Fourth and Fifth streets, was under water from two to six feet in depth, and furnished every year an excellent crop of wild rice. North of Spring Street and extending to Chestnut Street, was a swamp covered with tamaracks and cedars, which supplied wood for the construction of many of the early buildings. Back of this swamp was high land. On the South Side the marsh embraced nearly everything east of Reed Street, except the narrow jut of land known as Walker's Point. Ten feet of water submerged what afterward became the St. Paul railway yard; and the wreck of a lake vessel, the *Cincinnati*, which went down in the old days, lies buried in the mud behind Burham's Block, at the corner of South Water and Reed streets. The strip of land along the beach in the Third Ward extended to the mouth

of the river, a mile south of the straight-cut which forms the present entrance to the inner harbor, and part of it now constitutes Jones Island.

While water-transportation facilities were a large factor in attracting attention to Milwaukee and making the place what it is today, the rivers and the lake presented many difficulties to the early settlers. In 1836 high water spread over the Menomonee Valley and killed trees that were 100 years old. The dead trunks were standing in 1843. May 19, 1887, the water in Milwaukee Bay was a foot lower than in May, 1885. In September, 1886, the water reached the highest level it had attained since 1859, a period of twenty-seven years. In 1876 the water level was very high, but not so high as in 1886. The annual flood tide of the water in the lake is in September and October, and the annual ebb tide in January, February and March. The greatest difference in the water level which had been noted in one year up to that time was reported in 1871, when the water was 2.6 feet higher in the fall than in the preceding winter. Before 1859 the observation of the water stages depended upon private enterprise, and the records were conflicting. In 1852, Solomon Juneau, who had resided here since 1818, said that never in his recollection had the water in the bay been so low as in 1820, and never so high as in June, 1838, when the old Indian race-course, near the site of the gas-house in the Third Ward, was under six feet of water. The difference between the water stage of 1819 and that of 1838 was 4.8 feet at Milwaukee and 5 feet 3 inches at Detroit. Lake Michigan annually rises and falls from 12 to 18 inches. If there should be a succession of wet and cold years, with great fall of rain and small evaporation, the fluviation might exceed anything on record.

The *Sentinel* of September 19, 1837, said: "The lake is two feet higher than its ordinary level at this season of the year." The following is from the *Sentinel* of June 26, 1838: "It is known to the residents and to all observant visitants to this country that the waters of Lake Michigan have been gradually rising for several years past. Of this fact there can be no doubt. The oldest settlers attest its truth. What is now a marsh, submerged in places to the depth of three to six feet, bordering the outlet of Milwaukee River, was within the recollection of some



WHEN MILWAUKEE WAS A VILLAGE

From Sears' Pictorial History of the United States

of our citizens dry land, where were witnessed the sports and gambols of the aboriginal inhabitants. This beautiful little pampa, once the theater of pastimes of the Indians, is now overspread by the swelling tide from the lake. Mr. Juneau, who has resided on the spot some eighteen years, says there has been a continuous although gradual rise in the lake ever since he first located here, without any apparent ebbing of its waters other than what is witnessed whenever the wind blows strongly either into or out of the Bay."

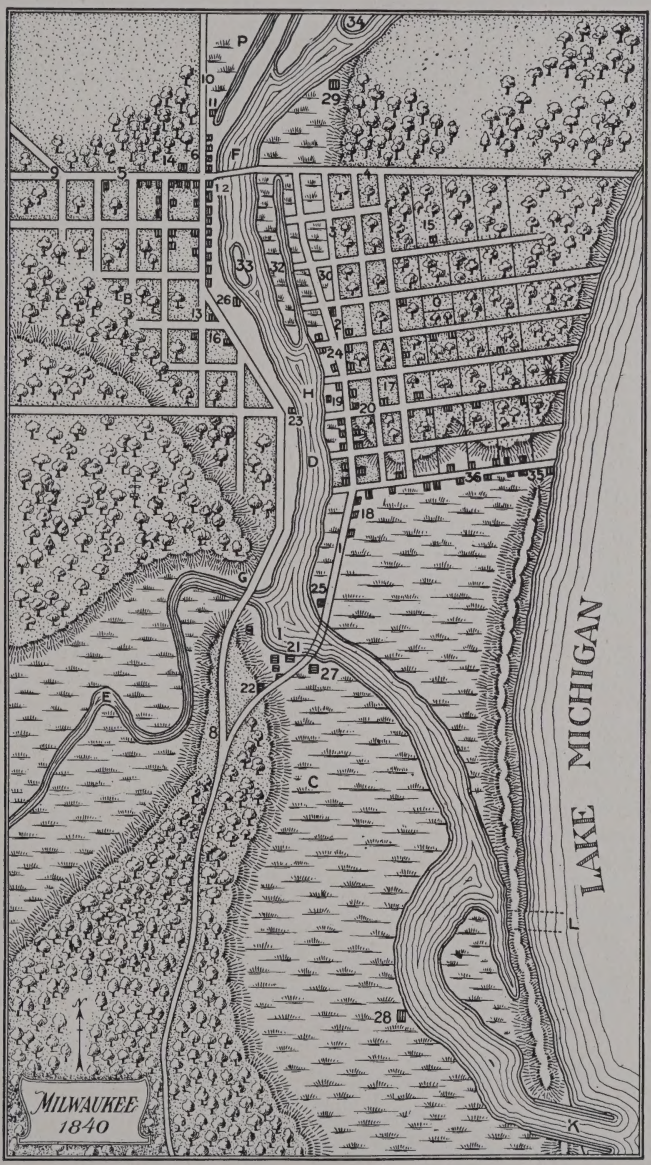
Some of the buildings erected by pioneers whose claims were near the entrance to the harbor at the old mouth of the river were moved from their original locations on account of menace from the waves. Owen's Lake Brewery, built in 1840, stood on the shore at the end of Huron Street. In later years the waves beating against the east wall caused it to fall before the building was vacated. The old Eastern Hotel was in danger when the construction of a breakwater by the North-Western Railroad Company prevented further encroachment.

December 21, 1856, in a storm of unusual violence, the Fitzgerald distillery, on the lake shore at the head of Wisconsin Street, was undermined and swept off. A tenement belonging to a fisherman was carried away at the same time, as was also a warehouse on the outer end of Strong's pier, the pier itself, however, being only slightly damaged.

In April, 1858, a huge wave rushed into the river from the lake at Milwaukee, and suddenly retired. Twenty minutes later two other great waves flowed in and flowed out again. The fluctuation in the height of the water within three-quarters of an hour was said to be not less than six feet.

Previous to 1861 there were frequent inundations of the flats along the Milwaukee River by spring freshets. April 18, 1866, Spring Street bridge was carried away by the high water after injury by the impact of floating ice.

The erosion of the shore bluffs between Milwaukee and Manitowoc averaged 4.33 feet per year for thirty-five years preceding 1900. From Milwaukee to Evanston the erosion during the same period was said to have averaged 6.24 feet a year. The total recession of the bluffs from the original shore-line, it was calculated by geologists, had been 2¾ miles, and the total age of the



OUTLINE MAP OF MILWAUKEE IN 1840

See Key on the next page

KEY TO MAP OF MILWAUKEE IN 1840

A. The East Side.
B. Kilbourn Town.
C. Walker's Point.
D. Milwaukee River.
E. Menomonee River.
F. Red Bridge.
G. Menomonee Brige.
H. Spring Street Ferry (Wisconsin Ave.)
I. Walker's Point Ferry.
K. Old Harbor Entronce.
L. Proposed Straight Cut (New Harbor Entrance).
N. Lighthouse.
O. Courthouse.
P. The Canal.
1. East Water Street.
2. Swamp—Present City Hall Site.
3. Market Street.
4. Division Street (Juneau Avenue).
5. Chestnut Street.
6. West Water Street.
7. Spring Street (Wisconsin Avenue).
8. Chicago Road.
9. Prairieville Road.
10. Green Bay Road.
11. Washington House.
12. Kilbourn Warehouse.
13. Leland & American House.
14. Fischer Kroeger's German House.
15. St. Peter's Chapel (First Cathedral).
16. Fountain House.
17. Milwaukee House.
18. Cottage Inn.
19. Ludington's Corner (Formerly Juneau's).
20. Wisconsin Street.
21. Beam & Company Store.
22. George H. Walker's Home.
23. Rogers Ol Corner.
24. Market Square.
25. George Dousman's Warehouse.
26. Longstreet's Warehouse.
27. Walker's Warehouse.
28. Sweet & Jarvis Warehouse.
29. Barber's Wharf near Ludwig's Garden.
30. Trayser's Little German Tavern.
32. River Street Swamp.
33-34. Small Islands in the Milwaukee River Later Removed.
35. Lake Brewery.
36. Huron Street.

submarine terrace is estimated at 2,721 years. Between 1857 and 1878 an erosion of about 100 feet took place along the lake front of the lighthouse reservation at North Point. The erosion of the lake shore by wave action between 1835 and 1888 was from 25 to 33 feet at Mequon, 20 to 30 at Grafton, 28 at Port Washington, north of the harbor and 33 along the front of the harbor. At Manitowoc the lake encroached about 400 feet in the forty years ending with 1900.

An idea of the experiences and first impressions of fresh arrivals from the East in the Milwaukee of the early days was given to an interviewer more than forty years ago by a gentleman who had come West with his relatives three years after the erection of the Territory of Wisconsin and grown up to manhood as a Badger. The gentleman's recital was so interesting and informing that temptation to make use of it in this connection is irresistible, notwithstanding the circumstance that he withheld permission to use his name. He said:

"With my father and the rest of our family, I came to Wisconsin from New England in 1839, when I was a boy. We were eleven days on the lakes from Buffalo, having met with an accident which disabled the steamer *Illinois*, of which the once well known Captain Blake was in command. Our freight and passengers were transferred to another boat. The trip was made in November and we had severe weather a good deal of the way, reaching Milwaukee Bay, I think, on the 11th day of the month. At that time, large steamers could not cross the bar at the river mouth and the long piers which were built later, running out from warehouses on the shore to water deep enough for the steamers, did not then exist. Passengers and freight were landed by means of a small steamer, the *C. C. Trowbridge* of which L. H. Cotton was captain. At that time there was no "straight cut." The mouth of the river was nearly half a mile south. The entrance was often made rough and sometimes dangerous by meeting of the current of the river with the movement of the waters of the lake and because of the sand bar and shallow water produced. I think that 1839 was the first season of the use of small steamboats as lighters. Before that, yawl boats were used and one had been swamped with the loss of several lives, the season before.

"I remember the sail up the river to a warehouse near the foot of Michigan Street as pleasant in the bright autumn sun and to me quite exciting from the large number of ducks that were constantly flying from the wild rice in front and settling again as the steamboat passed. I do not think that any part of the river bank was docked at that time. I am sure that the most of the way we passed through reeds and aquatic plants that seemed to open for the boat, which appeared to be sailing in a marsh, so little defined were the banks and so winding was the course of the river, which we followed.

"Of the passengers who landed with us I now remember Mr. Savage, who was afterward president of Carroll College at Waukesha, Mr. Throop, the hatter, always known as 'Uncle Ben' and Talbot C. Dousman. It is probable that there were others of Milwaukee's old settlers among the passengers, but I remember only these. On the *Trowbridge*, when she met us in the bay, was Mr. Vail, a tall, lank figure of a man, as I recollect, who was loud in advertising to passengers about to land that the Cottage Inn was the place for them. My recollection is that Mr. Vail made some impression on my father, by his picture of luscious venison and other dainties of the chase that awaited the guests of the Cottage Inn. At any rate we went there and found a low building. My impression is that it was one full story with narrow frieze windows for the half-story above, standing near the present corner of Huron and East Water streets, on the east side of the street, which was pretty low ground, though dry at that time, running to the river, the banks of which were wet marsh covered with reeds which grew tall enough to hide most of the stream from sight. For want of room in the inn Mr. Vail found us quarters in a little building of a single floor, with two rooms, standing, as it now seems to me, at or very near the southeast corner of Huron and East Water streets. I remember its battlement front, which was much used then and still is in new Western towns, to give small frame buildings a larger look on the street. Just south of the building in which we were quartered was the hardware store of Mr. Reed, the father of Harrison Reed, who was perhaps then the proprietor of *The Sentinel* and more recently governor of Florida. Except three or four frame warehouses, there were no buildings on the west side of East Water

Street at that time. There were no bridges then. Between the foot of Wisconsin Street and Spring Street, was a scow, used as a ferry, propelled by pulling on a rope the end of which was made fast at the banks, running longways at the side of the boat. There was a similar ferry at the foot of East Water Street. I remember the ferries because during the several days we remained in Milwaukee I found boyish pleasure in pulling the boat back and forth as it was wanted for a passage. Perhaps there was a ferryman, but I do not recollect any. I believe that there was no brick building in Milwaukee at that time.

"On the east side of the river the most conspicuous building was the Milwaukee House, a hotel standing at the corner of Broadway and Wisconsin Street. I think the ground there was higher then than now. The view from the cupola commanded the whole bay and was not obstructed except by the lighthouse which stood on a high bluff where Wisconsin Street now comes to the lake. At that point the bluff then was high but extremely irregular and broken by deep ravines. The access to the lighthouse was by a footpath along the craggy bluff, that seemed to me almost perilous.

"What became the [original] Third Ward, east of Broadway, was dotted with small dwellings which were the homes of settlers. The courthouse was near the limit of habitation in that direction. On the high land of the South Side, there were houses. One, with columns in front impressed me as palatial. Near the river and extending many blocks south and west all was a deep marsh except a dry ridge running along the side of the river for quite a distance. On the West Side there were dwelling houses and business buildings. My impression is that Kilbourntown was about as large as the East Side at that time, but I do not remember much about it. A small boy at the time, I presume I did not wander so far. I remember going across the river on Sunday, to church, which was held in a small building, not very far from the present site of the Republican House. The approach to it was over low, wet ground by a slab foot bridge, not very wide, laid on wooden horses, over a watery marsh. I cannot tell the preacher or the denomination. I remember that my father met there Judge A. G. Miller with whom he seemed to be acquainted. What is now Grand Avenue was not passable then west of Fifth

Street, or about there. An unbroken precipitous bank as high as the lake bluff was a complete obstacle.

"The way out of town was by a road much farther north and over the South Side. We went by the last named way. Our family of two grown persons and two children and driver and trunks was in a springless lumber wagon drawn by two fine, large horses and it was thought a fine half-day's work to make the first nine miles out of Milwaukee. At that time Milwaukee was surrounded by a dense forest of primeval trees except on the lake side. For the road, there was a narrow slit in the timber, which allowed but little sun, and most of the year it was terrific to travel in the Milwaukee woods. The timber belt extended as far as Waukesha, then Prairieville, directly west, and widened greatly as it extended north.

"I should have mentioned in the proper place that the high bluff overlooking the town from the west, that which obstructed Spring Street, abounded in springs of pure water. The old name of the street was appropriate. There were also several springs on the East Side in the slope south from Wisconsin Street. I remember that an Eastern friend, whom my father visited, showed us a fine flowing spring in the cellar of his dwelling house and said that, of the two, he would choose that his house should burn rather than that his spring should dry. At least one of these springs continued to flow and be used until quite recently in the basement of an East Water Street store."

An enormous amount of cutting and filling was required to make a city of Milwaukee, and it is not remarkable that many people who drifted here in the early days were discouraged at the seeming hopelessness of the task and went away. One of the early comers thus affected was E. D. Holton, who had his first view of Milwaukee in 1838. But after traveling to the westward, and seeing the fertile agricultural region of which Milwaukee was destined to become the commercial outlet, he came back and identified himself with the development of the city.

In 1843 Milwaukee was merely a village, and in some portions very little improved. Spring Street, now called Wisconsin Avenue, was graded and cut through only to Fifth Street, the remainder of the ascent to the West Side plateau being by a winding wagon road through the trees to the south of that street.

MILWAUKEE IN THE '40s
Original painting in oil, owned by the Old Settlers' Club

The whole flat from Spring Street north to Chestnut and between Fourth and Ninth, and the entire vicinity of the present Auditorium Building, was a tamarack swamp, as in later times was attested by George G. Houghton, who when a young lad became mired and lost his way while attempting to cross it instead of going around on the hill or taking the West Water Street route as he might have done. On the east side of the river, Wisconsin Street was a roadway for but a few blocks, rising into a bold bluff as it approached the lake shore, on which the white lighthouse was situated, about at the intersection of Marshall Street, and 80 feet above the present grade. There was a bridge across the river at Division and Chestnut streets, and a few poor families lived around its eastern approach. Division Street was not graded east of Market Street. Here a precipitous hill rose to heights above, where Solomon Juneau lived on the site later occupied by Mayor John Black. A group of families, including those of Byron Kilbourn and Increase A. Lapham, lived about the intersection of Third and Chestnut streets, which in popular parlance was called Kilbourntown. A long stretch of streets without buildings on either side led from here to what ambitious plat-makers had designated as Milwaukee Proper. On the South Side a small population resided. It was called Walker's Point and a floating bridge connected it with the East Side. A boggy track occupied the present line of East Water Street, and in that and the succeeding year all of what is now the Third Ward below Huron Street was three or four feet under water. The old courthouse had been built and occupied, but there were no houses east of it or north of it except that of Mr. Juneau.

There is a venerable anecdote regarding a group of blind men taken into a circus tent and, without being told what they were to encounter, asked to give their notions on the subject of the elephant. The first of them, feeling of the great beast's ear, said, "This is a side of leather." Another, who put his arm around one of the animal's legs, said, "It is the trunk of a tree." The third got hold of a tusk, and exclaimed, "It is almost as smooth as glass;" while the fourth, who happened to be near the creature's terminal extremity, and grasped his pig-like tail, observed. "It feels to me like a piece of rope." Hardly less conflicting were

the judgments placed on record by early-day visitors regarding the topographical characteristics of Milwaukee.

In 1843, Dr. O. P. Wolcott, who was then engaged in the practice of medicine in the East, came here to visit his brother, Dr. Erastus B. Wolcott. Half a century later he confessed himself as having obtained originally a very unfavorable impression of the future city. Here are his words: "Such a miserable-looking place selected for a settlement I had never seen before. It was one unbroken series of sand-banks, frog-ponds, clay hills and river marshes, with the unpretentious habitations of probably five thousand people scattered around in a desultory sort of way. In three days I had gained the acquaintance of nearly every man in town, and I made it a point to abuse everybody I met for locating in such an ill-favored and unpromising stretch of waste. Such a spot, I informed them, was intended only for water-fowls and wild beasts, but not for the dwellings of man."

Fourteen years thereafter he changed his mind, coming to Milwaukee to reside. Even in 1857, however, he was reminded of his first unfavorable impressions. Here is one of his recollections of the Milwaukee of the late '50s: "While I was hastening through the Third Ward on horseback, one day, I noticed a woman frantically waving her hands, signalling me to stop. Drawing the reins, I dismounted and hitched my horse to a tree. On entering the house, I found a very sick man. While I was bending over the patient, I chanced to peep out through the window at my horse. To my dismay and astonishment, he appeared to be legless, and, dropping my instruments instantly, I hastened out to see what had happened. I found that he had gradually sunk down until his legs had wholly disappeared, and the rest of his anatomy was gradually following. After much difficulty, I extracted him. The ground upon which I had left him standing was a mere crust. Often now, as I drive out over the miles of firm and beautiful pavement within the city's borders, I recall that little episode."

The Third Ward to which the Doctor referred was of course the "Old Third"— that is to say, the portion of the present Third Ward south of East Wisconsin Avenue, which originally was nearly all covered with water. As for the frog ponds he men-

tions in his account of what he confronted, they were numerous in many parts of the city as late as the period of the Civil war.

Bearing in mind the old saying that "doctors disagree," it may be interesting to bring into juxtaposition with Doctor Wolcott's animadversions the testimony of Dr. J. B. Selby, who came to Milwaukee in 1842, remained, and wrote as follows in 1895:

"Extensive changes have been made in the topography of Milwaukee since 1840. The land was sold by the government in 1835. Many made claims to lots before they were surveyed, but care and time were necessary to lay out streets, survey the blocks and lots and get them numbered. Then a very essential point was to establish a grade to which the streets were to be brought and from which little or no change would thereafter be necessary. Along the rivers the land was low, at some points below the level of the rivers. The bluffs were high, composed of clay in places, in others sand or gravel. It was essential to so establish a grade that cutting down the bluffs would just fill the vales beneath so as to form an easy rise from the river to the table land above.

"In 1842 little had been done to alter the natural beauty of Milwaukee. The low land along the two rivers [Milwaukee and Menomonee], extending back from thirty to sixty rods, was covered with a healthy growth of shrubs that were indigenous to the marshy ground they sprang from. The hills, or more correctly I should say the uniform bluffs that surrounded the low land, had an imposing and beautiful aspect, rising quite abruptly from forty to sixty feet, and were covered by native forests, in front by oak openings and behind by dense trees of oak, maple, beech and other hardwood timber. The ground under the openings was carpeted by the native grass.

"The view over the low land, the river, and the green waters of Lake Michigan from these elevated points on the west side was charming to the eye. On the east or Juneau side the land was generally high except East Water Street from Mason south. And all south of Michigan Street, covering the Third Ward to Milwaukee River was low, marshy and covered by water. On the west or Kilbourn side the bluff extended from the river and west along Cherry Street back to the center of Seventh and Eighth streets, thence rounding gracefully to the south till near Clybourn Street, thence west again parallel to the Menomonee and only cut

through by that stream about Thirty-fifth Street it extended around the great Menomonee basin nearly to the Soldiers' Home, making an eastern bend back again to Walker's Point. Thence it went south to the Kinnickinnic, thence east to Bay View and the lake shore. Where the City Hall Square is now located the land rose abruptly to an elevated cone, and a spring of pure cool water flowed copiously out from its base in about the center of the square. The cut along Market Street must have been at least thirty feet.

"On the West Side the high land jutted out at Chestnut Street some 400 feet and then receding it again advanced at Spring Street [now West Wisconsin Avenue] from Eighth to Fifth street, thence receded and continued its course to Clybourn. For many years Spring Street was not passable to wagons owing to this bold bluff, and all carriages destined out on the Spring Street road passed south onto Clybourn and out by Goodall's house, thence back to Spring. It took several years to grade down Spring Street between Fifth and Ninth streets to make it passable. All the low land in Milwaukee north of the Menomonee including all on the East Side has been filled from eight to twenty feet by cutting down the bluffs, and extensive improvements of the same nature have been accomplished on the South Side.

"I think I have presented a faithful summary of the appearance of Milwaukee in 1842. To say that it was simply beautiful would be an under-statement of the truth—it was enchanting. Those bluffs, so round and bold, were covered with timber, casting shade on soft, velvety turf beneath. From their tops could be seen the distant lake with its green waters and between them the river like a silver thread. It was a clear stream in which the Indian could spear his fish to a depth of ten or fifteen feet and upon whose surface the morning sun sparkled as upon a mirror. No wonder it was called by the Indians the 'Beautiful land.' It is beautiful today, but its beauty in its state of nature was the work of God."

Victor Schulte, who built St. John's Cathedral, was accustomed to go forth to his labors early in the morning. While the construction of the Cathedral was in progress, the southeast corner of Jackson and Martin streets [East State Street] was a deep ravine, in which the Zander family occupied a comfortable

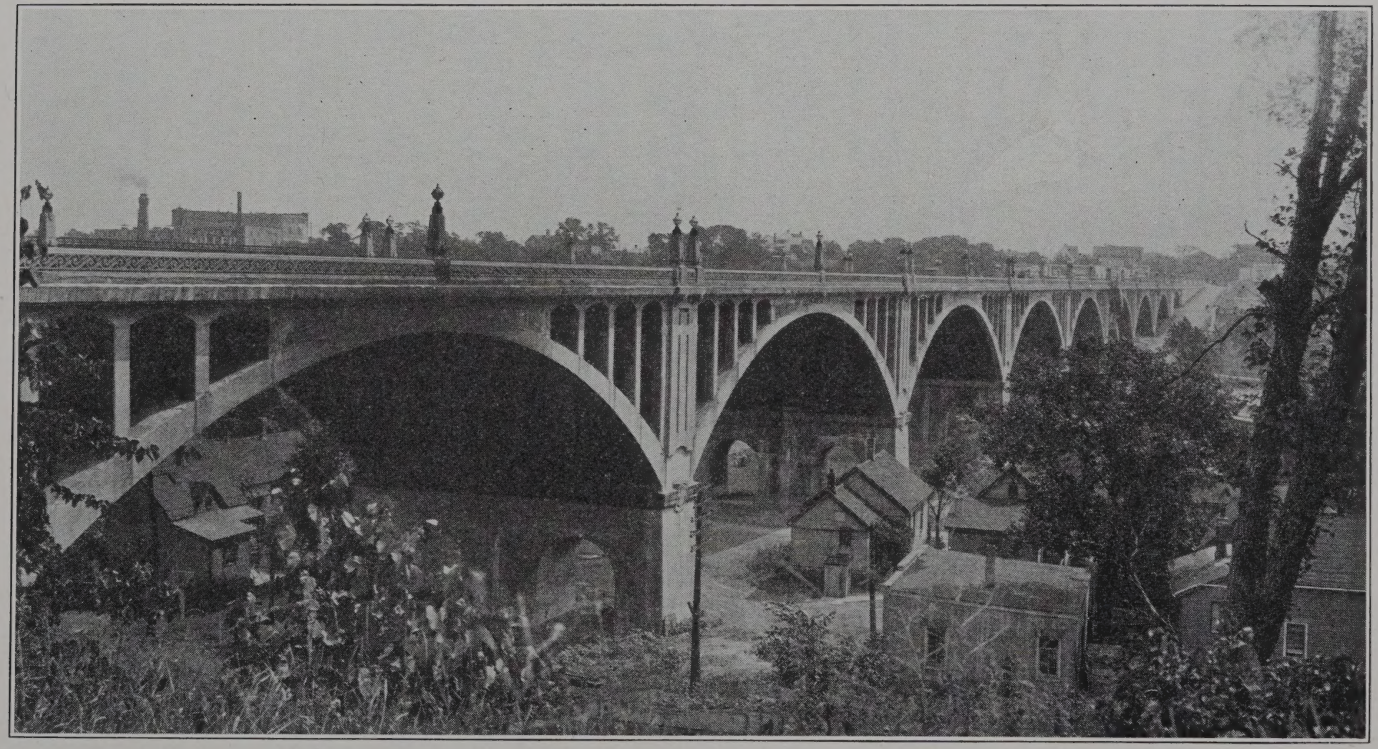
home. One spring morning Mr. Schulte noticed that water was rising rapidly in this ravine, and speedily aroused the Zanders, who, but for his intervention might have been drowned in their beds. There was a marshy place on the northern part of the square where the Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association building now stands, on Jefferson Street, and another on the north side of Ogden Avenue opposite what used to be Bielfeld's Garden. Until well into the '70s there was a pond on the south side of Ogden Avenue near Jackson Street. Until 1850 boys used to swim in a water-hole in Court House Square.

A map of Milwaukee, drawn by I. A. Lapham, in 1855, and published in New York, shows the avenues on the South Side now designated by numbers from First to Seventh, but designates them as Monroe, Giddings, Balding, Brown, Sanderson, Cook and Jones streets. A creek is shown, the course of which was northeasterly from the Hull farm, now Forest Home Cemetery. This stream followed nearly the present line of Mineral Street from Fifth Avenue to the river. In the City Directory of 1856 is the following entry: "Doerfler, Christoph, tannery, Madison near Sanderson." Mr. Doerfler was the father of Judge Christian Doerfler of the Wisconsin Supreme Court. His tannery was located on this creek. There is no vestige of its early aspect in the appearance of that region of the city today. Equally remarkable transformations have been wrought on the west side of the river, in the case of the watercourse which had its origin near the old Milwaukee Garden, and entered the Menomonee Valley through a depression that necessitated the bridging of Spring Street at Thirteenth Street in the early days. Here flowed the stream in which one of the Civil war recruits at Camp Scott was drowned while bathing as late as 1862. Until the end of the 1880s a ravine with banks sixty feet in height opening into the Milwaukee River survived near the present north approach to the Holton Street viaduct. So thoroughly performed was the task of bringing this locality up to grade that very few traces of the original lay of the land remain.

Yet all that has been accomplished in other sections of Milwaukee sinks to a subordinate place compared with the wonders engineering has wrought in the transformation of the Menomonee Valley and in successive contributions to the improvement of the

harbor, and in the creation of the systems which supply Milwaukee with pure water and dispose of its drainage and sewage. Here are triumphs which have enlisted attention from professional experts abroad as well as at home, and from which valuable suggestions have been drawn for the benefit not only of other American localities but also of older communities across the Atlantic.

OLD PROSPECT AVENUE



WISCONSIN AVENUE VIADUCT

CHAPTER IX

BRIDGES

THE PROBLEM OF GETTING ACROSS THE MILWAUKEE RIVER, AND HOW IT WAS MET IN THE EARLY DAYS—THE "BRIDGE WAR," WHICH PRODUCED AN INTOLERABLE SITUATION THAT HASTENED APPLICATION FOR A CITY CHARTER.

The act by which Virginia in 1784 relinquished possession of the territory now comprising the States of Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin contained a provision that navigable streams should not be obstructed. The same prohibition is found in the Ordinance of 1787, which was the basal law in the organization of the Northwest.

The language of the Ordinance of 1787 was as follows: "The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost or duty therefor."

This would prevent the construction of dams and bridges interfering with navigation. That it was intended to inhibit the construction of drawbridges necessary for the convenience of the people is not to be believed. Yet in the early days of Cleveland and Chicago as well as of Milwaukee there were individuals who pretended to find warrant for opposition to the construction of drawbridges in this organic law. Byron Kilbourn has been quoted as asserting that it would forever stand as a bar against the bridging of the Milwaukee River. Daniel Wells, Jr., took a broader view. Referring to the matter a few years before his death, he observed: "In 1839 I got Kilbourn to consent to the building of a bridge at Chestnut Street. The courthouse had been erected by Juneau, and my argument was, 'How will the people living west of the Milwaukee River get to the courthouse

unless there is a bridge?' The agreement to build the bridge was arrived at after a series of negotiations, and Mr. Kilbourn would consent to nothing unless assured that the West Side would never be asked to share in the cost of any street improvement on the East Side. That is where our system of ward funds originated —a system which, I believe, does not exist in any other American city. That first bridge across the Milwaukee River was built at the expense of the county." Notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances under which it came into existence, the system of separate ward funds survived until a comparatively recent date.

As has been intimated, the first place for crossing the Milwaukee was at its mouth, where Horace Chase established a ferry, the charge for a team being 50 cents. The Chicago mail, at the beginning, crossed at that place. Kilbourn's bridge across the Menomonee had the effect which he intended of opening a new way into town.

In 1836, when the ferry at Spring and Wisconsin streets was originally provided, it was free to all who rowed the boat for themselves. It is to be borne in mind that the West Side of the early days was very little developed in what is now "down town," its settlement having begun in the vicinity of Chestnut Street, where there was solid ground. What made the Spring Street of that time chiefly important was the business center of the East Side, clustering in the vicinity of the original Juneau trading post, at the northwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets. Spring Street was a quagmire near the river, and a steep hill in the neighborhood of what is now Fifth Street caused people in vehicles to detour to the south at that point and then proceed westward on Clybourn Street. In the later '30s there were complaints of the cost of crossing by means of the ferry. Following is a table of charges for this convenience which was published in the *Milwaukee Advertiser* of April 29, 1837:

RATES OF FERRIAGE OVER THE MILWAUKEE RIVER

For one person	6 cents	For the same, drawn by two horses or oxen	25 cents
For a horse	6 cents	For the same drawn by four horses	37 cents
For wagon, cart, carriage, etc., drawn by one horse	18 cents		

Hours from sunrise to 9 o'clock in the evening.

That the Spring Street ferry was much used in 1841 was indicated by a statement in the *Courier* that "it took over in one day 111 teams, and 251 passengers, besides 902 foot passengers who were transported on the small scow." The greater portion of this traffic, of course, was due to the tide of immigration to the interior, most of the arrivals coming by boat from Buffalo, landing on the East Side, and passing through the city.

In May, 1841, the *Courier* noted the opening of Second Street from its junction with West Water Street to the Menomonee River, and the construction across the stream at that point of a bridge connecting the West Side with the South Side at Hanover Street. This bridge was stationary, with a frame built in the middle of the river. It remained in use till 1854, when it was pulled down because the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad wanted the approach to it for a yard.

That there was a floating bridge connecting Wisconsin and Spring streets in 1842 appears from an article in the *Courier* for March 2 of that year, denouncing it as a disgrace to the town. The terminal facilities at the west end of this bridge were very bad, Spring Street at that place being a quagmire. The *Courier* said: "Several citizens of the West Side have drawn the county bridge at Chestnut Street, and thus cut off communication with the East Ward. It would be a pity to lose a bridge that has cost the county so much money; yet the Chestnut Street bridge is not so necessary as the float bridge."

In 1842 the east side of the river was docked from the Ludington Building, northwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, 100 feet north. For many years wagons could drive along the east bank of the river from Huron Street north, making deliveries and receiving goods from the back doors of the stores fronting on East Water Street nearly all the way to Mason Street, thus leaving East Water Street free for the use of the farmers and other customers of the merchants doing business on that street.

The country was filling up and the business of Milwaukee with the interior was increasing; facilities which had sufficed at first were becoming inadequate. On April 6, 1844, the *Commercial Herald* said: "Farmers south and west complain of the roads leading into the village. Neither of the bridges crossing the

Menomonee is safe, and the ferry at Walker's Point is sunk. Now is the time to build a bridge at the Point." A float bridge at Walker's Point, built by subscription, was opened on the 16th of August, 1844. It had what was called a combination draw, worked by a windlass, the chain from which led to an anchor in the river, and evidently was a makeshift, though representing progress compared with what had preceded it.

The floating bridge built in 1842 connecting Wisconsin Street with Spring Street was built by James H. Rogers and others. Its critics called it a raft, and said that to cross it in safety with a team necessitated the gaining of momentum in coming down the hill, so that the vehicle would speed over before the bridge sank under its own weight, letting horses and vehicle into the water. When a freshet carried it away in 1843 there was necessity for a successor, which was built by subscription. The new bridge had floating bastions and an immense draw.

In 1844 Daniel Wells, Jr., and others secured the construction of a bridge at Oneida Street, but people of the East Side paid most of the money for the construction and maintenance of all the bridges across the Milwaukee, while complaining that the West Siders were their principal beneficiaries by reason of the fact that the post office, the courthouse, and large business establishments which West Siders were obliged to visit were on the East Side.

An outgrowth of personal and sectional rivalry which undoubtedly did much to hasten organization under a charter was what is remembered as the Bridge War. The subject is one for which contemporary records are a safer source than anonymous traditions. The official paper in the spring of 1845 was the *Courier*, printed weekly. Its report of "Corporation Proceedings" at the meeting held on the evening of May 7, of that year, which brought together for the first time trustees from all of the three wards constituting the Village of Milwaukee, begins as follows:

"Board convened pursuant to special call. Present, from the West Ward, President [E. D.] Holton, Church, Gruenhagen, Kilbourn and [Moses] Kneeland. From the East Ward, Messrs. McClure, Prentiss and Upmann. On motion of William A. Prentiss, the Trustees-elect of the South Ward, to-wit, David Merrill, George H. Walker, Lemuel W. Weeks, William A.

Hawkins and James Magone, were duly qualified, and took their seats."

The report goes on to state that Moses Kneeland presented a preamble and resolutions declaring the Chestnut Street bridge to be "an insupportable nuisance," and authorizing and requiring the Committee on Streets and Bridges in the West Ward to "remove out of the river so much of the old county bridge and all appendages thereto as occupy or in any manner obstruct the free navigation of the Milwaukee River west of the middle of said river, and for that purpose to employ the necessary laborers, either by the day or by the job, as they may deem expedient."

That Mr. Kneeland was not oblivious to controversial contingencies which might be hazarded by the attempt to carry out the summary proceeding contemplated, seems to have been indicated in the concluding paragraph of his resolutions, which was couched in the following words:

"Resolved, That the expense of removing the western part of said bridge as aforesaid be paid out of the general funds of the West Ward, together with all expenses incident to such removal or in any way growing out of the same incurred by or under or on behalf of persons aiding and assisting in such removal."

The official report goes on to say that "Mr. Prentiss took exception to the passage of the foregoing, on the ground that one ward had not the power under the act of incorporation to declare what was a nuisance without the consent or assent of the whole board. Mr. Walker moved to lay the preamble and resolutions on the table. The President decided Mr. Walker's motion to be out of order. Mr. Walker had leave to withdraw his motion. Mr. Kneeland then had leave to withdraw the preamble and resolutions."

Mr. Kneeland then again presented his resolutions, with the clause of the preamble containing the word "nuisance" stricken out; and Mr. Prentiss moved to lay the same on the table. The president declared that the preamble and resolutions being a local matter of the West Ward, the motion of Mr. Prentiss was out of order. Mr. Prentiss said that as the boundaries of the East and West wards were confined by the charter to the east and west banks of the Milwaukee River, he should be under the necessity of appealing from the decision of the chair. The President then

put the question, "Shall the decision of the chair be sustained?" whereupon—

"Mr. Walker stated that as the question had assumed a new aspect, he felt great reluctance in giving his vote. It appeared to him to have assumed a legal shape, and therefore he did not feel competent to decide. But it appeared to him that the decision of the President so far as it related to the boundary was correct; for in his opinion the corporate powers of the different wards must extend to the center of the river, and not, as contended for by some, to the margin only. He did not intend, by the vote he was about to give, to determine the right or power of the West Ward to interfere in any manner with the bridges upon the river, but simply as to the question of jurisdiction.

"The yeas and nays were then taken, which resulted as follows:

"Ayes—Messrs. Holton (President), Church, Gruenhagen, Kneeland, Kilbourn and Walker—6.

"Nays—Messrs. McClure, Prentiss, Upmann, Magone, Merrill, Hawkins and Weeks—7.

"The decision of the chair was reversed."

But the matter was not permitted to rest at this stage.

The official report continues:

"Mr. Magone remarked that as one who voted to reverse the decision of the chair, he must say he believed the center of the river to be the bounds of the wards. He believed the question to be on bridges solely, and believed that over them in its corporate capacity the whole town exercised jurisdiction. He should still sustain the vote given to reverse the decision of the chair.

"Mr. Kneeland then had leave to withdraw the preamble and resolutions.

"Mr. Kilbourn then presented the following resolution, which was adopted, the West Ward alone voting:

" 'Resolved, That the Committee on Streets and Bridges in the West Ward be and they are hereby authorized and required to remove out of Chestnut Street so much of the old county bridge and all appendages thereto as occupy any part of said street west of the Milwaukee River, and for that purpose to employ the necessary laborers either by the day or by the job as they may deem expedient.

" 'Resolved, That the expense of removing the western part of said bridge as aforesaid be paid out of the general funds of the West Ward, together with all the expenses incidental to such removal or in any way growing out of the same, incurred by or on behalf of persons aiding in such removal.'

"Mr. Gruenhagen tendered his resignation as a member of the Committee on Streets and Bridges, and Mr. Kilbourn was appointed to fill the vacancy.

"The Board then proceeded to other business."

The *Courier*, as has been noted, was a weekly, and had no issue during the interval between the 7th and the 14th of May, 1845. The following is from the *Sentinel* of May 9, 1845:

"Early yesterday morning our city was thrown into a ferment by the news that the bridge at Kilbourntown had been rendered impassable, the string-pieces at the west end having been cut off, that part of the bridge let down, and other damages done. There had been an exciting debate the evening before respecting the bridges, in the Board of Trustees. There have long been unpleasant feelings between the East and West wards of the corporation on that subject. The East Ward, it seems, did not take such a course as was pleasing to some of the leaders and property-holders on the west side of the river, and it was determined by them, or some of them, that the two upper bridges should be annihilated. Hence the bridge at Kilbourntown was destroyed and the embankment at the west of the one at Oneida Street removed so as to render it impassable.

"On hearing the news, a large crowd assembled in the streets on the east side of the river to consult as to what measures should be adopted. They were evidently much excited, and at first we thought would proceed to violence—the natural result of men taking the law into their own hands. They were addressed by several respectable citizens, and at length adjourned, to meet at the ringing of the bell, after it should be ascertained what the Board of Trustees would do. They met again about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when the meeting was ably and eloquently addressed by J. E. Arnold, Esq., and H. N. Wells, Esq., and several others, after which the people quietly retired to their homes.

"The destruction of the bridges is greatly to be regretted. It is an act of lawless violence admitting of no apology or palliation.

The individuals who were engaged in it will themselves, as soon as the excitement subsides, regret what they have done. In this country, where the people make the laws, they ought certainly to abide by them. The spirit which led to the destruction of the bridges is the same spirit which has animated the mob in every age. When once aroused, there is no telling where it will stop. One act of violence generally leads to others."

When the *Courier* appeared, on the 14th of May, it expressed itself in the following clear-cut editorial:

"The Bridge Excitement.—Our town was the scene of the most intense excitement during the latter part of last week. On Thursday morning the citizens were alarmed by the ringing of bells, and the news spread rapidly through the town that Chestnut Street had been partially destroyed during the night, by persons in the West Ward.

"There had been an exciting debate, and some stringent measures proposed by the West Ward Trustees in relation to the bridge, at the session of the Board of Trustees the evening before (a report of which will be found in another column), and this act was committed in pursuance of measures there proposed.

"All business was suspended for the time, and the people of the East Ward convened almost en masse to take measures of redress for this violent destruction of a public work. For a time the excitement was so great it was much feared by the calmer portion of the community (which comprised but a very small number) that terrible retribution would be visited upon the persons and property of those who were understood to be the authors of the outrage.

"The crowd was addressed by several citizens who counseled more peaceable measures; and finally a committee was appointed to confer with the people of the West Ward, and if possible obtain an amicable adjustment of all the difficulties. Thus matters stand at present, and it is hoped that when the excitement subsides every good citizen will see the obligation he is under to abide by and sustain the laws of the land.

"This bridge question is an old sore that has rankled and festered in the community ever since the origin of the town. It is a sort of faction fight that some of the first settlers cannot

forget, and only wonder why the newcomers cannot have as deep feeling in the matter as they have.

"Now we cannot understand that the town has so many separate interests, and we look upon any improvement made in any portion of the town as so much advantage to Milwaukee. Our town cannot be made great and prosperous by fighting among ourselves, or by one portion endeavoring to tear down another portion. We are proud of our town—our whole town—our noble bay, our beautiful rivers, our magnificent and unequaled water power, our fine blocks of buildings, our rapidly increasing trade and commercial and manufacturing prosperity.

"We cannot feel the sectional jealousy and hostility that was engendered in an earlier day, when the population was more scattered, and the immediate object was to make good 'points'; when the most far-seeing could hardly dream that the time was near at hand when to the limits of our borders we would become one town, with but one interest and one feeling. But the time for all this is now at hand."

Meanwhile, official action had been taken, growing out of the undertaking to destroy the bridge.

On the evening of May 8th, it appears from the official publication of Corporation Proceedings, which is here reproduced, the Board of Trustees met pursuant to special call. There were present from the East Ward Messrs. McClure, Prentiss and Upmann; from the West Ward, Mr. Church; from the South Ward, Messrs. Hawkins, Magone, Merrill, Walker and Weeks.

William A. Prentiss introduced an ordinance for the preservation of certain bridges and the streets connected therewith, in the Town of Milwaukee, which was read and on motion adopted. On motion of William A. Prentiss, it was resolved "that, whereas the corporation paper [the *Courier*] is not issued until Wednesday next, for the purpose of hastening the publication of the foregoing ordinance, it be published in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* three weeks." [The text of the ordinance will be found below.]

Mr. Magone introduced the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That Edward D. Holton be and he is hereby removed from the office of President of this Board.

"Resolved, That the Board now proceed to the election of a President."

The yeas and nays were called for:

Ayes—Messrs. McClure, Prentiss, Upmann, Hawkins, Magone and Weeks—6.

Nays—Messrs. Merrill and Walker—2.

The chair declared the resolution adopted.

On motion of D. Upmann, the board proceeded to elect a president by ballot. On the first ballot, G. H. Walker received four votes; L. W. Weeks three votes, David Merrill one vote. On the second ballot, L. W. Weeks received five votes; G. H. Walker three votes. The chair thereupon declared L. W. Weeks President of the Board.

On motion of Mr. Magone, it was "Resolved, That in the event of an attempt of any person or persons to destroy or in any way injure any property belonging to this town, or the inhabitants thereof, the President be and he is hereby empowered to employ the requisite number of men and proceed to prevent all and every such person or persons from the commission of any such acts, and suppress all riotous and disorderly conduct, and the proper authorities will pay all expenses incurred thereby."

In the advertising columns of the *Courier* of May 14, 1845, there was published the following, which is identical with the official publication that had been made in the *Sentinel*, as indicated above:

"An Ordinance to provide for the preservation of certain bridges and the streets connected therewith, in the Town of Milwaukee.

"Section 1. Any person or persons who shall willfully in any way or manner cut, remove or damage, or be concerned in any way in cutting, removing or damaging any of the streets or any part or portion of the bridges leading from the several streets across the Milwaukee River hereafter mentioned, to wit: The bridge leading from Chestnut Street in the West Ward to Division Street in the East Ward; the bridge leading from Oneida Street in the East Ward to Wells Street in the West Ward; the bridge leading from Spring Street in the West Ward to Wisconsin Street in the East Ward, and the bridge from or near Dousman & Co.'s warehouse in the East Ward to Walker's Point, now the South Ward, on conviction thereof by any justice of the peace,

shall severally forfeit and pay the sum of $50, and be imprisoned in the County Jail for a term of five days.

"Sec. 2. All prosecution for a violation of the provisions of the foregoing section shall be commenced by action of debt, in the name of the President and Trustees of the Town of Milwaukee, and the moneys collected thereon shall be paid into the treasury of the corporation, to be disposed of as a majority of the Trustees may think fit.

"Passed May 8, 1845.

"George H. Walker, Pres't pro tem.
"C. C. Savage, Clerk."

The *Sentinel* of May 10 contained a brief editorial and a communication relating to bridges. The editorial observed:

"The mutual interests require that bridges shall be sustained. The great majority of our citizens in each ward, we believe, are willing to do what is fair and honorable. We are happy to perceive a spirit of compromise; a willingness to do what is right prevails among the mass of the people. Our citizens generally are law-abiding men. We have no doubt that with the proper management the whole business can be settled amicably."

The communication, signed "Taxpayer," was as follows:

"Mr. Editor: The situation in which the East Ward is now placed by the outrageous acts of a few ruffians in the West Ward is one which calls for prompt, united and energetic action by our citizens. We have abundant means of self-defense, of legal retaliation. Although I would discountenance to my utmost any violation of law, I would have our citizens use every means which the law puts in our hands for the protection of our interests and the punishment of those who instigated and committed the outrage.

"I am in favor of peace and compromise if they can be had, and hold that the two wards should unite and keep up at their joint expense the Chestnut and Spring Street bridges. If this cannot be done, if the people on the west side of the river should persist in what appears to be the present determination to destroy the Chestnut Street bridge, then let the East Ward, as by the law of last winter it is expressly authorized to do, erect a solid, permanent bridge at Chestnut Street, and sweep away all below that point. The bridge at Spring Street is without authority of

law, and any individual can with immunity destroy it, and unless the Chestnut Street bridge is permitted to exist in full and successful operation, without any grading of the street to the water's edge, or any kind of interference by the authorities of the West Ward, then bring into operation *lex talionis*, at once and forever.

"We must take a firm stand on this question, nor must we rest satisfied with any smooth and specious pretenses and promises on the part of the Lord of the Manor on the West Side. We have had too much of them already. The time for such things is past. A glance at the map will show that the course here recommended, although attended with large expense which we are little able to bear, is yet one which we can accomplish, and will tell on those Spring Street gentlemen who are the instigators of this outrage, and not upon them only, but upon all that part of the West Ward lying between Spring and Chestnut streets. All that need be done in the way of making streets is to extend West Water Street some fifteen hundred feet in the river and erect a permanent bridge upon wooden bents, and bridge the canal, and the work is done. If per adventure Cherry Street should also be made, the western travel could leave the Prairie Village road about one-half mile west of the river, and, taking that street, get to Milwaukee by a route which would not depend upon the caprice of any dictator or his satellites. Let our Trustees, as we doubt not they will, meet any conciliatory measures which the Trustees of the West Ward may propose in a spirit of conciliation, but don't let them be gammoned—don't let them yield an inch as to the Chestnut Street bridge—a bridge built under the special sanction of the Legislature, whose legality has been established by a judicial decision, and to put which in good order and successful operation our citizens have contributed so much both from their corporate and their individual funds.

"Taxpayer."

The *Courier* of May 21 contained the following under the head of "Corporation Proceedings," indicating that it was official:

"At an adjourned meeting of the Board of Trustees, May 15, 1845, Present, from the East Ward, Messrs. McClure and Prentiss; West Ward, Messrs. Church, Gruenhagen, Kilbourn and Kneeland; from the South Ward, Messrs. Hawkins, Magone, Merrill, Walker and Weeks.

"The resolutions laid on the table on the 14th inst. were called up and amended as follows:

"Resolved, That James H. Rogers be and is hereby authorized to remove the floating draw from the bridge at Wells and Oneida streets, unless the principal owners object thereto; and place the same in the bridge at Chestnut and Division streets, and from the west pier of said last-named bridge he is authorized to construct a permanent way.

"Resolved, That if the removal of said draw should be resisted, so that he may not be able to obtain it, then that he be authorized to repair the Chestnut Street bridge by the construction of a new floating draw, and that the materials now in said bridge and draw be appropriated to said Rogers in payment of the expense of making said repairs, but no other appropriations be made by the East Ward.

"Resolved, That the bridge at Oneida and Wells streets be and is hereby discontinued as a public bridge.

"The ayes and noes being called for, the Trustees voted as follows:

"Ayes—Messrs. McClure, Church, Gruenhagen, Kilbourn, Kneeland, Hawkins, Magone, Merrill, Walker and Weeks—10.

"Nays—Mr. Prentiss—1.

"Whereupon the President declared the resolutions adopted.

"On motion, the Board adjourned."

Up to this point, so far as the contemporaneous printed record throws light upon what took place, the only injury perpetrated upon bridges had the "color" of official sanction. The next incident of the series seems to have been due to some description of what might be called "popular initiative." It was chronicled rather casually as follows in the *Sentinel* of May 20, 1845:

"We have taken some pains to obtain the views of some of the wire-workers as well as of the people in the East and West wards respecting the bridges. There is but little difference of opinion among the mass of the people as to the necessity and utility of all the bridges we have ever had across the Milwaukee; but there are a few individuals—property-holders, supremely selfish—at the bottom of the difficulty. Those of this class who reside in the West Ward have circulated reports that the East Warders desire to establish a bridge at Kilbourntown and another

at Walker's Point and to destroy all others intervening. On the other hand, the West Ward is represented by some in the East Ward as being hostile to all bridges, and particularly to those above Spring Street. These representations, as far as they apply to some leading individuals, may be correct, but are not true when applied to the people.

"The first open, undisguised attempt or effort to destroy the bridges was made recently by a few men in the West Ward acting under color of law. We say *color* of law, for we do not believe that any lawyer of good standing can be found who will say that the ordinance passed by the Trustees of the West Ward for the removal of the bridges was of any validity whatever. The authors of this first act of destruction must be held responsible for what has followed—for all the consequences of their lawless proceedings. We shall not be understood, however, as in any degree justifying the spirit of mobocracy on the East or the West side of the river. But the first act led as a natural result to the proceedings of yesterday, which we record with pain, as they are disgraceful to the actors and the town.

"Yesterday, while we were sitting in our sanctum, we were disturbed by the firing of cannon. Soon a large crowd assembled, broke down Spring Street bridge and then proceeded to that across the Menomonee. This also they rendered impassable. Many of the mob at the Menomonee bridge were armed with pistols and guns, and one or two individuals were considerably injured, though not dangerously. While we are writing this article, cannons and guns are being fired.

"Such is the commencement of mobocracy. We care not who has encouraged it, or what excuse may be offered. In this land, where the people make their own laws, there can be no circumstances which justify a resort to mobocracy. Our town has been disgraced by these lawless proceedings, and every individual who has encouraged or in any way sanctioned them deserves the execration of all lovers of law—of every good citizen.

"Since penning the above, we are informed there is a prospect that all the difficulty respecting the bridges will be settled amicably."

Who wrote this commendably good-tempered article is not known. The proprietors of the *Sentinel* at the time were Jason

Downer and John S. Fillmore, the former being in editorial charge. From a modern standpoint, the writer's detachment suggests an attitude of super-Olympian aloofness uniquely superb. When Achilles dragged Hector's body three times around the walls of Troy "the gazing gods leaned forward from the sky." When rioters were rampaging in the streets of Milwaukee, and the boom of cannon filled the air, the editor of the only daily paper—his sanctum at the southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, but a few feet from where a mob was hacking at Spring Street bridge—did not even stick his head out of the window, but kept on writing. What he says of the destruction wrought upon Spring Street bridge is supported by corroborative evidence. As to Menomonee bridge the case is different. The distance between that structure and the busy editor's sanctum was more than half a mile. Testifying as an eye witness regarding Menomonee bridge, James S. Buck avers in his "Pioneer History," Vol. II, p. 274, "It was not damaged five dollars' worth."

"Corporation Proceedings" at a meeting of the Trustees held on the 2d of June were reported as follows:

"Mr. Weeks in the chair. After other business, on motion of L. W. Weeks, it was

"Resolved, That the corporation attorney be instructed to proceed in the arresting and binding over to appear at the District Court of all such persons as warrants have been issued against, and in taking measures to prosecute all persons concerned in the destruction of the Menomonee and Spring Street bridges.

"On motion of Mr. Ward,

"Resolved, That the marshal be directed to take possession and attend the bridge at Spring and Wisconsin streets, at the expense of the East Ward, until further instructions be given.

"On motion of Mr. Church,

"Resolved, That the committee on streets and bridges for the West Ward be authorized to let the contract for cutting a ditch from the river across Third Street in the center of Poplar Street, and the same be paid for out of the revenue of 1846.

"On motion of Mr. Magone, the marshal was sent for the absent members from the East Ward. Upon their arrival communications containing notification of their resignation were re-

ceived from D. Upmann and J. E. McClure. Daniel Wells, Jr., and Leonard Farwell were unanimously elected to succeed them."

The Village Board of Trustees was not a happy family. The account of the proceedings at the meeting of June 2 concludes as follows:

"On motion of Mr. Magone it was resolved that a special committee of five, consisting of two from the East Ward, two from the West Ward, and one from the South Ward, be appointed by this Board to thoroughly investigate the bridge question and report at a special meeting of this Board. The President appointed Messrs. Magone, Ward, Murphy, Kilbourn and Church.

"On motion of L. W. Weeks, it was ordered that the corporation attorney be instructed to proceed in arresting and binding over to appear all such persons as warrants have been issued for, and take measures to prosecute all persons concerned in the destruction of the Menomonee and Spring Street bridges.

"On motion of Mr. Ward: 'That the Marshal be directed to take possession and attend the bridge at Wells and Oneida streets and the bridge at Spring and Wisconsin streets, at the expense of the East Ward, until further instructions be given.' "

At the session of June 4, the committee, including Mr. Kilbourn, appointed at the session of June 2d reported that in accordance with its instructions its members had examined the bridges in dispute and inquired into the causes that led to their partial destruction. "Without entering into a history of the Chestnut Street bridge," the report proceeded, "or of the questions of law involved in its charter, or of the bickerings and jealousies that it has heretofore caused on both sides of the river, your committee would say that in their opinion said bridge as now constructed is a serious obstacle to the navigation of the river, and as such must prove injurious to the commerce of that portion of the West Ward situated above said bridge. Nor is this all—your committee cannot reconcile it to their sense of justice that the piers and trestle work at the western termination of said bridge should be elevated some six feet above the established grade, thus presenting a barrier to the travel on the wharves, which to say the least must prove extremely inconvenient. Your committee are of the opinion that three good and permanent bridges across the Milwaukee River, so constructed

as to present the least possible obstacle to navigation, are all that is required by the interests of the town—one crossing the river from East Water to Ferry Street; one crossing from Wisconsin to Spring Street, and one crossing at or near the site of Chestnut Street bridge. Under existing circumstances, your committee do not believe the Oneida Street bridge could be well dispensed with, owing to the very defective construction of Spring Street bridge, and not until the last-mentioned bridge shall be so built as to admit of a double carriage-way, so that teams can meet and pass each other without obstructing foot passengers."

Matters went on without mending throughout the summer and the fall. The following is from the *Sentinel* of November 24:

"A young German, by trade a shoemaker, who came to Milwaukee only a fortnight since, was drowned Saturday night by walking off the broken draw of the bridge at the foot of Wisconsin Street. The night was dark and there were no lights on the bridge to show its dangerous condition, nor was there any help at hand when the poor stranger fell in. His body was not found till yesterday morning. The draw was broken or cut down on Saturday afternoon by Captain Corbett in order to clear a passage for his schooner. For this wanton destruction of property Corbett was arrested, and after examination before Justice Walworth was bound over to answer for the offense before the District Court. What is proposed to be done with the public functionaries in whose charge the bridge was, and through whose negligence in not putting up a fence or hanging lights at night a fellow being lost his life?"

November 25 the *Sentinel* said:

"The schooner *Elizabeth Henderson*, going out on Saturday, ran into the bridge at Walker's Point and broke away the draw. Workmen were busy yesterday repairing damages and the bridge will be passable tomorrow. The bridge at the foot of Wisconsin Street remains broken in two. Is it anybody's business to have it mended?"

The particularity and care with which this history of the Bridge War has been built up from contemporaneous records is due to the influence that episode exerted upon the course of events. It precipitated a crisis. It convinced the community of the necessity for organizing municipal government on an efficient

basis. Under date of December 2, responsible citizens attached their names to the following call for a public meeting:

"We, the undersigned, believing that a meeting of the citizens of Milwaukee for the purpose of taking action in regard to the special and general interests of the city would be highly beneficial, respectfully invite our fellow citizens to meet in general council at the Military Hall on Wednesday, the 3d day of December, at half-past 6 o'clock p. m. P. Potter, E. B. Strong, J. D. Weston, Lyndsey Ward, I. A. Lapham, J. E. McClure, H. Ludington, James Foote, Jr., Alexander Mitchell, Wm. Duane Wilson, F. J. Blair, H. Williams, J. Cary, H. L. Page, L. Bonnell, E. Starr, Bradley & Metcalf, J. N. Bonesteel, D. W. Baylis, H. Mabbett & Co., James Kneeland, Rufus King, J. S. Rowland, James B. Martin, S. L. Rood, J. E. Arnold, E. Cramer, Daniel Wells, Jr., N. A. McClure, B. F. Fay, J. B. Sanborn, J. B. Zander, John Webb."

Publishing this call, the *Sentinel* directed attention to it with these words, very probably from the pen of Rufus King, who had purchased an interest in the paper and assumed its editorship in September. He had signed the call for the meeting. From the beginning to the end of his career in the town, he identified himself with every movement for the building up of Milwaukee:

"No specific object is named, for the reason that a number of important projects will demand the attention of the meeting. We want better roads leading out into the country; we want increased mail facilities; we want a better system of town organization; we want a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, and we want greater security for property and life in the navigation of the lakes.

"The progress of Milwaukee for the past four or five years has been rapid and prosperous beyond precedent. From the mere skeleton of a frontier settlement it has grown into a busy, thriving, populous town. But much of this amazing growth is owing to the natural advantages of our location and the tempting inducements our fertile Territory holds out to immigrants from all quarters of the globe. There has been but little concert of action among our citizens, and but very seldom any united and intelligent efforts to improve the advantages we enjoy. In the strife of local or individual competition the good of the whole has been too often neglected or overlooked. The jealousies and rivalries

incident to a new and growing settlement have at times jeoparded the general interest, and, on one memorable occasion, at least, threatened to disturb the public peace.

"But let bygones be bygones. Let us forget that there were ever any differences of opinion among us as to where this road should be opened or that bridge built. Let us counsel together upon matters affecting the general interest and welfare. Let us one and all resolve to put our shoulders to the wheel, and, knowing neither party, sect nor *ward*, unite in a common effort to advance the common weal."

The article was copied into the following issue of the *Courier*.

The meeting thus convoked was reported in the *Sentinel* of the following day. It was largely attended, the editor said, and "animated by a spirit which spoke well for the future of Milwaukee." After organization had been effected, with Doctor Weeks as chairman and I. A. Lapham and A. W. Hatch as secretaries, the gathering listened to addresses by Paraclete Potter, D. A. J. Upham, E. D. Holton and others, and delegated to committees the task of formulating plans for the furtherance of the different important subjects discussed, these committees to report at a subsequent meeting. The committees were constituted as follows:

On motion of D. A. J. Upham, a committee of three to submit at the adjourned meeting a report on what measures are necessary for the more effective protection of property against fire. Committee: Paraclete Potter, Alexander Mitchell and E. Eldred.

On motion of Peter Yates, a committee of five on a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. Committee: P. Yates, B. Kilbourn, H. Ludington, W. A. Prentiss, H. Crocker.

On motion of E. D. Holton, a committee on common schools. Committee: E. D. Holton, F. Randall, Rufus King.

On motion of Mr. Brown, a committee of five to draft a memorial to Congress for the establishment of a mail route across the lake and the taking of measures for its general circulation for signatures throughout the Territory. Committee: J. A. Brown, E. D. Holton, J. A. Noonan, J. H. Tweedy and A. W. Stow.

On motion of E. D. Holton, a committee of four from the East Ward, three from the West Ward and two from the South Ward, to be appointed by the chairman, to draft a City Charter

to be reported to the present Board of Trustees for their approval, and by them forwarded to the Legislature for its action. Committee: West Ward—E. D. Holton, A. W. Stow and E. Moseley; East Ward—D. A. J. Upham, J. E. Arnold, Captain George, Doctor Johnson; South Ward—Richard Hadley and Doctor Loomis.

The meeting adjourned, to reassemble on the following Wednesday.

As a matter of fact, the situation was not as harmonious as the *Sentinel* loyally endeavored to make it appear. There were clashing interests; there were personal distrusts. There were struggles for control. There were individuals willing enough to go ahead if they could direct, but ready to block progress if leadership were assigned to others than themselves.

The adjourned assemblage did not reconvene on the date originally agreed upon, for the reason that inclement weather prevailed, and the hall was cold, and so few were present that it was concluded best to postpone the reception of the reports to an occasion when they could be acted upon by a larger and more fully representative body of the citizenry. Consequently adjournment till two days later was decided upon, and the place of assemblage changed from Military Hall to the Trustees' Hall in the West Ward, and at that place, on the evening of Friday, the 12th, with Doctor Weeks in the chair and Messrs. Lapham and Hatch officiating as secretaries, the work begun on the 3d was continued. The matter of the Charter had been disposed of at the original assemblage, by providing that the committee on drafting that instrument should report to the Board of Trustees "for their approval" and through that channel find its way to the Territorial Legislature. The Legislature would assemble on the first Monday of January.

Matters of consequence, however, had been left for consideration at the adjourned meeting, and these were acted upon as indicated in the following summary of its proceedings:

Paraclete Potter, from the committee on protection against fire, reported recommendations regarding the safe-keeping of ashes, security in the putting up of stoves and stovepipes, importance of fire wardens doing their duty faithfully, want of an alarm bell and a person to ring it, want of a night-watch, importance of comfortable and convenient engine houses, deficiency in

fire buckets, necessity for the establishment of fire limits, for the prevention of the erection of wooden buildings within those limits, a reservoir in the East Ward, licensing of merchants to keep gunpowder and prohibiting its sale by persons not licensed. The report was accepted and adopted, being referred to the Trustees of the town, with a request for action.

Rufus King reported on a school system for Milwaukee. On motion it was ordered published in the newspapers, and also resolved that the same committee with three additional members be directed to prepare a memorial to the Legislature for the carrying of its recommendations into effect. The committee as enlarged consisted of E. D. Holton, F. Randall, Rufus King, G. A. Smith, R. Murphy and Moritz Schoeffler.

Mr. Yates, from the committee on a railroad, reported a resolution which, after modification, was adopted, as follows:

"Resolved, That the committee on a railroad, with the addition of two, be continued in power, to correspond, and to prepare such petitions to the Legislature, memorials or bills as they may deem expedient for the improvement of the main roads leading into the town of Milwaukee and the construction of a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi."

This committee as enlarged consisted of Peter Yates, Byron Kilbourn, H. Ludington, W. A. Prentiss, H. Crocker, Paraclete Potter and J. A. Brown.

The committee on increased mail facilities was continued.

On motion of Paraclete Potter a committee of three from each ward was appointed to devise plans for settling finally all disputes relating to bridges across the Milwaukee River. Committee: P. Potter, E. Eldred, E. B. Wolcott, E. D. Holton, J. H. Rogers, E. Moseley, R. Allen, O. Putnam and S. H. Martin.

A report of these proceedings was signed by the officers and ordered printed, after which the meeting adjourned.

December 17, the report on schools appeared, with the signatures of E. D. Holton, Francis Randall and Rufus King, committee.

December 20, the committee on bridges reported the following recommendations to the Board of Trustees:

"To locate permanently three bridges, one at Walker's Point, one at Spring Street and one at Cherry Street; those at Cherry

Street and Walker's Point to be single-track, and the one at Cherry without a draw; the one at Spring and Wisconsin streets to be constructed with a double track with two draws, one on each side of the river, seventy feet wide; the East Ward to pay three-fourths and the West Ward one-fourth of the expense of construction, and that thereafter the said bridges be sustained and kept in repair by the said wards, in the proportion of their respective tax lists. The committee further recommend that the Cherry Street bridge shall be built by the East and West wards, and kept in repair the same way; and that the bridge at the foot of East Water Street shall be sustained by the East and South sides, each contributing in the proportion to their respective tax lists. They also recommend that upon the completion of the three bridges, the present bridges at Chestnut and Oneida streets be vacated and removed."

In relation to the construction of the proposed new bridges, a resolution was offered by Mr. Prentiss at the meeting of December 31st, as follows: "Resolved, That a committee of two from each ward be now appointed whose duty it shall be to issue proposals for the construction of these three bridges." This resolution was, after lengthy discussion, referred to the people for ratification, at their election in January, 1846, with the following result: East Ward—For adoption, 245; against, 164. West Ward—For adoption, 85; against, 51. The majority for adoption was 81 in the First Ward and 34 in the West Ward. Collectively, the vote was: For adoption, 330; against, 215; majority in favor of adoption, 115. But before anything could be accomplished under this authority Milwaukee had passed on to a new form of government.

An act of the Legislature approved February 2, 1846, provided that the president and board of trustees of the Town of Milwaukee, or the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee, or the aldermen of any ward therein should have the right and authority to build, maintain, repair, rebuild and keep in operation bridges across the Milwaukee River at the following places: From the foot of Water Street, near the warehouse of George D. Dousman in the Third Ward, to the foot of Ferry Street in the Fifth Ward; from the foot of Wisconsin Street in the First and Third wards to Spring Street in the Fourth Ward; from Water Street

in the First Ward to the foot of Cherry Street in the Second Ward.

The work on the Cherry Street bridge and the grading of Cherry and Vliet streets to intersect with the Madison or the Prairieville Road was to be completed within one year, and the bridge at Chestnut and Division streets was to be kept up till its completion, after which, it was provided, the Chestnut Street bridge might be removed at the expense of the wards adjoining on both sides of the river, in proportion to their tax lists. It was also provided that the bridge at Oneida and Wells streets might be vacated at the expiration of five years from the date of the act, "unless sooner removed by common consent of the wards interested therein."

Another section of the act declared that the general laws for the preservation of bridges and the punishments specified for infraction of such laws should extend to include all the aforesaid bridges, and should apply to any wilful or malicious damage which might be done to the said bridges by "any person or persons whatever."

That the community in general was favorable to the retention of all the bridges is to be inferred from the fact that not one of them was vacated under the permission granted by the act. They were and they always had been conveniences to the people in general, who regarded them as such. The establishment of a single government for the city tended to remove conditions fostering sectionalism and blinding individuals to the interests of Milwaukee as a whole.

To go back to the subject of policies formulated by committees appointed at the Citizens' meeting: The report of the committee charged with drafting an ordinance relating to protection against fires was published on December 23.

The *Sentinel* of that date contained the following: "What is our Railroad Commitee about? It is time petitions were in circulation calling on the Legislature to grant a charter. It won't answer for us to go to sleep on this project. That's not the way to push Milwaukee ahead." This brought from Mr. Yates a rejoinder which was published under date of December 25, as follows: "None of the other members of the committee having called upon or conferred with me on the subject, I caused a notice

for the meeting at my office to be published in the *Sentinel* and the *Gazette* on the 17th. On the evening set for the meeting not a soul of them appeared, nor has anything whatever been done on the subject, to my knowledge. If the other members do not feel sufficient interest to meet at my appointment or make an appointment themselves to do something to meet the just expectations of the public, I will no longer voluntarily occupy a position where I must innocently share a portion of the blame attached to those who neglect important public interests. I therefore resign my station as chairman, and recommend the appointment of P. Potter, Esq., as sole committee, he being the only person who has called upon me with a view to the necessary action on the subject."

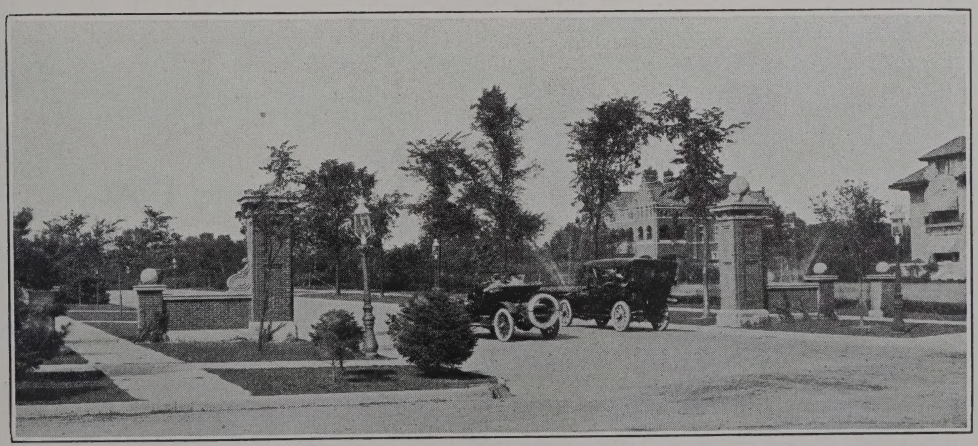
All the movements which took on form and substance as a result of action at the meeting of December 3d went forward and produced results, though in the case of the movement for railroads results were long delayed, and when they came were not directly traceable to impetus derived from this particular meeting.

The committee on a City Charter submitted its report to the Village Trustees at their regular meeting on the 27th of December. That body, after making some amendments, referred the matter to the voters at the annual election of the first Monday in January, with instructions to the President of the Board that if the proposed Charter was ratified at the election he should transmit a certified copy of the document and a statement of the vote to the Legislature, "with a view to action thereon at the ensuing session." West Siders and South Siders, almost to a man, voted for the Charter. The East Side was divided, with a majority against it, but the Charter carried in Milwaukee as a whole by a vote of almost two to one, the following showing the result in detail:

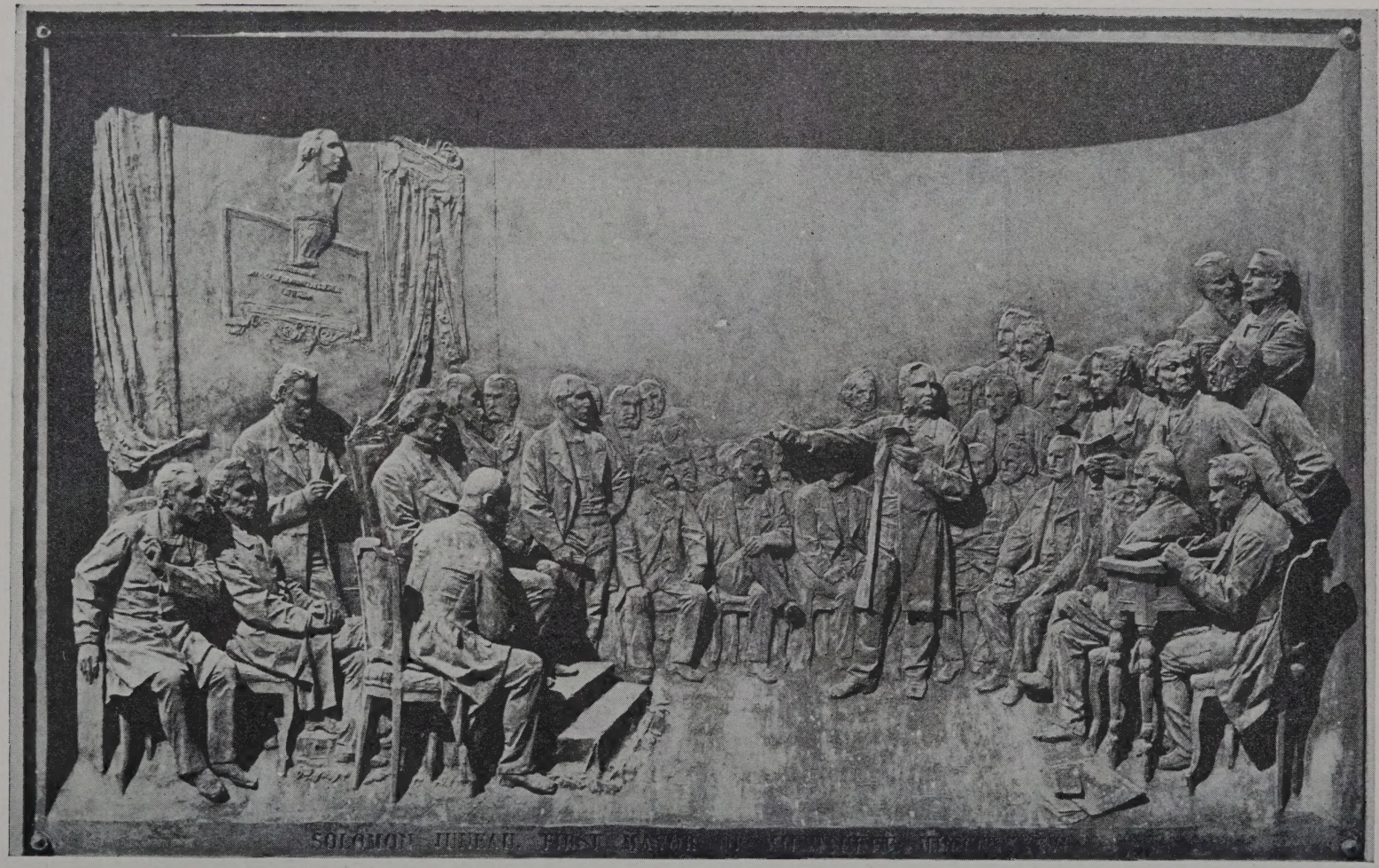
	For	Against
East Ward	182	324
West Ward	384	1
South Ward	113	7
	679	332
Majority for Charter		347

At Madison, to which the front of battle was now transferred, the subject of granting or withholding a city charter for Milwaukee was a matter of minor importance to all except representatives from Milwaukee County, and not all of these were keenly concerned, for the reason that the division of Milwaukee County and the creation of Waukesha County out of the western portion of its territory was a question hotly debated at the time, and of major interest to the representatives of the region desiring to break loose and set up a county government of its own. Of the three members of the Territorial Council from Milwaukee County the only resident of the would-be city was James Kneeland. He assumed leadership in the fight for the Charter. Recalling the circumstances in his old age, Mr. Kneeland said: "The Waukesha or Prairieville delegates threatened to fight our Charter if we opposed the division of the county. Diplomacy had to be exercised, and the task of obtaining a majority for the Charter was not easy. Finally we compromised, conceding division of the county. Then the Waukesha people and their friends conceded to us our Charter."

The act to incorporate the City of Milwaukee, passed by the Legislature, was approved on the 31st of January, 1846.



ENTRANCE TO LAKE DRIVE



SOLOMON JUNEAU, FIRST MAYOR OF MILWAUKEE AND HIS CITY COUNCIL

Bas-relief on pedestal of Solomon Juneau Monument

CHAPTER X

ORGANIZED LOCAL GOVERNMENT

SEPARATE SETTLEMENTS OF 1835 BECOME VILLAGES, COALESCE, AND IN 1846 ACQUIRE A MUNICIPAL CHARTER—SUFFRAGE ISSUE OF THE 'FORTIES—THE BRIDGE WAR—BENEFITS THAT RESULTED FROM ORGANIZED CO-OPERATION.

The first election in Milwaukee had taken place when a township government covering the whole county was organized, on the 19th of September, 1835, the voters numbering thirty-nine, including Joe Oliver, who was Solomon Juneau's colored cook. This election was held pursuant to an act of the Legislature of Michigan, for the Territory of Wisconsin had not at that time begun to exist. There was no such thing as a registry list, and all actual settlers—all actual residents, in fact—were regarded as entitled to the privilege of voting. George H. Walker was elected supervisor and Horace Chase town clerk. Among the twenty-two other officers who were elected were Solomon Juneau, Albert Fowler, Samuel Brown and Dr. Enoch Chase.

The Village of Milwaukee, comprising what is now the lower part of the East Side, was organized February 27, 1837. A legislative enactment approved March 11, 1839, consolidated the East and West wards as the Town of Milwaukee, the East Ward consisting of the district east of the river and the West Ward consisting of the district west of the river. The ownership of lands on the south side of the river being in dispute, that portion of the future city was not brought under the provisions of this enactment. When litigation on this subject approached an end, in 1845, but a short time elapsed before the three sides of Milwaukee were united under a single municipal government.

With little or no specific authority from the Legislature, elections were held in the East and West wards and village officers chosen for two years prior to the formal organization of the consolidated towns.

The president of the East Town in 1837 and 1838 was Solomon Juneau, with Horatio N. Wells as clerk, Albert Fowler as treasurer, Henry Miller, William Brown and B. H. Edgerton as assessors, and Solomon Juneau, G. D. Dousman, Samuel Hinman, A. A. Bird and William A. Prentiss as trustees. Enoch Darling was appointed marshal, but resigned, whereupon Jacob M. Rogers was named in his place. Most of these officials continued to serve during the following year, Daniel Wells, Jr., and William Brown, however, succeeding Hinman and Bird as trustees, and Benjamin H. Edgerton being named as surveyor and engineer.

The West Town officers during these years were: Byron Kilbourn, president; N. F. Hyer, clerk; W. P. Proudfit, assessor; Paul Burdick, marshal; I. A. Lapham, surveyor and engineer; W. R. Longstreet, Byron Kilbourn, Lucius I. Barber, B. W. Finch and S. D. Cowles, trustees. In 1838 the West Town trustees were Byron Kilbourn, H. M. Hubbard, P. G. Leland, F. A. Wingfield and D. H. Richards.

The election of May 18, 1839, held after the passage of the act uniting the two towns resulted in the choice of the following:

Trustees of the East Ward—Lyndsey Ward, John S. Rockwell, William N. Gardner, John Y. Smith.

Trustees of the West Ward—James H. Rogers, Increase A. Lapham, Sylvester D. Cowles, Chauncey Peak, William W. Mayhew.

The village president in 1839 was Elisha Starr, and the clerk J. E. Arnold. In the following year H. M. Hubbard was president and William A. Prentiss clerk. The president in 1841 and 1842 was James H. Rogers.

Complete lists of village officers for the succeeding years are unavailable, the records very probably having been lost when fires destroyed the buildings in which they were housed while Milwaukee rented accommodations for its public officials instead of providing for them in structures of its own. Clark Shepardson was one of the East Ward trustees in 1841 and John Hustis one of the West Ward trustees in that year. In 1843 Daniel Wells, Jr., was one of the East Ward trustees. In 1844 the East Ward trustees were T. J. Gilbert, Andrew McCormick, Matthias Stein, Joseph Ward and John S. Rockwell, those of the West Ward

INDEPENDENT TICKET.

For the Council.

DANIEL WELLS, jr.
WILLIAM A. PRENTISS.

For the House of Representatives.

HENRY C. SKINNER, MORRIS S. BARNETT,
WILLIAM SHEW, GORDON C. CONE,
LUCIUS I. BARBER.

For Commissioner.
FREDERICK B. OTIS.

For Assessor.
JAMES Y. WATSON.

For Treasurer.
GEORGE D. DOUSMAN.

For Coroner.
HENRY MILLER.

MILWAUKIE, Aug. 30th 1838.

To DANIEL WELLS, WILLIAM A. PRENTISS, HENRY C SKINNER, MORRIS S. BARNETT, GORDON C. CONE, WILLIAM SHEW, and LUCIUS I BARBER.

Gentlemen:—

We herein enclose to you the proceedings of a convention held at Prairie Village on the 28th inst., by which you are nominated as Candidates for the Legislative Assembly, to be supported at the next election.

In these proceedings the undersigned were appointed a Committee to notify you of your nomination, and require of you pledges to resign your offices, if elected, as soon as one half of the term of service, now fixed by law has expired, and to use every effort to procure from Congress an alteration of the organic act of our Territory, limiting the term of service of the members of the Legislative Assembly, to two years for members of the Council, and one year for members of the House of Representatives. You are desired to notify us immediately by letter whether you will accept the nomination on the terms proposed by said convention.

Very Respectfully,
WM BROWN,
JNO H TWEEDY,
PHILIP SCHUYLER,
Committee.

MILWAUKEE, Aug 31st 1838

Gentlemen—We hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 30th inst. announcing to us our nomination by the Convention, held at Prairie Village on the 28th inst, as candidates for the Legislative Assembly to be supported at the next election. We gratefully accept the nomination on the terms proposed, and cheerfully pledge ourselves, if elected, to resign our offices as soon as one half of the term of service now fixed by law has expired; and to use every effort to procure from Congress an alteration of the organic act of our Territory, so as to limit the term of service of the members of the Legislative Assembly to two years for members of the Council and one year for members of the House of Representatives.

Yours Respectfully,
DANIEL WELLS, Jr.
WILLIAM A. PRENTISS,
HENRY C. SKINNER,
MORRIS S. BARNETT,
GORDON C. CONE,
WILLIAM SHEW,
LUCIUS I. BARBER.

To WM. BROWN, JNO. H TWEEDY, and PHILIP SCHUYLER.

To the Electors of Milwaukee and Washington Counties:

The undersigned were nominated by a convention at Prairie Village on the 28th ult. as Candidates for the Legislative Assembly, to be supported at the ensuing election.

Believing it to be the right of the people to require, and the duty of every Candidate to avow his views upon every subject of future legislation, we here frankly declare the course we shall pursue, if elected, in relation to the canal and other subjects now agitating the public.

It will be our first object, if elected, to secure to the settlers on the Canal Lands, not merely their *improvements*, but the title to their lands, by the *immediate* sale thereof on a credit of ten years, or on such a credit as the settlers themselves may prefer, with such guards as will effectually prevent the competition of the speculator.

Our next object will be to induce Congress, if possible, to reduce the price of the even sections on the Canal Route to $1,25 per acre, and to give a pre-emption right thereto.

Our third object will be the early sale of the residue of the canal lands on terms the most favorable to the settler, with a view to the rapid settlement of the country and the early and vigorous prosecution of the work of the canal.

As it respects the location of the University lands, we suppose that no man can be elected, from any part of the Territory, who will not vote for restricting the Commissioners in the most positive terms, not to interfere with the rights of any pre-emptor or claimant.

If elected, we shall also do every thing in our power to check that hasty and crude legislation which has lumbered our statute books with laws of no service but to the printer, and to procure such a reform of our laws and present "county system" as is demanded by the wants and wishes of the people. In short, fellow citizens, in our public course, upon these as well as upon every other subject of public interest, we shall strive, if elected, to truly represent the interests and views of the great body of the people, without regard to persons, parties or localities.

DANIEL WELLS Jr.
WILLIAM A. PRENTISS.
LUCIUS I. BARBER,
WILLIAM SHEW

Our fellow nominees, Messrs. Skinner, Cone, and Barnett, residing in the country have had no opportunity to affix their names to this paper; but knowing their opinions upon these subjects, we do not hesitate to say that they will assent to this pledge.

being Byron Kilbourn, Egbert Moseley, B. C. Church, C. W. Schwartz and J. L. Bean. Allen W. Hatch and James H. Rogers were appointed street commissioners in 1842.

The date of Milwaukee's incorporation as a municipality was January 31, 1846, the first charter election, at which Solomon Juneau was chosen for the mayoralty, being held in April of that year. The population of the city at that time was 9,660.

For two years previous to this charter election there had been a lively wrangle over a question which afterward was fought out in the State Constitutional Convention—the question of whether or not suffrage should be restricted to persons who had been residents long enough to acquire citizenship under the laws of the United States. This involved a problem of vital importance to Milwaukee, owing to the influx of settlers who had come from Great Britain, Ireland and Germany. These, as well as settlers who were Americans by birth, had cast their lot in the new West with the intention of founding homes and growing up with the country. They had purchased land and gone to work. They had interests at stake in the community to whose growth in numbers and prosperity they had contributed and on whose future their welfare depended in equal degree with that of their neighbors. Americans themselves in colonial days had raised the war-cry of "No taxation without representation!" Why should they deny to others the logical application of a political principle whose recognition they had insisted upon for themselves? As a matter of fact there were many Americans by birth who took the liberal view of the suffrage issue in support of which the Irish and the Germans were solidly arrayed.

The temper of the discussion on what may be called the popular side is indicated by the following from the editorial columns of the *Courier* of January 27, 1844:

"The act to incorporate the City of Milwaukee is a vile insult to and outrage upon our citizens. It contains the most odious and anti-republican features that were ever attempted to be foisted upon a free people. It provides that none but citizens of the United States shall be allowed to vote for the officers created under it, thus by one sweeping clause depriving one-half of the citizens of Milwaukee, who will be taxed for the support of a city government of their right to a voice in electing their officers or

making their laws. This is 'taxation without representation' with a vengeance. Another provision in the same spirit is allowing the aldermen to hold their offices three years, thus placing them beyond the reach of public opinion for a time almost equal to an age in older communities. These are a few of the beauties of this intended organic law of our new city. Fellow citizens, are you prepared to embrace them? We will anticipate your answer. If such a thing shall pass the Legislature, we pledge ourselves that it shall be torn to fragments and trampled in the dust."

The proposed organic law thus bitterly and not unreasonably assailed was defeated. In the City Charter which was adopted, as well as in the Constitution of the State, equal suffrage was granted at all elections to all white residents who had resided one year in the State and who, if of foreign birth, had taken out their "first papers," declaring their intention of becoming naturalized citizens. The democratic principle of short terms in office also prevailed.

When Milwaukee entered upon the experiment of municipal government its scattered population fell something short of ten thousand, constituting in fact three villages, in each of which what improvements had been effected had been largely the outcome of the enterprise of real estate owners anxious to bring their property into the market. Street work had gone forward only to a limited extent. Hills and hollows existed even in localities now considered far down town. Many of the householders were obliged to go considerable distances for water, only exceptionally well equipped domestic establishments being supplied with wells of their own. The crow of the rooster was a familiar sound in the early morning. Poultry scratched for their food in the dirt of the streets. Boys drove cows to pasture through the fashionable thoroughfares—and pastures were not far to seek. A number of the inhabitants kept hogs on their premises, and made their own pork. People who located on the fringes as well as those nearer the center of the place were factors in Milwaukee's upbuilding. They helped to supply food and keep down the cost of living. They traded in town, which swelled the business of the early merchants. They did their share toward making and maintaining the first crude highways leading into the surrounding country. As time went on, some of those who had

started on the outskirts—like John Ogden, William Phillips, Alanson Sweet, James Sanderson, and Doctor Weeks, moved in and became identified with the commercial and manufacturing development of the growing town.

Dr. J. B. Selby, whose arrival in Milwaukee occurred in 1842, who was a member of the first School Board, and for many years engaged in the practice of his profession, and who withal became a man of standing in the community, living till most of his original associates as old settlers had passed away, made toward the end of his life the following interesting observations on the sectional rivalry which at times was rampantly manifested by short-sighted early inhabitants:

"The development of Milwaukee was not from one central root. It sprang and grew from many sprouts. The Massachusetts Indian, when asked where he was born, replied, 'I was born at Cape Cod, Nantucket and all along the shore.' Milwaukee was born all along the shore, from the mouth of the river nearly up to the dam, a distance of several miles. At its birth were many doctors, each in possession of a limb, and all claiming the living child. Alanson Sweet claimed the mouth of the river, and got up a map of 'Milwaukee Proper,' showing it as lying among the reeds and swamps that bordered that mouth nearly down to Bay View. Walker's Point, Juneau's town and Kilbourn's town had each their respective adherents. The plant was too large at first for a common center, and the efforts of each to build up and improve his respective portion did not receive the due measure of recognition to which each was justly entitled. But after the lapse of years we see the three original rival sites compactly built and closely united, and as loyal Milwaukeeans can join in according honor to their founders."

How the ineptitude of sectionalism manifested in the Bridge War provoked the consolidation movement resulting in the procurement of the Charter has been indicated in the preceding chapter.

The city limits as set forth in the Charter were narrow compared with those of the present day. The northern boundary was North Avenue, beginning at the lake, which formed the eastern boundary, and running west to Seventh Street. The western boundary was Seventh Street from North Avenue to the quarter-

section line running 120 feet north of Walnut Street to Washington Avenue or Twenty-seventh Street, the northern boundary on the West Side from Seventh to Twenty-seventh being the section-line referred to, while the western boundary south of the section-line was on the line of Twenty-seventh Street to what is now Greenfield Avenue, that being the southern boundary of the city.

This territory was divided into five wards, two on the East Side the First and Third, with Wisconsin Street as their dividing line,—two on the West Side—the Second and Fourth, separated by Cedar Street,—and one—the Fifth—on the South Side.

The Charter went on to provide for a mayor, to hold office one year; for three aldermen from each ward, to hold office one, two and three years respectively, and for one justice of the peace and one constable to be elected by each ward. No salary was assigned to the mayor or the aldermen, but justices of the peace were to receive $400 a year.

The Common Council was to appoint a city treasurer, a city clerk, one assessor for each ward, a chief of the Fire Department, and as many assistants as might be deemed proper, a city attorney, a sealer of weights and measures, one or more surveyors, measurers of fuel, grain, lime and other marketable articles, weighers of hay, pound-masters, sextons or keepers of burial grounds, inspectors of streets and of flour and provisions and harbor masters.

A very important feature of the Charter was the section granting general powers to the local legislative authority: "The Common Council shall have power to enact, establish, publish, enforce, alter, modify, amend or repeal all such ordinances, rules and by-laws for the government and good order of the city, for the suppression of vice, for the prevention of fires, and for the benefit of the trade, commerce and health thereof as they shall deem expedient, declaring and imposing penalties, and to enforce the same against any person or persons who may violate any of the provisions of such ordinances, rules or by-laws; and such ordinances, rules and by-laws are hereby declared to be and have the force of law; provided that they be not repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States, or of this Territory."

Following this grant of power there was in the original Charter an enumeration of various subjects over which the regulatory authority thus created was expected to extend. In every subsequent modification of the Charter this grant of power has been continued; but as the city has increased in population and wealth, and conditions have developed in various directions which were undreamt of in earlier days, innumerable additions have been made to the list of subjects amenable to municipal regulation.

The subjects to which specific reference was made originally included the licensing and regulation of taverns, grocery stores and victualing houses, of persons engaged in the sale of spirituous, vinous and fermented liquors, and of shows, circuses and theatrical performances; restraint and prohibition of gaming; prevention of riots and disorderly assemblages; suppression and restraint of disorderly houses, shows and exhibitions; abatement and regulation of trades and places which though lawful in themselves might be dangerous, unwholesome or offensive in a city; prevention of improper incumbrances of streets, alleys and sidewalks, and of rapid driving in the streets; prohibition of cattle, swine, sheep, poultry, geese and dogs running at large; establishment of public pumps and wells, cisterns and water works; licensing of hacks, cabs and drays; establishment of a board of health, hospitals and cemeteries; regulation of burials and exemption of burial grounds from taxation; purchase of fire engines and buckets and the establishment of fire limits; regulation of "the assize and weight of bread;" regulation of wharves, bridges, mill-races and canals, and of exhibitions of fireworks and shooting of firearms or crackers; restraint of public dunkenness and obscenity, and punishment of persons guilty thereof; restraint and regulation of runners or solicitors for boats, vessels, stages and public houses; regulation of the police and appointment of watchmen and firemen, and making and enforcement of rules for their government; establishment and regulation of public markets; licensing and regulation of butchers' stalls and stands for the sale of game, poultry, butter, fish and other provisions; regulating the place and manner of weighing and selling hay and of measuring and selling fuel and lime; compelling the removal by the owner or occupant of buildings or grounds, from sidewalks, streets and alleys, of snow, dirt and

rubbish, and also the removal from any part of his premises of all such substances as the Board of Health should direct.

The Common Council was given power to lay out and vacate, and to regulate, pave and improve, extend and widen streets and alleys, paying damages to be assessed by twelve freeholders.

The Common Council was authorized to levy annually for general and ward purposes, on all property, real and personal, not exceeding one per centum of its assessed value, and a tax of one per cent on all real estate, exclusive of the value of buildings thereon, to be applied in payment of debts previously contracted by the president and trustees of the Town of Milwaukee and on behalf of the East and West wards, and due and owing on the last day of December, 1845, such tax to continue in the First and Third wards until the debts of the East Ward should be paid, and in the Second and Fourth wards until the debts of the West Ward should be paid; also a tax not exceeding one-quarter of one per cent of the assessed value of both real and personal property, for school purposes in each ward; and a similar tax for the support of the poor, to be levied upon all property in the city, collectively; a tax not exceeding one-quarter of one per cent for preserving the health and regulating the police of the city; also a tax not exceeding one-half of one per cent in each ward for the purpose of building and maintaining bridges; and such further tax for county purposes as might be established by the County Board of Supervisors, pro rata with the other towns in the county.

Section 32 of the original Charter was as follows: "Whenever a majority of such of the voters of the First, Second, Third and Fourth wards as have been assessed and actually paid tax on real and personal estate within either of the said wards during any preceding year shall vote at a meeting called for that purpose to raise a tax for the purpose of constructing a harbor at the site recommended by Lieutenants Center and Rose, and for dredging the Milwaukee River, it shall be lawful for the said Common Council to levy a tax in addition to the ordinary taxes on all real and personal estate within the limits of the aforesaid wards, sufficient to defray the expenses thereof, which tax shall be collected in the same manner as other taxes are collected by virtue of this act."

Another section provided that "there shall be two days' work

performed annually on the highways, streets and alleys by each male person who by the laws of the Territory is subject to perform highway work; such person to perform such labor within the ward where he resides, under the direction of such road commissioner or inspector as the Common Council may appoint; but any such person may at his option pay at the rate of seventy-five cents per day for every day he may be so bound to labor." The section went on to prescribe penalties for non-compliance.

In the Charter of 1846 there was a provision that lands in certain sections which had not been laid out into city lots should be exempt from all taxes except those for schools, poor relief and highway purposes; but this exemption was rendered nugatory by the prescription in the State Constitution that taxation should be uniform. Under the original Charter the assessment roll for each ward was made out in May every year by the assessor of the ward and by him delivered to the city clerk, who laid it before the Common Council, which considered, revised and equalized the assessments, after which the tax levy was made. The rate per cent on the assessed value of estates, real and personal, was determined for each ward by the majority of its aldermen, except in the case of the general tax and the tax for the payment of ward debts, which were fixed by the Council, and for the county tax, which the county supervisors prescribed. When the rates of the different taxes had been settled, the city clerk made out a schedule of all the property and the taxes chargeable thereon, and this, arranged in a separate book for each ward, constituted the tax list. The warrant of the Common Council being attached to this list, it became the duty of the treasurer to make collections.

Personal property cut but an insignificant figure in the tax roll. The tax upon real estate was enforced by public sales of parcels for non-payment, these sales being conducted by the treasurer; and property so disposed of might be redeemed by the owner within three years on paying the amount of the tax with interest at the rate of 25 per cent per annum. The tax was a lien on the land, and a deed might be claimed by the purchaser at the tax sale after the period of exemption had expired. For many years, however, litigation growing out of transactions in tax titles turned out in favor of the delinquent taxpayer, and

people who could afford to hire lawyers often considered it to their advantage to let their taxes go unpaid till they found it convenient to contribute their share in the support of the government. While this state of things continued the city often was in financial difficulty, its orders for public work selling at a discount and its credit sadly impaired.

Money could be borrowed by the Common Council on the credit of the city only when authorized by a vote of two-thirds of the electors voting at an authorized election "who shall have been assessed and have actually paid a tax on real and personal estate the year preceding such vote," except that a loan might be made in anticipation of the revenue for the year and not exceeding the amount of such revenue. A peculiar provision was the following: "If any loan be made to promote the measures of any ward, in the local improvements or policy of such ward, no liability for the payment of any debt so incurred shall devolve upon any other ward, nor the property nor citizens thereof; and if any loan be made for the general purposes of the city by a majority of the Common Council, no liability for the payment of the same shall devolve on any ward nor the property or citizens thereof, unless at least a majority of the aldermen of such ward shall have voted in favor of such loan; but all those wards the aldermen of which shall have voted for the loan shall be liable in their corporate capacity for the payment of the same in the proportion to the assessed value in each respectively according to the assessment made for general purposes, when the same or any part thereof shall become due and payable, but no personal liability shall attach to any citizen for the payment of city debts, and on all votes taken for the purpose of making loans, raising taxes and making appropriations for the expenditure of money for any purpose whatever, the vote in Common Council shall be taken by ayes and noes, calling the names of members in the order of the number of the wards; and it shall be the duty of the clerk to keep a record of all the ayes and noes so called, which record shall be conclusive evidence of the state of the vote; provided that in the levying of taxes, or for the purpose of authorizing a loan for one ward, the vote of a majority of the aldermen of such ward shall be conclusive in deciding the

question, and none others are required to be called by ayes and noes."

These complicated and elaborate arrangements indicated the survival of sectional jealousies and prejudices, and, as might have been expected, proved incompatible with rapid progress in improvements that would have benefited the community as a whole; nor were they in practice conducive to the strengthening of the city's credit. No wonder that intelligent citizens were numerous who believed that the Charter could be amended to advantage. The first amendment occurred when the instrument was only one year old. It provided that the offices of treasurer, attorney and marshal should be elective instead of appointive, and increased to three the number of assessors in each ward.

In 1851 a draft of a new Charter was submitted to popular vote, but rejected. In 1852, at an election held on the 5th of February, a majority of the electors ratified what was substantially a new Charter, which had been passed by the Legislature under the title of "An act to consolidate and amend the act to incorporate the City of Milwaukee and the several acts amendatory thereto."

Under the Charter of 1852 the boundaries of the city were slightly enlarged, without adding to the number of the wards. The elective officers were mayor, treasurer, marshal and police justice, chosen from the city at large; and from each ward three aldermen, one assessor, one constable and a justice of the peace. The aldermen were not all to be elected at the same time, but two from every ward were to be chosen every year, one to serve for one year and one for two, thus making the Council at all times include members who as hold-overs possessed experience and familiarity with the problems they were charged to consider in the interest of the people. Aldermen elected for two-year terms were to serve as the representatives of their respective wards in the Board of Supervisors. The duties of the city attorney, treasurer and marshal were defined, and provision was made for the office of city comptroller, to be filled by the Common Council. He was to keep careful oversight of the city's accounts, and all certificates of work done by contractors were to bear his signature in attestation of their validity before they could be paid. Neither the city nor any ward was to be liable for larger pay-

ment on any contract than was therein provided for, and aldermen who had assented to larger payments were to be held personally responsible for the excess. There were other provisions intended to prevent collusion and discourage extravagance, indicating that Milwaukee was gaining experience in city government and feeling its way toward increased efficiency.

Through all the early years many taxpayers complained that assessments were unsystematic and often grossly inequitable. This persisted after changes had been made in the Charter affecting the manner in which assessors were chosen. The city was ten years old when the Common Council took it upon itself to direct the omission of the Newhall House from the tax-roll for the years 1856 and 1857. Holders of other property who withheld the payment of taxes benefited temporarily by this omission, for the reason that when the matter was brought before the State Supreme Court in a test case, that tribunal pronounced the entire tax-levy invalid on account of the omission. Finally provision was made for a re-assessment and re-levy of taxes for the two years involved in the Common Council's blunder, when all who had failed to make their contribution toward the bearing of public burdens were obliged to come forward and settle.

Toward the close of 1857 conviction gained ground among the people that the city's finances were in a perilous state, and a meeting was called at Albany Hall on the 17th of November to discuss the situation. Leading citizens were in attendance and disquieting speeches were made. Consternation was expressed at the amount of the tax levy, the magnitude of the city's indebtedness and the loose, unbusinesslike methods of municipal officials. To ascertain the facts, the meeting appointed an investigating committee, with authority to employ accountants, and counsel if necessary, and to call another meeting when it was ready to report. The committee was made up of one trusted citizen from each ward:

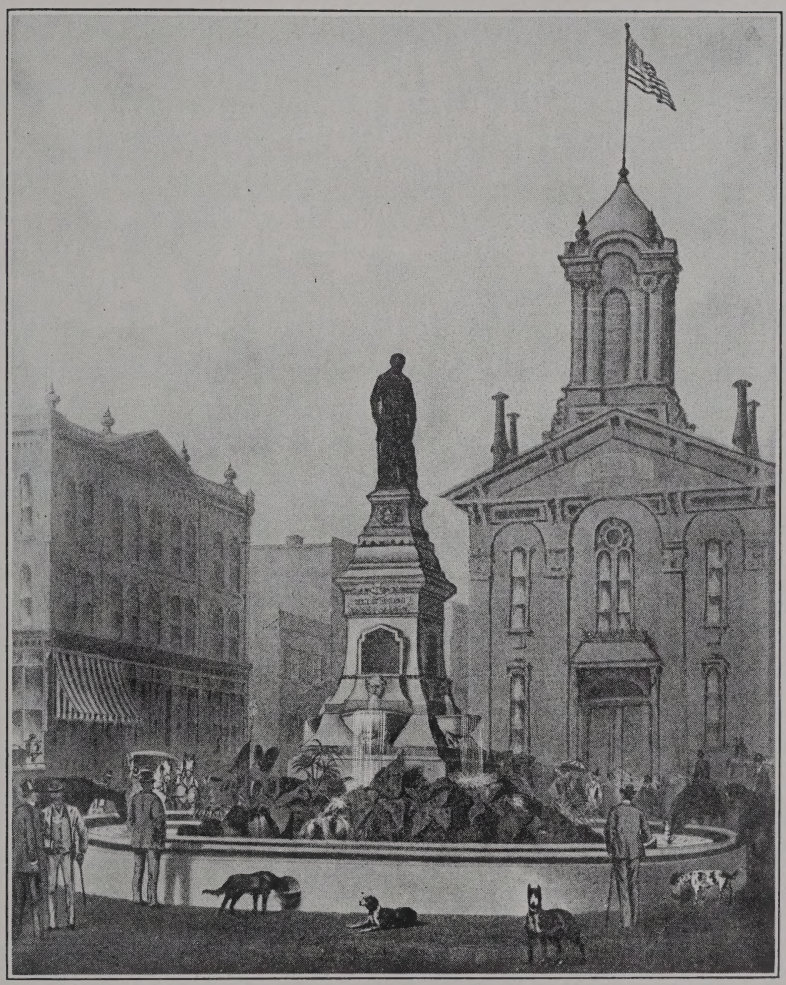
First Ward—Charles K. Watkins.
Second Ward—Francis Huebschmann.
Third Ward—Hans Crocker.
Fourth Ward—Nathan Pereles.
Fifth Ward—Andrew Mitchell.

Sixth Ward—Cicero Comstock.
Seventh Ward—John H. Tweedy.
Eighth Ward—S. B. Davis.
Ninth Ward—Charles Quentin.

The facts were alarming. In the first place the city had issued in aid of railroads bonds to the aggregate of $1,380,000, and some of these railroads had not been built, while others were in serious difficulties. In addition to this there had been issued within twelve or fifteen months $500,000 of city bonds, some of which had been disposed of at a ruinous discount. Large sums of money had been disbursed without regard for provisions of the Charter; limitations of ward expenditures had been ignored, and in the background there was said to be floating indebtedness to the amount of $800,000. Projects involving enormous outlay had been agreed upon during the high tide of speculative confidence which looked preposterous after the panic, and would have to be headed off to prevent further additions to municipal liability. On this subject one of the speakers at the meeting had declared: "Two hundred thousand dollars can be issued for hydraulic purposes, without security, and $100,000 to each ward, for a public park, making for the nine wards $900,000, besides an unlimited amount for harbor, schools and school buildings, and, as the law is now interpreted, these bonds, when issued, may be sold at any sacrifice, and the proceeds, instead of being paid into the treasury, may be received and disbursed by any agent whom the Common Council may appoint, without further warrant, entry or record."

Before adjourning, the meeting adopted resolutions declaring "the imposition of the tax now ordered to be collected an act of intolerable oppression, in cruel and reckless disregard of the pecuniary distress of the people;" asserting that "this tax ought to be reduced if the power to reduce it exists," and calling upon the Common Council to suspend all proceedings to sell property for non-payment of taxes until the Legislature should have had time to offer relief.

Furthermore the meeting directed its investigating committee to draft and report a memorial to the Legislature, to be signed by the taxpayers of the city, conjuring the lawmakers to restrain the powers of cities and villages in taxation, assess-



THE OLD CITY HALL AND THE HENRY BERGH FOUNTAIN

ments, contracting debts and running credits, and suggesting specific enactments as follows:

First—Repealing every provision of law authorizing the further issue or sale of bonds or loaning the credit of the city.

Second—Limiting the power of taxation hereafter for all purposes in the city and county of Milwaukee to a certain and reasonable sum, to be fixed beyond the control of the City Council and County Board.

Third—Restoring the checks, restrictions of authority and guards against abuses of power contained in the original Charter, with such other restrictions and guards as experience has shown to be necessary, and to provide as far as may be in its power for the reduction of the present tax and the extension of the time of payment thereof.

The committee performed the tasks entrusted to it, and the Legislature proved heedful of the voice of public opinion. Great improvement in the government of Milwaukee was the outcome of the meeting at Albany Hall.

Important changes in the Charter were made by the Legislature when it enacted Chapter 117 of the Laws of 1858. This took from members of the Council the functions of street commissioners, entrusting them to three street commissioners from each ward, who also were given authority regarding alleys, public grounds, bridges, rivers, wharves, sewers and nuisances. A check was placed upon the street commissioners by providing for appeals from assessments for improvements, which might be taken in the first instance to the Common Council and finally to the Circuit Court. The new law forbade members of the Common Council and other city officers from having pecuniary interest in work performed for the city or contracts made with it or in any question before the Council upon which they might be called to act officially. Heavy penalties were to follow infraction of this provision.

The mayor, comptroller and treasurer were made commissioners of the sinking fund for the redemption of the bonded indebtedness, the Council being authorized to issue bonds at not less than par for the purpose of taking up outstanding bonds and paying off all the indebtedness of the city contracted prior to the 6th of April, 1858. Nor was this all that was contained

in the enactment with a view to the restoration of the city's credit. It contained a mandate that no bonds should be issued except those for which it thus provided. Furthermore it provided that taxes in any year for general city purposes, exclusive of special taxes, should not exceed $175,000, which amount was to be set apart for these specified objects: Payment of the annual interest on the city's debt; appropriation of not in excess of $60,00 for general city expenses; the residue to be turned into a sinking fund. Beyond the taxation thus authorized, the act permitted the levy in each year of a sum not in excess of a total of $60,000 for ward purposes. The ward assessors elected under the Charter of 1852 were abolished and their duties devolved upon three assessors to be appointed by the mayor with the approval of the Council. The mayor, treasurer, comptroller and city attorney, together with the assessors, were to constitute a board of review. The act also abolished the office of city marshal, in place of whom there was to be a chief of police.

The bi-cameral system was adopted with reference to the Common Council, which was to be divided into two chambers, a Board of Councilors and a Board of Aldermen, the councilors elected two from each ward for terms of two years; the aldermen, one from each ward, elected annually. The mayor was to preside over the separate meetings of these bodies, which were to be held on alternate Mondays, and also over joint sessions authorized to be held when necessary for the consideration of charges that might be brought against city officials. The Board of Aldermen and the Board of Councilors each elected a member to preside in case of the mayor's disability or absence from the city, in which case the president of the Board of Aldermen, or, if he also were absent or disabled the president of the Board of Councilors, was to serve as acting mayor. The mayor was vested with the power of veto, which might be overridden by a majority of all the members of each board. In 1861 the veto power of the mayor was strengthened by providing that a two-thirds vote of all the members of each board should be requisite to set it aside. As years went by the double-chamber system came to be regarded as too cumbersome. It proved a safeguard against extravagance, but it hampered progress. So baffling were the obstructions which it placed in the way of special legislation of every description as

to amount almost to inhibition. As had been the case with its predecessors, there were frequent efforts to have the new Charter superseded by another, but these attempts proved futile until 1874. Meanwhile it was frequently amended.

As the city grew, necessity arose for more elaborate provisions for the repression of disorderly conduct than had sufficed in earlier days. Boys with slingshots sometimes made pedestrians a mark for missels, one of which struck E. D. Holton while he was walking on the street. Thieves took advantage of the confusion prevailing at fires. A night-watchman was lacking. Newspapers agitated for the appointment of police. By a provision of the Charter of 1852 the penalty of imprisonment which might be imposed by the Common Council for violations of city ordinances, in default of payment of fines, was extended from thirty days to six months. In 1853 a formal code governing the procedure in the court conducted by the police justice was enacted. In 1855 the Common Council provided by ordinance for the appointment of a chief of police with a limited number of policemen, or "assistants," this action being ratified by the Legislature in 1858. The first appointments of policemen went to Frederick Kessler and John Hardy in the First Ward, George Fischer in the Second, James Rice and Lawrence Byrne in the Third (Mr. Rice and all his family were lost on the *Lady Elgin*), William Garlick in the Fourth, and James M. Smith in the Fifth. William Beck was appointed Chief of Police.

The Municipal Court in Milwaukee was the outcome of an act of the Legislature of 1859, approved by Governor Randall on the 18th of March in that year, which authorized the establishment of a tribunal to "hear, try and determine all cases of crimes and misdemeanors of whatever kind, except such as may be punishable with death or with imprisonment in the State prison for life, that are or may be cognizable before the Circuit Court, which may be committed in the County of Milwaukee." The duties of police justice were also vested in the new court. The judge of the Municipal Court was to be elected and to hold office for six years.

At the city election of 1858 there were three candidates for the office of police judge, the vote being divided between them as follows: Albert Smith, 1,717; C. Walworth, 2,785; Erastus Foote,

8,264. Despite his overwhelming victory at the polls, Judge Foote was destined to have anything but a happy time in office. The duties of police justice having been vested in the Municipal Court, it was as judge of the new court that he proceeded to function, but attorneys for some of the defendants in cases brought before him challenged his authority. They addressed him as "Mister" and told their clients to pay no attention to him. One of them went so far as to advise a client to leave the room, which advice the client promptly carried into effect, though Judge Foote had commanded him to remain. The Judge ordered policemen, of whom there were several in the court room, to go after the defendant and bring him back, while almost in the same breath he turned upon the attorney, threatening to fine him for contempt, but this he did not do. Referring to the fact that the question of the validity of his tribunal had been taken to the Supreme Court, he said if the decision of that body did not uphold him he would vacate the bench. Meanwhile, he continued to hang on, though United States Court Commissioners issued writs of habeas corpus effecting the release of criminals whom he had tried and sentenced to the State prison.

When the decision of the Supreme Court was handed down, on the 21st of February, 1860, it held that the statute providing for the Municipal Court was constitutional, but that the court had not been established, for the reason that the election of Judge Foote had taken place before the official publication of the law. Thereupon Governor Randall issued to James A. Mallory a commission authorizing him to act as judge of the Municipal Court pending the election to occur in the succeeding April. Judge Mallory had held the office of district attorney, showing efficiency in securing convictions of offenders and gaining the respect and confidence of law-abiding citizens, while inspiring wholesome fear in the breasts of evil-doers. At the April election the Governor's selection was ratified by the people. Under Judge Mallory's administration of its affairs the Municipal Court became a marked success. He was re-elected again and again by the voters irrespective of party. It came to be recognized far and wide that while he occupied the bench of the Municipal Court Milwaukee was an unsafe place for malefactors, and individuals

of that ilk accustomed to traveling gave Milwaukee "a wide berth."

Changes in the official machinery for dealing with the costly problem of public improvements continued to be made from time to time. Street commissioners were done away with in 1859, their duties being laid upon the councilors of the several wards. The power of appointing assessors was taken from the mayor, and one assessor was directed to be elected annually in each ward, the mayor, however, to appoint an officer to be known as city assessor, the latter and the ward assessors having places on the Board of Review.

What had been previously undertaken with the view of placing the city's finances on a satisfactory basis proving ineffective, another effort was made in 1861, resulting in the passage of a legislative enactment "to enable the City of Milwaukee to readjust its corporate debts." It authorized the appointment by the mayor, subject to approval of the Council, of three new officers to be known as commissioners of the public debt, with terms of three years. For the payment of indebtedness then existing, as well as for incurring new indebtedness, it made minute provisions admirably conceived to conserve the just interests of lenders as well as to keep the municipality out of pitfalls into which it had been plunged in the past. The creation of the Public Debt Commission was a fortunate thing for Milwaukee, not only because of the limitations as to borrowing money and levying taxes which the legislation accompanying it imposed upon the city, but also because it placed in oversight of the city's financial affairs men likely to be selected in part at least by reason of the fact that they were specialists in finance. It was provided that "the offices of Commissioners of Public Debt shall not be abolished while any of the bonds issued under the provisions of this act remain outstanding and unpaid." The happy outcome of the experiment entered upon when the Public Debt Commission was created may have influenced subsequent resort to commissions for the transaction of other important business which the city found itself called upon to engage in as it increased in size and wealth.

There was an early instance, however, in which resort to the commission system to hasten a needed improvement failed to

work. This was when Dr. Huebschmann, apparently, with little or no preliminary consultation, secured the passage of a law creating a board of sewerage commissioners, consisting of himself, Henry Milman and John H. Tweedy, with powers that critics of the enactment demurred at as autocratic. Mr. Milman and Mr. Tweedy were unaware of the matter until they found themselves named in the law, and, although they qualified, never proceeded to take any official action. The Council, resenting the circumstance that it had been ignored in the preparation and passage of the law, retaliated by refusing appropriations, and when Dr. Huebschmann wanted to go on notwithstanding, his colleagues dissented, and City Attorney James S. Brown approved their course. The Doctor went so far as to have plans prepared which, although the city paid for them, were never used, and the law was repealed. Prior to 1869 not more than three miles of sewers had been built in all Milwaukee, and these had been constructed without reference to a general plan. In that year the city commissioned the making of such a plan by E. S. Chesbrough, paying something like $3,000 for the work. This was the year in which the Board of Public Works came into existence. His plan, with certain modifications, was in use by the Board for many years.

The Board of Public Works, provided for by legislative enactment in 1869, was, as originally planned, to consist of three men, one from the East Side, one from the West Side and one from the South Side, appointed by the mayor with the approval of the Council, and holding office for three years. This board was to appoint a city engineer, and to have charge and superintendence of all the streets, alleys, public grounds and public buildings, bridges, docks, sewers, dredging of the rivers, and public works and improvements generally. The act provided in a specific way for the manner in which the board was to carry out the functions entrusted to its direction, with a view to protecting the interests of the city and of individual taxpayers. By subsequent legislation the city engineer was made a member of the board, and his appointment was vested in the mayor and Common Council. The commissioners of public works, and the city engineer, are salaried officers, giving practically their whole time to the performance of their duties. The members of the Public

Debt Commission, like the members of the School Board, serve without compensation, which is the case with regard to the members of other important commissions, like the Fire and Police Commission, and the Park Commission, which were created later and will be spoken of in more detail hereafter.

In 1871 there was created a board of water commissioners, to serve without pay for terms of one, two, three, four, five, six and seven years respectively, subsequent appointments to be made by the mayor and Common Council as vacancies arose, but the first seven members being named in the act calling the board into being. These were Alexander Mitchell, John Plankinton, Edward H. Brodhead, Edward O'Neill, Guido Pfister, Frederick Pabst and George Burnham. This board was charged with the duty of determining the best solution of the problem of supplying the city with pure water. Having arrived at its conclusion it was to prepare specifications, diagrams and estimates, submitting the same to the Common Council, and, if meeting with approval from the Council, to be carried into execution under the supervision of the water commissioners, who by an act of the following year were made independent of the Board of Public Works as to work and contracts connected with the construction of the waterworks. It was the water commissioners who planned the waterworks and began their construction, carrying on until 1874. The new Charter which came into force that year placed the waterworks under the jurisdiction of the Board of Public Works.

The present Charter of the City of Milwaukee is the one enacted by the Legislature in 1874—Chapter 184 of the Laws of that year—with such amendments as have been enacted from time to time since that date. A general law providing a method for the incorporation of cities and defining their powers was passed by the Legislature in 1889. In 1891 there was adopted an amendment to the State Constitution which extends to legislation "incorporating any city, town or village, or to amend the charter thereof" the prohibitions in that instrument against special legislation. Prior to the adoption of this Constitutional amendment Milwaukee had succeeded in obtaining legislative sanction to many special measures deemed desirable but not covered in its Charter of 1874. That Charter has not been sur-

rendered, though in some instances it has been still further modified by enactments applying to cities of upward of one hundred thousand inhabitants, there being as yet no other city of that description within the limits of the State. The Charter of 1874 put an end to the double chamber system in the municipal legislature, which under its provisions consists of a board of aldermen, two from each ward, elected at intervals of two years.

A law of 1872 relating to the water works provided that the first cost of laying the main water pipes in the streets should be charged upon the abutting lots. Under laws enacted from time to time authority was reposed in the city for the construction of new bridges, the establishment of new grade schools and high schools, the building of the flushing tunnel from the lake to the river, the system of intercepting sewers devised with the object of minimizing the contamination of the waters of rivers intersecting the city and debouching into the lake, from which the city's drinking water is procured, the development of parks, etc.

Under the Charter of 1874 the elective officers are the mayor, treasurer, comptroller, attorney, two aldermen from each ward, eleven justices of the peace (these were subsequently dispensed with, when the law was passed providing for the civil judges), and eleven constables (also done away with at the same time). The president of the Common Council and the city clerk are elected by the Council, the former presiding over the Council and becoming acting mayor, in case of the mayor's disability. Other officers provided for in the Charter are the Board of Public Works, of three members, together with the city engineer, holding for three years; an assessor for each ward, serving for two years; a commissioner of public health, holding for four years, and a Board of Park Commissioners of five members, holding for five years, all of whom are appointed by the mayor, with the concurrence of the Council.

The members of the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners, four in number, serving for four years, are appointed by the mayor alone.

The School Board has been constituted in a different manner at different times. At present it is elected from the city at large.

Great benefit resulted from the creation in 1885 of the Board of Fire and Police Commissioners, which controls appointments

and takes precautions to test qualifications of appointees. The chiefs of the departments hold during good behavior, after appointment by the board. The inspector of police and the first assistant engineer of the Fire Department are appointed by the respective chiefs, subject to the approval of the board, and hold during good behavior. Other appointments and promotions are made by the chiefs, subject to the approval of the board, the chiefs, however, having the power of removal. Civil service rules govern all appointments to positions in the city's employ.

The improvement of the Menomonee Valley was an undertaking whose advantage had been foreseen by men identified with the laying of the foundations of the city, but means for its achievement were lacking until after the Civil war. The movement began to take form in a practical way in 1868, under the initiative of George Burnham, Guido Pfister, John Rugee, John Hiles, Truman H. Judd, R. W. Pierce and Stephen A. Harrison, who came to the conclusion that what was needed was a system of canals running east and west, which would afford commodious dockage facilities, and at the same time avert opposition from the railroad companies, which might not be friendly to a plan putting them to heavy outlay for the construction of bridges. E. D. Holton and others favored canals running north and south. Mr. Harrison at the time was a member of the Common Council. He laid the plan for east-and-west canals before that body and secured its endorsement, which gave prestige to the measure when it came up before the Legislature in 1869, and the Legislature gave authority for the proposed improvement. Mr. Harrison had been elected to the Assembly in the fall of 1868, and his personal exertions at Madison were contributory to the passage of the enabling act under which the improvement was effected.

The bill provided for the appointment of three commissioners to fix, lay out and establish a system of water-channels, canals or slips from the Menomonee River where it passed through the old depot grounds of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, thus affording accommodations for shipping in a region extending south of the river to the western boundary of the city. As members of the commission the original appointees were Gen. F. C. Winkler, F. S. Blodgett and Mr. Harrison; but Mr. Harrison, on account of his membership in the Legislature, declined to

accept, resigning in favor of Don J. Whittemore. Mr. Whittemore was chief engineer of the St. Paul Railway, and proved a very efficient help to his fellow commissioners.

Previous to the enactment of the law, the gentlemen who had been active in promoting its passage had organized the Menomonee River Improvement Company, and by purchase and arrangement with other property-owners had obtained control of all the lands required for the purposes they held in view. Among those who vigorously coöperated in the work were James Kneeland, the executors of the estate of James H. Rogers, E. D. Holton and the Burnham brothers. By this forward-looking enterprise the general interests of Milwaukee were greatly advanced. Between 1870 and 1880 many miles of canal and dockage were constructed in the valley, and what had been a useless and insanitary expanse of marsh was converted to land available for factory sites, coal yards and other uses contributory to the expansion of industry and commerce.

ONCE A HILL, NOW A HOLLOW

Old Melms-Schandein residence, showing original height of land on Walker's Point

THE OLD MILWAUKEE POST OFFICE

Corner of Wisconsin and Milwaukee streets

CHAPTER XI

PIONEER WAGON ROADS

HARDSHIPS OF TRAVEL IN THE EARLY DAYS—HOW BUFFALO TRACKS BECAME INDIAN TRAILS, AND HOW THESE OFTEN FIXED THE COURSE OF ROADS—MILWAUKEEANS SHOWED ENTERPRISE AS HIGHWAY-BUILDERS—THE OX-CART AND THE STAGE-COACH.

Under date of October 15, 1836, I. A. Lapham wrote to his father in the East, answering questions on the subject of Milwaukee. The elder Lapham had inquired concerning the opportunities for carpenters and house-builders in the new town. Young Lapham thought they would be good, but advised his father to see for himself. The closing portion of the letter was as follows: "Perhaps if you have any serious intention of making the journey, you had better come out this winter on horseback. You must either come while the roads are frozen or defer the trip until June, when they become dry. They are almost impassable during the spring months. The shortest route is by Fort Wayne, Michigan City and Chicago."

Indian trails, which were the only roads when the first white settlers came to Wisconsin, were in some instances worn into the ground for a depth of half a foot to ten inches, and were as hard as macadam, from the ramming they had undergone during long periods of use. Their width was generally about two feet, which was sufficient, on account of the red men's custom of walking in "Indian file." So much depressed were these trails that after a rainfall they might have become ditches instead of roads had they not as a rule run along high ground, owing to which the force of gravity kept them drained.

The Indian and the white man were alike in preferring the shortest routes over the most favorable ground. As to what was the most favorable ground, there was reason for differences in judgment. Compared with the settler, the Indian "traveled

light," for the settler's comfort required more elaborate equipment, and in many instances he was accompanied by his wife and children, who were not inured to the ways of the wilderness. The settler was likely to embarrass himself with articles for household use, including perhaps that cumbrous convenience, a kitchen stove. As soon as he became established it was indispensable that he should command highways for the transportation of his products to market.

Most of the roads in Wisconsin for years were little more than wagon-tracks flanked by blazed trees; but frequently the early settlers made detours where the Indians had kept to a straight line. The white man objected to following a trail into a slough, for experience taught him that even in dry weather he would be likely to come upon soft places into which anything moving on wheels would sink to the hubs. Many were the instances of "movers," as the newly-arriving immigrants were called, becoming mired, and suffering agonies of apprehension and discomfort before help could be obtained to pull them out.

A trail followed the west bank of the Desplaines River and the west bank of the south fork of the Root River, passing through the towns of Pleasant Prairie, Bristol and Paris in Kenosha County, and the towns of Yorkville and Raymond in Racine County, and thence continuing to Milwaukee. This was the old Chicago and Milwaukee trail, and is yet distinct in many places, especially across the old farm of George West, in section 22, Town of Raymond. Robert McPherson, an old settler of Raymond, remembered when this trail was used by Indians and whites alike. Another trail followed the Fox River through the towns of Burlington, Rochester and Waterford, leading to the Big Bend in Waukesha County. A branch left this trail at Rochester and passed over Indian Hill and along the west shore of Wind Lake, crossing the Waukesha trail between Little and Big Muskego lakes and then continuing in the direction of Milwaukee. Still another trail followed the west bank of Lake Michigan, probably tapping the villages that at one time existed a few miles apart along the beach from Chicago to Green Bay. Each trail had many branches or laterals leading to favorite hunting and fishing grounds. The trails are still distinct in many places across fields not yet put under cultivation. George A. West gives a descrip-

tion of the above and other Indian trails in his "Summary of the Archaeology of Racine County," issued as a bulletin of the Wisconsin Natural History Society in 1903, in which he recalls the theory of Thomas H. Benton that the buffaloes were the first road engineers in many parts of the West. Benton believed that the paths trodden by the buffaloes were, as a matter of convenience, followed by the Indians and then by the whites.

Military considerations dictated the construction of the first wagon road in Wisconsin, which was built by soldiers, at the cost of the Federal Government. Settlers were entering the lead region at the time, and there were threats of trouble with the Indians. Prior to the making of this significant improvement, the two chief settlements were Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, and the only communication between them was by the tortuous Fox-Wisconsin River route, some four hundred miles in length. In 1830 Congress appropriated $2,000 for a military road, connecting the forts at Green Bay, Portage, and Prairie du Chien. Judge Doty and Lieutenant Center were commissioned to survey the route. Both men became famous in later years, Doty as governor and politician, Center as a railway magnate. They finished the survey in 1833. It ran up the south side of the Fox and around the eastern border of Lake Winnebago, thence across the prairies to Portage, from there to Blue Mounds in Dane County, and then west along the watershed later known as the "military ridge" to Prairie du Chien.

In 1835 Lewis Cass, secretary of war under Jackson, ordered the road to be built by the regular army garrisons along its route. Squads of soldiers were out in turns, working a week at a time. They chopped a way about two rods wide through the timber, often leaving the stumps in the middle of the roadway. Over the prairies the route was merely marked by wooden stakes, while in thin timber and the openings it was indicated by blazes in the trees. Marshes were corduroyed, and ferries were soon established at the crossing of rivers. Crude as it was, the military road was of great importance in the development of Wisconsin. It shortened the distance between Green Bay and Prairie du Chien to 230 miles. Improved and developed, some portions of the road are still in use, while other portions are now traversed by lines of railroad.

The earliest roads made by settlers were primitive enough, and in striking contrast with the concrete highways of today. It is a tradition that the first road in Walworth County was made by dragging an oak tree from the settlement in Spring Prairie to the present site of Delavan, a distance of twelve miles.

There was a mail route between Chicago and Green Bay, via Milwaukee, as early as 1825, though at that time, with the exception of Solomon Juneau, no one to whom mail was likely to be addressed resided at Milwaukee. For several years the carrier was Alexis Clermont, who was accustomed to make the journey on foot, accompanied by an Oneida Indian, and taking a month to complete the round trip. The weight of the official load was limited to sixty pounds. For food, the main reliance was supplies procured from Indians along the road and the game that could be shot in passing. Sometimes all the Indians were absent on fishing and hunting expeditions. To guard against starvation, the carriers always took with them two shot bags filled with parched corn. They camped out wherever darkness overtook them, wrapping themselves in blankets which were made up into a roll that they bore upon their shoulders during the day. A loaded musket was a part of the carrier's equipment in addition to his mail-pouch and pack; in the winter he required snowshoes. The mail from the East was transported via Detroit by steamer in summer and overland by foot during the months when cold and ice inhibited transportation by water. If it was not "in" at Chicago when the carriers arrived, they waited for it; otherwise they stopped there no longer than overnight, starting on the return trip early in the morning of the following day. The carrier's payment was $60 to $65 for the round trip, and he earned his money. Money, however, was a scarce commodity in the West of those days, and $65 meant a great deal more than it does now. In his address to the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County (December, 1873), Judge Andrew G. Miller said: "Returning from holding court in Green Bay, in October, 1839, a beautiful Indian summer day, between Sheboygan Falls and Milwaukee I met the mail carrier, on foot, who was the only white man I observed on the trail that day; but there were numerous Indians, enjoying their hunting season."

In 1836 and for several years before that time mail from the

north, via Green Bay, was advertised to arrive in Milwaukee Mondays at 8 p. m., departing Tuesdays at 4 a. m. Post roads had been established in various directions, though not all of them had been built. The northern, or Green Bay road, as it was called, was surveyed in 1833, and stakes driven and trees blazed all along the line. It was somewhat improved as far as Milwaukee in 1834, by laying rough puncheon and log bridges over the unfordable creeks and streams, and cutting out the trees to the width of two rods. No grading was done for years afterward, and as late as 1836 it was only a blazed road between Milwaukee and Green Bay. In dry weather some of the roads leading into the country were well-beaten tracks, but in the winter and fall they tended to become ditches of mud, through which hapless travelers floundered as best they might toward their places of destination.

The first mail from Milwaukee to a point on the Rock River was carried in the spring of 1837, the carrier being George Hyer, who was sworn in for the service by Postmaster Solomon Juneau. Nearly thirty years later Mr. Hyer, a pioneer newspaper man, gave the following account of the matter to the Wisconsin Editorial Association: "I had occasion to visit Rock River, and my becoming a mail carrier was simply accidental. The mail consisted of a few letters and papers. Depositing it in my overcoat pocket and mounting my pony, I was soon out of sight of Milwaukee, winding my way along a devious and not very plain path through the 'Milwaukee woods' to the Indian village now known as Waukesha, where I spent the first night. From there I followed a trail through Mukwonago to where Whitewater now is, and where Doctor Tripp had just built a small log house. Spending my second night en route with the Doctor, on the third day I started for a crossing on Bark River, which I in some way missed, and after hours of wandering, late at night, I was glad to take shelter and lodging at an Indian camp in the woods. The next day I reached the shanties of the Rock River Claim Company, and delivered the first mail ever carried from Milwaukee west."

In 1838 the mails were carried once a week from Madison to Milwaukee, leaving Madison on Sunday of each week and arriving every Thursday. This was the year in which Madison began to function as the capital of Wisconsin. By the act of organiza-

tion the Territory of Wisconsin included Iowa. The first session of the Legislative Assembly was held at Belmont and the second at Burlington. In 1838 Wisconsin was divided and the Territory of Iowa established. In the same year there was an election of members of the Territorial Assembly. Milwaukee County was entitled to two members of the Council and five of the House of Representatives. Alanson Sweet and Byron Kilbourn were active in arranging for the selection of their friends, but a ticket independent of both of them, called the People's ticket, was put up and elected—Daniel Wells, Jr., and William A. Prentiss for the Council; Dr. Lucius I. Barber, William Shew, Henry C. Skinner, Ezekiel Churchill and Augustus Story as Representatives. In his delightful reminiscenes, already laid under contribution, Doctor Barber says:

"I have a vivid recollection of our ride to Madison. As there was at that time no public conveyance between Milwaukee and the seat of government, we were obliged to procure teams to carry us thither. It was about December 1, 1838, when two large lumber wagons, each drawn by two horses, and containing in all about twelve gentlemen, the creme de la creme of Milwaukee, embodying the legislative wisdom of that thriving city—consisting of the aforesaid members-elect and an equal number of greedy, needy, seedy expectants of offices to be bestowed by said wisdom,—with trunks, traveling bags and nondescript bundles of luggage, might have been seen winding their way up Chestnut Street hill in Milwaukee west of the river, and thence through the forest, which extended, dense and continuous, and apparently as interminable as this sentence, to Poplar Creek, near Prairie Village, now Waukesha, their wheels at times jolting over the projecting roots of the blazed trees among which the wagons wound, now striking with violence against the body of a tree which they could not dodge, now sinking to the axle in the partly frozen mud, and now again bumping over corduroy bridges, extending in many places to from 50 to 100 rods in length, across swamps that would otherwise be impassable.

"Till we reached Prairieville our horses could not go out of a walk. It was a tiresome journey. From Poplar Creek, as there was at that time no road cut through the Jefferson County woods, we were obliged to make a detour around that county, and bear-

ing south through Prairieville and the open country of Rock County, crossed the Rock River above Janesville. From Prairieville we had a pleasant drive, and proceeded at a brisk rate of speed till evening darkness found us before the welcome door of Doctor Tripp, then residing a few miles east of where he afterward founded the now thriving and enterprising town of Whitewater.

"In those days everybody was supposed to keep a hotel, or at least was expected to entertain travelers. As the six-footers constituting the first wagon-load stalked, one after the other, into the Doctor's cabin, Mrs. Tripp, with uplifted hands, exclaimed, 'The Lord have mercy on me; have we got to keep all you men here tonight?'

" 'Oh, yes, Madam,' we replied, 'and another load just like us.'

" 'We can't keep you. We have nothing to feed you with and no place where you can sleep.'

"But this did not trouble us. As a lady of refinement and culture as well as of genial hospitality, Mrs. Tripp's name had already gone through the Territory. As to eating and sleeping arrangements we had no misgivings. After partaking of a bountiful supper, we spread down our buffalo robes on the cabin floor before a blazing fire and soon were sleeping sweetly as on beds of down. In the morning, having partaken of breakfast corresponding in quality with our previous night's repast, we resumed our pilgrimage.

"It was a cold and fatiguing drive across the prairies. Having crossed Rock River, we arrived at McNary's, or some such name, where our entertainment was a contrast to that at the Tripps. It was a large cabin, as before, but there was a difference in the housekeeping. Near the stove stood a barrel of flour with the head removed. Close by, on a bench, was a quarter of beef. The fire in the stove gave little heat, and we shivered with the cold. The good woman, however, did what she could to make us comfortable, placed the tea kettle on the stove, poured some *wetting* in the flour in the barrel as it stood on end, and in it kneaded and rolled up the dough for the biscuits; then cut off great masses, not slices, of beef, and placed them in the frying pan with lumps of tried tallow, which the leanness of the meat rendered necessary to cook it in. Meanwhile the tea-water would

not boil, and ever and anon the good woman must remove the cover, and, holding the candle, without a candlestick, over it horizontally, thereby dropping great quantities of melted tallow into the tea-kettle, watch its approach to boiling. It is a wise maxim for the traveler 'never to look into the kitchen;' but here this was unavoidable.

"By the time the tallow-cooked beef and the tallow-floating tea were set upon the table the appetite of at least one of us was temporarily appeased, or rather stifled, by watching the process of preparation. Supperless he spread down his buffalo robe, as before, but not to sleep. In the morning a like breakfast was prepared. Witnessed in a like manner, it was followed by a like result. From the time of leaving the home of Doctor Tripp till we arrived at Madison on the afternoon of the next day, a single cracker was all I ate. Never before or since have I so keenly felt the cravings of hunger. I think there was no house on the way from McNary's to Madison, but at Madison the means of appeasing hunger were at hand."

Of the highways between Milwaukee and the north in 1837, Andrew J. Vieau, who in that year was married at Green Bay, gave the following account:

"Our bridal trip was made across the country to Milwaukee, on what was called a French train. The sleigh was a deep box, six feet long by thirty-five inches broad, which slipped easily on the surface of the snow, when drawn by two horses tandem. There were of course no wagon roads in those days, but there were two regularly traveled trails to Milwaukee. The one we took led first on a short-cut southeast from Green Bay to Manitowoc. At Manitowoc Rapids, two and a half miles from the lake shore, the path turned almost due south, striking the mouth of Sheboygan River. Thence we would proceed up the lake, sometimes on the beach, and again on the high land, for fifteen or sixteen miles; thence west-southwest to Saukville, a small Chippewa village, whose chief was Waameteegoosh (Little Frenchman); thence directly southeast to Milwaukee, striking the Kilbourn—now the Waukesha—Road. This path between Green Bay and Milwaukee was originally an Indian trail, and very crooked, but the whites would straighten it by cutting across lots each winter with their jumpers, wearing bare streaks

through the thin covering, to be followed in the summer by foot and horseback travel along the shortened path. The other trail was by way of Fond du Lac, taking advantage of the military road along the east shore of Lake Winnebago; thence southwest to Watertown; thence east to Waukesha, and coming into Milwaukee on the Kilbourn Road. The time occupied in traveling from Green Bay to Milwaukee was four days, either by foot or by French train, the distance being estimated at 125 miles."

Of accommodations for travelers in Wisconsin and the West in general at the time of his arrival in 1838 and for some years thereafter, Judge Andrew G. Miller said: "In our primitive days in this country every log cabin by the wayside was a tavern. Travelers rode up to a log cabin with as much confidence of a cordial reception as if they had observed on the door, 'Entertainment for Man and Horse.' The best the establishment afforded was soon made ready by the host and hostess. Frequently by nightfall the cabin became crowded, when the query passed around, 'Where are these people to sleep?' Supper over, that question was readily answered. In the first place, the only visible sleeping establishment was divided up, giving to each one a little, as far as it was capable of distribution. Ladies were deposited in a corner of the cabin loft, behind a temporary screen. To each man a portion of the ground floor or of the loft was assigned, with the privilege of selecting the softest plank. If a presumptuous person appeared to be one of the crowd, he soon became the butt, and had to submit to hard treatment, as a creature without friends."

People adjust their minds to conditions when they realize that they are the best available. Certain it is that there was much travel for long distances over the wretched highways of the early days, and no more complaint than would be occasioned now by "a washout on the line," or the discovery of "a bad place in the concrete." The employment of oxen instead of horses for all kinds of heavy teaming was common among Wisconsin farmers as late as the period of the Civil war. Oxen are slow, but possessed of enormous strength and endurance. The ox was preferred to the horse in the early times because he was better adapted to heavy work, and there was heavy work to be done not only in breaking up land on the newly-entered farms but carry-

ing loads to market over the kind of roads which were the best available in those times. A secondary consideration which influenced farmers in favor of oxen rather than horses was that oxen could be converted into corned beef. It was oxen that brought lead across the width of the State for shipment by lake at Milwaukee, in place of sending it by the old route down the Mississippi to St. Louis and New Orleans. Elisha Starr, a pioneer publisher, wrote the following memorandum on the 9th of October, 1844: "At one time yesterday we counted, while standing near our office [on East Water Street, Milwaukee], thirty-five large wagons, or prairie schooners, attached to nearly every one of which were four yoke of oxen. There could not have been fewer than 250 oxen attached to these teams."

Such an amount of "ox-power" would have been excessive under a regime of good or even fair roads. But in 1844 the highways in Wisconsin were anything but good. The editor of the *Sentinel and Gazette* reported that in October, 1848, he met near Rock River a man with eight oxen hitched to a half-loaded wagon. "The team seemed rather disproportionate to the load, but the man gave it as his experience that four yoke of cattle were not too many to hitch to a buggy over such roads, and added that for his part he didn't pretend to start out on any kind of business with anything less than a breaking team."

Henry Bleyer, beloved by his fellow journalists, who grew up in the Milwaukee of the early days, and for many years officiated as Historian of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, writing reminiscences of his childhood, said: "The huge vans which conveyed settlers and their families from the East, as well as those which brought lead from the vicinity of Mineral Point and Galena, were interesting and their drivers were a picturesque and romantic-looking lot—especially to the younger members of the community, who watched their proceedings as those of today would watch the coming of a circus to town and its preparations for the show. After parking their wagons to form a corral for the oxen, the teamsters built a fire and brought out frying pans to cook their suppers. They could make flapjacks and coffee competing with the best housekeepers that ever lived. Reclining during the evening around their glowing fires, they smoked in comfort and told stories till the time for turning into their blankets

and going to sleep. When they had unloaded their pig-lead at the pier off Huron Street, and purchased supplies to take back to the mines, they moved out with as much picturesqueness as they had moved in." Mr. Bleyer observed that the last occasion on which oxen came into requisition as beasts of burden in Milwaukee was when the epizootic raged, in the fall of 1872. At that time owners of horses deemed it prudent to keep them off the streets. Brewers and others with heavy loads to deliver scoured the surrounding country and patronized the stockyards to procure teams of oxen. For weeks oxen were numerously employed in hauling delivery wagons and carrying travelers and their baggage from the railway stations to the hotels.

At the outset of Milwaukee's settlement, the practice of making business journeys to Wisconsin by ox-teams was in vogue among the farmers of Illinois and Indiana. Testimony on the subject by Harrison Reed, who was a pioneer editor in Wisconsin, and who became governor of Florida in the period immediately following the Civil war, is graphic and full of interest:

"When the winter of 1838 approached there was but a meager store of provisions in Milwaukee, and with the close of navigation on the lakes none could be added until spring. And here was organized the first corner in breadstuffs, since become so prolific of fortunes and misfortunes. A few individuals, living on government salaries, and no way dependent on local business or industry, purchased the entire stock held in store for the winter, and immediately raised the price of flour to $20 a barrel: and no man, however great his possessions, could procure a day's credit. Such was the condition of things that one of the wealthiest families was compelled for three weeks to subsist on corn meal and molasses, which it happened to have on hand. What the end might have been had not this corner been broken before the opening of navigation in the spring, can only be imagined. But a godsend from an unexpected quarter came to our relief. The Suckers of southern Illinois and the Hoosiers of Indiana were rich in breadstuffs and stock, and only short in clothing and implements of industry; and their prairie schooners were sent hundreds of miles in search of markets for their products, the drivers subsisting in their wagons by the way. To the consternation and chagrin of the stony-hearted money-chasers who sought

to speculate on the lifeblood of the people, the arrival of a cargo overland from 'Egypt' broke the corner and relieved the starving community."

Mr. Reed went on to observe that in the ensuing summer the pursuit of agriculture at odd moments had earnest followers in Milwaukee County, and for years thereafter many dwellers in what is now the heart of the city were able in the autumn to stock their cellars with potatoes and other eatables raised in their own backyards.

Crude as they were, the early highways were a substantial help to the settlers. Early in 1842, John Volk, who for nine years had been established at Chicago, acquired interests at Kewaunee, and prepared to move with his family to that place.

To carry machinery and provisions, he chartered a vessel, taking passage in her himself, with a view to stopping at Milwaukee and hiring men to help him in logging and lumbering. It was decided that Mrs. Volk and her three children, the oldest a boy of ten, should make their way by land, in a covered wagon, driven by Mr. Volk's brother, a young fellow of eighteen. There were twelve head of cattle, which could go better by land than by water, the oxen drawing the wagon, the cows furnishing milk to simplify the problem of living by the way.

Before parting from his wife, Mr. Volk gave her $500 in gold, saying that if any accident should happen to him it would enable her to help herself. At that time the country through which the wife's long journey was to be made was sparsely settled. After leaving Milwaukee, her son, whose task it had been to drive the loose cattle, complained of sore feet. From an Indian she bought him a pair of moccasins. She also hired a man to relieve him for a day's march. The following day this man disappeared with the moccasins, and Mrs. Volk, who had carefully secreted her $500, was glad her possession of it was known to no one but her husband.

Here, in her own words, is another incident of travel: "We drove in three days from Milwaukee to Saukville, where we found shelter overnight in a house, the first we had had on our journey. We now took a military road, which had been cut six years before by the government, from Milwaukee to Green Bay. No wagon had as yet ever traveled it. Never having been graded, it was

very rough. In crossing a bridge, the covering, which had become rotten, gave way and let the cattle through. However, they did not go to the bottom, as the yoke stuck across a stringer and suspended them by their necks. Here they hung helpless, with their feet dangling like the pendulum of a clock, until my brother-in-law could cut the stringer and let them down into the ravine below. No material damage was done, and we resumed our journey. We had not gone far when in passing between two stumps the wagon caught fast. There being but one man to drive the cattle and control the movements of the wagon, I endeavored to assist him, and in so doing got my finger between the bottom of the box and a spoke of the wheel, which tore a large piece of flesh from it. Well, I did not faint, but the camphor bottle was no unimportant factor in the proceedings of the next few minutes."

The next day they traveled fourteen miles without reaching water, and had nothing to drink except the contents of a can which they had filled for their own use. The cattle, turned out to grass at night, were not to be seen in the morning, and the brother-in-law went in search of them, Mrs. Volk and the children waiting with the wagon in the road. The day wore on, noon passed, and the brother-in-law did not return. "Imagine my feelings," says Mrs. Volk's account. "I was alone in the woods with my children, the oldest but ten years of age, while the youngest was naught but a babe. We walked back and forth in the road, straining our eyes to catch a glimpse of our protector."

At length the water supply was exhausted except a little which the anxious mother had saved for the absent member of the party in case he should come back tired and thirsty, and now the children began to clamor for what was left. However, at this crisis the brother-in-law appeared with the cattle, which he had tracked back fourteen miles to the water-hole they had remembered and returned to when they were athirst.

The next day the little party had a joyful surprise—the spectacle of John Volk coming to meet them. Knowing the route they would take, and anxious for their safety, he had hastened to join them as soon as he had arranged affairs at Kewaunee.

Mrs. Volk's long journey was made with the advantage of mild weather. Winter travel, however, was sometimes delightful

to the pioneers. The following is from the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of January 20, 1845:

"Saturday was an animated day in Milwaukee. The excellent sleighing induced thousands from the country to visit the city on business and pleasure, and our streets were crowded with a dense multitude in sleighs, on horseback and afoot. We stood in Water Street in the vicinity of our office and counted to the number of 265 sleighs, and then gave up in despair the idea of enumerating the whole within the reach of our vision. Their number was legion, and their description and particular definitions of style would have confounded those who made the inventory of Noah's ark. Loads of wood, of hay, of pork, of potatoes, and such like sober and staple commodities of life were heterogeneously intermingled with the gilded cutter and the magnificent sleigh-and-four of the city buck and the country lover with his roseate mistress. On with locomotive speed swept the hurrying multitude, swaying to and fro like the torrent of a restless river—pork, beauty, potatoes, love, romance—a reality as heterogeneous as the actions, motives and language of the builders of the tower of Babel. The weather is mild and peculiarly favorable for outdoor business, and all are improving the opportunity. What a glorious time for merrymaking, for winter sports and for fireside glee—for a ride to Prairieville, to Racine, to 'the Ancient City,' to the mines, to Watertown, or to the broad prairies, now glittering gemlike in the sunlight with their spotless mantle of snow!"

But winter roads are as variable as winter weather, and as the moods of human beings. The editor was less elated on February 4 than he had been on January 20, and what he wrote on February 4 was this:

"The weather is very remarkable for this season of the year in such a northern latitude. It is now the 4th of February, and we have not as yet had one week of good sleighing. The earth is at present covered with a slippery sheet of ice, rendering locomotion dangerous to limb and body. Our streets and sidewalks are a continuous glare."

In his message of January 7, 1845, to the Territorial Council and House of Representatives, Governor Tallmadge said:

"I invite your attention to the subject of roads generally and to other channels of intercommunication. I am well aware that

in a new country it requires considerable time to make the roads even passably good. Nevertheless, very much depends upon the character of the population, and still more upon a right direction being given to the public mind, whether the importance of having good roads receives a large or small share of public attention. The farmer justly regards it as a matter of the highest concern that he should so manage his farm as to enable him to raise abundant crops. But what are the crops worth beyond the wants of his own household if he have no market for his surplus, and how can he have a market if his distance and the condition of the roads be such as to make the price he receives less than a fair remuneration for his labor? Does not this render his surplus valueless, and thus take from him all motive for growing more than his own wants require?"

The Territorial Assembly of 1845 appointed commissioners to lay out roads described as follows: From Milwaukee to Fort Winnebago via the county seat of Dodge County; from Milwaukee to Fox Lake, crossing Rock River near the outlet of Winnebago Marsh; from Spring Street in Milwaukee to intersect the road leading from Milwaukee to Mukwonago; from Third Street in Milwaukee until it intersects the United States road from Milwaukee to Green Bay, south of Mad Creek, and from Milwaukee to Fond du Lac, passing near the center of Washington County.

At the same session the compensation of road supervisors was fixed by law, and provision was made for the application of delinquent road taxes to the repair of highways. The Board of Supervisors of Milwaukee County was authorized to levy and collect $3,000, subject to the approval of the taxpayers at town meeting, this money, if raised, to be expended in the construction of roads and bridges. Thus systematized, the building of roads putting Milwaukee into improved communication with its immediately tributary territory received an impetus which brought prompt and much appreciated results in the way of better living conditions for inhabitants of the rural regions and smaller towns and expanding trade for the merchants of Milwaukee. Wheat deliveries by farmer's wagons to millers and forwarders at Milwaukee became larger by leaps and bounds, and other products of the farms found their way to consumers in Milwaukee under conditions more advantageous to producers and consumers than

had been available before. Good roads were recognized as a profitable investment. Practical experience of the benefits they conferred whetted a desire to increase their number and to make them better accommodated to the requirements of heavy teaming than had been practicable at the beginning of their construction. Plank roads had come into use in the East, with gratifying results, and plank roads now began to be called for in territory tributary to Milwaukee.

The Legislature of 1846 granted a charter incorporating a company with authority to construct a road of timber or plank, "so that the same form a hard, smooth and even surface," from "the place where the Madison Territorial Road now crosses the range line dividing Ranges 19 and 20," to "within one mile of the Milwaukee River, in right direction to the westward of Milwaukee River." The company was organized, its stock was subscribed by citizens of Milwaukee, and the road constructed—the Milwaukee and Watertown Plank Road, which not only proved for a time a remunerative investment to its stockholders, but a very material benefit to the dwellers all along its route as well as in the cities at its termini, and incidentally to the Territory of Wisconsin as a whole.

The impetus to business occasioned by the provision of highways which could be used in wet weather as well as in dry inspired hope and aroused enthusiasm which stimulated enterprise. Applicants for charters to construct plank roads fairly bombarded the Legislative Assembly. Highway improvement became the order of the day in all directions leading out of Milwaukee. No fewer than sixteen charters for the construction of toll roads, most of them plank roads, were granted at the final session of the Territorial Legislature, as follows: From Milwaukee, via Big Bend and East Troy, to Janesville; from Milwaukee, via the iron mines and Horicon, to Beaver Dam; from Milwaukee, via Hustisford, to Beaver Dam; from Milwaukee, via Waukesha, Delafield and Summit, to Watertown; from Waukesha to Rock River, via Genesee, Palmyra and Whitewater, with a connecting road to Jefferson and Fort Atkinson; and from Milwaukee to Muskego, thence to Fox River, thence to Waterford and Wilmot.

The Milwaukee, West Bend and Fond du Lac Plank Road was built in 1852, of planks two inches thick and eight feet long, which

were nailed to stringers four inches square, the latter being laid lengthwise and the planks crosswise. In other words it was of similar construction to the best of the wooden sidewalks which preceded the present era of concrete. But for the cheapness of lumber at the time, the plank roads would have been impossible. Cheapness of labor was another factor. At intervals of three miles there were toll gates with turnpikes. For vehicles drawn by a single animal the toll was a cent a mile, half a cent extra being added for each additional animal, and the comprehensive term "animal" being employed in the schedule of tolls for the reason that frequently mules or oxen were hitched along with horses to the wagons in which the farmers hauled their produce to the markets. Keen rivalry between the lake towns competing for the farmers' grain stimulated the multiplication of toll roads. The lake port which, other things being equal, made it easiest for the farmer to get his grain to market was the one to which he would go.

Plank roads made life easier for the farmer. A round trip from West Bend to Milwaukee in a vehicle drawn by one animal cost something in the neighborhood of seventy cents for tolls. If a team was used the cost was about a dollar. Besides the gain in comfort, farmers were advantaged by a considerable saving in time, for travel on a toll road was speedy compared with that on the partial quagmires that formerly had been dignified with the name of roads.

In these days of steam and electric transportation, of automobiles and of aeroplanes, it is difficult to realize what the opening of these precursors of the concrete highways of today meant to the people of Wisconsin in that humbler time. As late as 1858, which was after the "iron horse" had been diminishing distances in Wisconsin for seven years, Edward D. Holton, reviewing the history of "Avenues to the Town," recalled the contrasting conditions of 1840 and 1850 as follows:

"In 1840 there was a road leading north [from Milwaukee], called the Green Bay Road; two leading west, the Waukesha and Mukwonago Roads; one leading southwest, called the Kilbourn Road; and one south, the Racine. A small subscription was placed in my hands in the fall of 1841, and I employed William Hesk of Menomonee to open a wagon-track northwest through to Fond du

Lac. These roads lay through the heavy forest by which we were surrounded. Little or no work was done on them beyond making sufficient track for wagons to wind along, and poles and logs were thrown across the streams and swamps. From time to time the people of Milwaukee made moderate subscriptions to the roads, but, after all that was done, they were at best bad enough, and at times almost impassable. Still the great army of immigrants thronged upon us, and made their way through these tracts to the more open and genial country behind. As the years rolled on, our people felt more and more the necessity of good roads. In 1847, under this impression, Elisha Eldred, Hans Crocker, Joshua Hathaway, Eliphalet Cramer and their associates entered upon the construction of the Milwaukee and Watertown Plank Road, and pushed it with great zeal and success. Elisha Eldred was the president, and gave his personal attention to the work. It was about four years in construction. It was an admirably built road in all particulars. Its cost, in cash, was about $119,000. It was a most splendid success, and its effect upon the prosperity of the town was magical. As an evidence of the amount of business, its net receipts for tolls were at times equal to $1,300 per week. This road continued to do a very large business until the completion of the Watertown Railroad in 1855.

"The success of these roads produced a great furore for plank roads. Messrs. Levi Blossom, Alanson Sweet and their associates built the Janesville Plank Road as far as the Fox River. This road was begun in 1849. Although an important road, and its opening a great acquisition to the city, it did not meet with so great success as the Watertown, or pay its stockholders so well. These roads were not all that we wanted; for however valuable they might be as wagon-roads for a limited distance, they could not meet the wants of the city when a wider view was taken, embracing the magnificent country stretching far behind us. Out of this feeling sprang the organization of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad Company, in the spring of 1849."

There were times in the history of the toll roads when makeshift conditions afforded topics of complaint. The Fond du Lac Road was built to Cedarburg, but never planked. For years it paid 10 per cent. dividends on a valuation of $20,000. Though never planked, it was well kept up. The Janesville Road was not

planked for its entire length. It was graveled over stretches where the drainage was good. On these stretches travel was rarely impeded except by snow, and then only temporarily. Other stretches, and they were numerous, passed through areas of black muck, impassable but for planking. After the inauguration of this improvement stages rarely failed to make their scheduled time. Often farmers on their way to the city had their wagons piled high with dressed hogs. Before the advent of packing houses, farmers did their own killing and dressing. In the earlier time they threshed their wheat in primitive ways, sometimes with flails, sometimes walking horses over it as it lay spread out on the barn floor, and waited for windy days to blow the chaff out. The farmer's life in those days was a succession of weary tasks, and when all was done, his compensation was pitifully small.

While wagons continued to be an important means of communication between Milwaukee and the interior Wisconsin farmers raised little fruit. Apples of good quality came from the Western Reserve in Ohio and Western New York, usually by boat. Railroad facilities from the East were meager. Often it happened that even the Ohio product consumed in this city was first transported to Buffalo and thence by steamboat to Milwaukee, though much of it came in small schooners from Ashtabula and other Ohio ports. Milwaukee dealers were obliged to lay in supplies in the fall sufficient to last through the winter months, and figured on wastage as high as fifty per cent.

A. B. Blanchard, who became established in the fruit business on East Water Street in 1852, and prospered for more than a quarter of a century, said that during the first nine years while he was in the trade many of his customers were farmers from Rock and Walworth counties. They hauled their wheat and other farm produce distances of fifty to seventy-five miles, camping out by night on the way, disposing of the wheat at from forty to sixty cents a bushel and investing the proceeds in groceries and other retail supplies designed for keepers of small stores in the vicinity of their homes. He recalled the joy exhibited by an old farmer who had driven into town at one time in the '50s when wheat happened to command the then unheard of price of seventy-five cents. After selling his load the farmer went to Bradford Brothers, the leading dry goods house of the period, and pur-

chased a silk dress for his wife. Then he dropped into Blanchard's and bought a barrel of apples "for the babies." Farmers at that time were eager purchasers of pomace, which was the name given to apples in a state of hopeless rottenness. For this they paid twenty-five cents a barrel, taking it back with them to their farms and distributing it upon the land as a fertilizer. Seeds contained in the cores of the spoiled apples sprouted and eventually grew into trees. It was Mr. Blanchard's conviction that many of the orchards of Rock and Walworth counties owed their origin to pomace obtained from his store. Among his regular customers for fruit were dealers from Janesville and other places in the interior, who came to him in the fall of the year to lay in their fruit supplies for Christmas. It was a long haul, but they were accustomed to take precautions before starting which obviated the danger of freezing by the way. On the evening before setting forth the out-of-town dealer would load his ten or twelve barrels of apples on to his wagon, pack straw around them, and saturate it with water. This would be frozen by morning, forming an envelope of ice, and serving to keep out the cold, so that the apples invariably arrived at their destination in good condition for eating.

Tropical fruits in those days came from New York, Philadelphia and Boston, where they had been brought by sailing vessels from the distant Mediterranean ports. They were luxuries, commanding a high price. There was no sale for the first bananas brought to Milwaukee. People visited Mr. Blanchard's store to look at them as a curiosity, but considered them too costly to eat. Fruits from Southern States made their first appearance in the Milwaukee market in 1857, but that was long before Florida and California had begun to regale the world at large with citrus fruits.

While plank roads were better than anything that had preceded them, and were pleasureable to the users and profitable to their owners at the outset, both the general public and the companies that built them were inclined to condemn them in many instances as a failure in the end. Glad enough to pay tolls when plank roads were a novelty, the farmers became inclined in times of money scarcity to look upon them as a burden. Finally they found fault with the highways themselves, asserting that the

hardness of the planks hurt the feet of their animals and that their uneven wear produced roughness which retarded travel. The promoters, who had expected oak planks to last a decade or more, found them rotten and worthless at the end of three or four years. Tolls were evaded and grew less; the state license took a good percentage of the receipts, and dividends continually dwindled. By 1871, the plank roads which, twenty years before, had been looked to as the solution of Wisconsin's transportation problem, had almost ceased to exist; toll houses had disappeared and iron tracks had completely superseded oaken boards as a means of cross-state travel.

For many years preceding the advent of railroads, dependence of passenger travel was upon stage-coach lines, of which there were many doing a flourishing business into and out of Milwaukee, the famous establishments of Frink, Walker & Company, of Chicago, L. P. Sanger of Galena, and Davis & Moore of Milwaukee being held high in the esteem of the traveling public far and wide. A daily line of four-horse post coaches ran from Milwaukee to Galena, getting its patrons through in three days. Leaving Milwaukee on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, these coaches proceeded, via Troy, Janesville, Monroe, Wiota, Shullsburg and White Oak Springs, lodging at Janesville and Shullsburg. The coaches that left Milwaukee on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays went, via Prairieville (Waukesha), Whitewater, Fort Atkinson, Madison, Blue Mounds, Dodgeville, Mineral Point, Platteville and Hazel Green, lodging at Madison and Mineral Point. Another tri-weekly line ran from Milwaukee to Berlin, Vernon, Mukwonago and Troy, returning every alternate day and forming a daily line between Milwaukee and Troy. Another tri-weekly line ran from Milwaukee, via Oak Creek, Racine and Southport (Kenosha), returning on alternate days.

The following is from the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of April 26, 1845:

"An advertisement in this newspaper announces that Davis & Moore will put on a tri-weekly line of stages between Milwaukee and Galena, running by way of Prairieville, Whitewater, Madison, Blue Mounds and Mineral Point. Eight years since an indistinct Indian trail was all that marked the line of travel between the shores of Lake Michigan near the present site of Milwaukee

and the banks of the Mississippi. Now comparatively good roads traverse the country in every direction, and the gay stage-coach, a miniature world within itself, freighted with stalwart manhood and feminine beauty, goes rolling along, the noisy tread of its wheels as they press the turf of the prairie forming a strange contrast with the hideous whoop of the Indian warrior."

Writing of stage-coach days in Wisconsin, in a paper published in the Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, Vol. XXII., the late H. E. Cole of Baraboo observed:

"Artists of a century ago frequently pictured the horses of the stage-coach as prancing, fire-breathing steeds; but upon investigation it is found that much of this picturesqueness was imaginary. It required highly practical teams to pull the coaches loaded with passengers and baggage, and the long journeys conspired to produce conspicuous ribs, pronounced backbone, and other indications of arduous toil. It was the custom of the time for the driver, when he gathered up his lines in front of the tavern, to crack his whip with a flourish for the start from the hostelry. With a great hurrah and whirring of wheels they would set out, then often would creep along when muddy stretches or sand wastes were encountered. As the destination drew near, there was again a great flurry on the part of the driver, as he brought his horses to a stop before the tavern."

Next to the stage-drivers, those in charge of vehicles engaged in general transportation were the heroes of the roads. They were powerful, blustering fellows, and had the habit of making other traffic turn out for them, especially when it was in charge of boys. While the professional teamsters sometimes transported products of the farm to market, their best customers were the country storekeepers, who hired them to take butter and eggs to town and bring back merchandise, a traffic generally carried on under yearly contracts.

Drivers of stage-coaches sometimes were men of a superior class, like Jeremiah M. Rusk, for instance, who became Governor of Wisconsin and a member of President Harrison's cabinet. Alonzo L. Boynton came to Milwaukee from the State of New York in 1840. Having some knowledge of horses and the livery business, he engaged to work for Isaac Oakley, who conducted a

livery stable adjacent to the American House, and operated a line of stages between Milwaukee and the Mississippi River, Mr. Boynton's duty for several years being to drive stage over this then lonely and dangerous route. Many were the intending settlers whom he transported from Milwaukee to their new homes in the interior of Wisconsin. In 1850 he engaged in the livery business on his own account. He became a large owner of real estate, and was identified with the growth and progress of the city. Some years before his death, which occurred on the 6th of June, 1902, Mr. Boynton gave this interesting account of travel in the early days:

"I think it was about 1845 that I saw the first Concord coach, drawn by four horses, arrive from Chicago and land its load of passengers in front of the American House. Tri-weekly trips to and from Chicago comprised the schedule for several years, and two days was the time required to make the journey. Soon after the first Concord coach put in its appearance stage routes were established between Milwaukee and Watertown, Janesville, Madison and Mineral Point. About the only kind of people who traveled in those days were immigrants, of whom there were two distinct classes—the thoroughly Americanized descendants of settlers from New York, Pennsylvania and the New England States, and the people from abroad—the latter consisting chiefly of representatives of North European races. Most of the foreigners were Germans or Norwegians, and none of these knew anything about the English language. The Norwegians at that period were all bound for Koshkonong Lake, where there was a large Norwegian settlement. When the immigrant boat arrived from Buffalo and discharged its westbound steerage passengers at the foot of Huron Street, which was then the main thoroughfare in this city, the Norwegians would invariably approach our wagons, shouting the single word, 'Koshkonong,' with a long accent on the last syllable. This was the only word they knew that had any resemblance to the English language, but it was sufficient to advise us of their destination.

"Many a load of these immigrants have I hauled as far west as the Mississippi. The trip usually took ten days going and ten days returning, that is if the weather was fair. The regular cost was five dollars a day for a team. One such journey I especially

remember. A family of Germans engaged me to haul them to the north, to no particular destination. There were seven in the party—three stalwart men. At nights, according to the custom, when no human habitation was in sight, we camped beneath our wagons. When we got up into the northern part of Washington County, they requested me to leave the main road and drive off into the forest—a wilderness where no foot of white man had ever trod before. I took them to the wildest parts of this immense forest, and, as they signified a desire to settle in that spot, I left them there. Before I departed with my teams, the men had already begun to hew trees to form a shelter against the weather, for it was on the eve of winter, and raining hard. I often think of that poor family and the hardships that they braved, but I presume they prospered."

Outposts of the city, in the days before railroads, when traffic between Milwaukee and the interior was by way of the wagon-roads, were the taverns. Like steamboat captains, the personality of the tavern keepers became indelibly impressed upon the minds of the traveling public. A leader among men of this class, representative of the type, was William Hale, a pioneer of Milwaukee and the founder of Hale's Corners. He was born at Pompey, Onondaga County, New York, in 1813, and came to Milwaukee in 1837. He and his brother Seneca took up a claim located ten miles southwest of the city. When a post office was needed in their vicinity, William Hale was the first postmaster and the place came to be known as Hale's Corners. Mr. Hale's hotel at the Corners was built in 1848 and he managed it till 1884, when he sold his farm to Charles Munkwitz. The Drehers came into prominence at the Corners; but that belongs to the history of a later time.

Mr. Hale's place at the Corners, being on the main traveled road leading to the city from the southwest, which was filling up with farmers, his tavern was well patronized. There was at first no railroad leading out into the new country, and all communication between the country and the city was by teams. Taverns sprang up every few miles along the main roads. Farmers brought their grain to market and returning conveyed purchases which they had made in the city for themselves and others, especially for the proprietors of country stores, who employed them

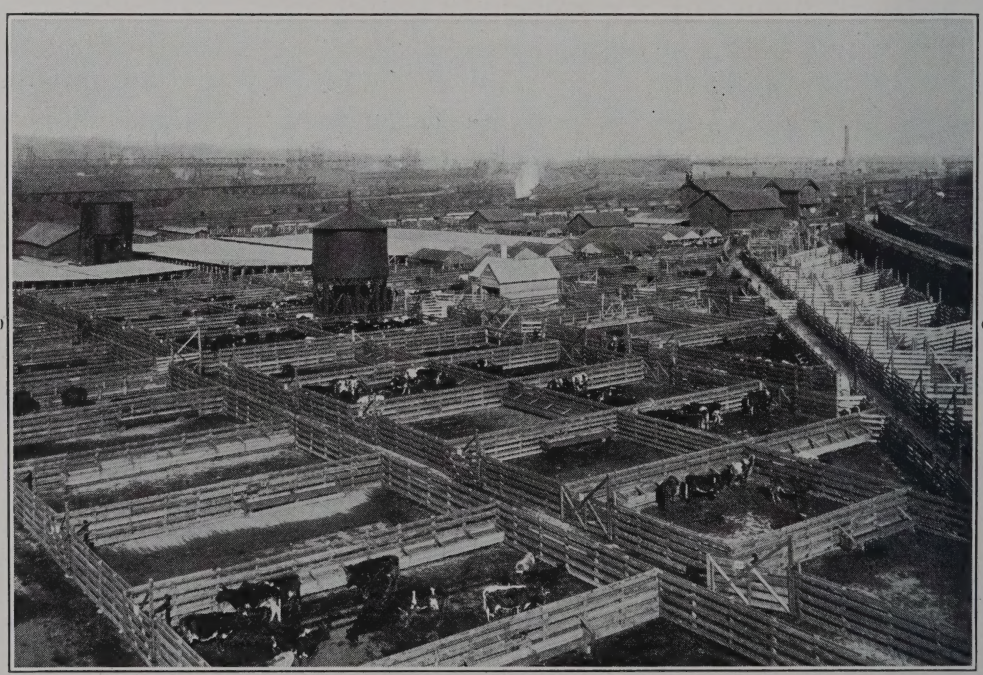
as freighters. For residents of the country toward the Southwest the hotel at Hale's Corners was at a convenient stage of the journey, farmers reaching it at night, taking a rest, and proceeding to the city in the morning. Disposing of their grain and taking on new loads in Milwaukee, they would manage to get back to the Corners the same evening and be ready after another night's rest to set forth on the homeward way in the morning.

Grain buyers lined the roads for miles out of the city, going as far as Hale's Corners to meet the farmers and make offers for their wheat. When a trade was effected a check was delivered to the farmer, who at the same time was instructed where to deliver his wheat and get his money. This made marketing easy; but it was not long before farmers learned to distrust the buyers who came so far to make their purchases. They might take a buyer's check, but if they found out later that they could secure a better price from some one else in the city, they would sell to advantage and leave the original buyer in the lurch. As the wheat business developed, roads leading to the city were thronged all day with the wagons of the farmers, and the taverns were full of people at night.

Mr. Hale built large barns, but found himself at times unable to accommodate all who applied for shelter. He made money fast. The farmers had evil conditions to contend with, one of which was the loss of valuables left in their wagons overnight. Mr. Hale was solicitous in the interest of his guests, and rarely was anything stolen at the Hale tavern. Sometimes thefts occurred in the city. Once a Walworth County man who had stopped at Hale's overnight and come on to the city was the victim of a robbery in Milwaukee which aroused his indignation to such a pitch that he determined to take reprisal wherever he could. He had been away from his wagon but a few minutes while making purchases in a store and when he returned to the wagon his sacks had vanished. Sacks were high at the time. He figured that he could not afford to go home unprovided with a fresh supply of containers for his next load of wheat. When he drove up to the tavern at Hale's Corners and was watering his horses, he noticed another wagon standing there unguarded. He also noticed that it contained two sacks which seemed to be stuffed with other sacks. Acting on the theory that when one's necessity

is great "them as has must suffer," he helped himself to one of the sacks, and then, instead of entering the tavern, drove on to the next place ahead. His sacks had been stolen, and he had stolen sacks in return. Great was his astonishment when he reached his home and examined his booty, for then he discovered that technically he was not a thief, for the sack he had snatched from the other fellow's wagon was his own.

As time progressed and the population increased in his vicinity, Mr. Hale platted a portion of his farm. That was the origin of the Corners. At length his wife died and his children married and moved away. Finally he sold the rest of the farm and the tavern and went to live with his children. His death occurred at the residence of one of his daughters, Mrs. Hunt Barnes, West Union, Iowa, and was attributed to old age.



THE OLD STOCKYARDS

CHAPTER XII

MILWAUKEE AND ROCK RIVER CANAL

PROJECT TO FACILITATE TRANSPORTATION BETWEEN LAKE MICHIGAN AND THE MISSISSIPPI THAT ENDED IN THE PROVISION OF A WATER-POWER FOR EARLY-DAY MANUFACTURERS—COMPLICATIONS ARISING FROM A FEDERAL LAND GRANT.

Near where Vliet Street approaches the Milwaukee River there was a noteworthy ceremonial on the Fourth of July, 1839. Milwaukee as an organized community was barely four years of age. Less than that time had elapsed since the erection of the Territory of Wisconsin. In all the present area of the State there were fewer white people than now reside in a single ward of the city of Milwaukee. But there was abounding confidence in Wisconsin's and Milwaukee's future. There was eager enthusiasm for whatever promised to hasten the development of natural resources. Transportation facilities would go far to bring this about. Cheap power also would be a great help. Even then there were those who visualized Milwaukee as a manufacturing point. The citizens who assembled on the west bank of the river to celebrate that Fourth of July inaugurated an undertaking which was expected to improve Milwaukee's transportation facilities and add to her manufacturing resources at a single stroke. It was on that day that Byron Kilbourn dug the first spadeful of earth for the excavation of the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal and John Hustis delivered an eloquent oration predicting future greatness for Milwaukee.

From the organization of the Territory, in 1836, and even earlier—from the time of Mr. Kilbourn's arrival, nearly two years previous to that event—no other project of improvement in Wisconsin had been as much talked of as this, which was expected to open a water-transportation route from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River. For the light-draft steamboats of those

days Rock River was deemed navigable up to or above Lake Koshkonong. One of the objects held in view was to reach the vicinity of the lead mines in the southwestern portion of the Territory. Freight from that locality moved to market by way of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. People settling near the shore of Lake Michigan naturally favored a route that would bring the tide of traffic their way on its journey to the East.

The Territorial Legislature passed an act incorporating the canal company and pledging the credit of the territory to the construction of the canal, with the stipulation that the future State of Wisconsin should have the right of purchase. Congress was asked to make a grant of land, giving the company alternate sections on either side of the canal for five miles. That the government might be recompensed, it was provided that the remaining sections should not be disposed of for less than double the usual minimum price of $1.25 per acre. The capital of the canal company was to be $100,000, with the privilege of increasing it to $1,000,000. The company moreover was accorded the power of eminent domain and authority to borrow money. In addition to the main line of the canal, the company was authorized to construct a branch to Prairie Village. Commissioners were appointed to receive subscriptions to the capital stock, and the company was to organize when $50,000 had been secured.

In February, 1838, the company was organized at Milwaukee. Preliminary surveys had been made by I. A. Lapham, who reported the probable cost of the canal as $798,515. The lockage required between Milwaukee and the summit of the Kettle Range in Waukesha County was estimated at 316 feet, and from that point to the Rock River at 80 feet. The Fox River branch, five miles in length, with a lockage of 40 feet, was to cost $68,200, which sum was included in the above. In June of the same year Congress passed the bill granting lands, stipulating that the western terminus of the canal should be between the northern line of Jefferson County and Lake Koshkonong, a distance of about twenty miles.

On the west side of the Milwaukee River, about a mile north of Cherry Street a dam was constructed which raised the water behind it to the height of about ten feet. Here was a lock, through which water was let into a small canal paralleling the

river, and terminating near Vliet Street. This was dug with the purpose of utilizing the water power. As matters turned out, it was the only part of the canal project that was carried to completion. From the vicinity of the dam it was planned to dig the main canal, running a little north of west, through the towns of Granville, Menomonee and Lisbon to the summit of the Kettle Range. In his report to the Governor, in October, 1839, Alexander M. Mitchell, the Territorial engineer, observed: "Within two miles of the summit is the beginning of a chain of lakes presenting almost a connection of waters, easily made navigable to the eastern bend of the Rock River, a distance of twelve or fifteen miles. * * * From La Belle Lake to Rock River is a valley which appears to have been designed to unite the two." The western terminus on Rock River was to have been at Sinissippi, between Jefferson and Belleville.

The location proposed by the engineers was approved by the directors of the company and the Territorial officials. The lands granted by Congress, aggregating 139,190.91 acres, were set off by the Commissioner of the General Land Office. In December, 1839, the Canal Commissioners reported to the Legislature that the occupied and improved lands registered as contemplated by the law of the previous session comprised 43,677 acres. These included lands which had been occupied and claimed by actual settlers before Congress had made the grant of lands to promote the construction of the canal. Here was the beginning of a conflict of interest. Within six months all these lands with the exception of 240 acres had been sold at $2.50 an acre, though when the occupants had settled upon them, the provision of the land laws guaranteed settlers the right of purchase from the government at the minimum price of $1.25.

The Legislature had passed an act authorizing the governor to borrow $500,000 on the credit of the Territory to secure funds for the building of the canal, which sum was to be repaid by the proceeds of sales of land within the grant. Later the act was amended, reducing to $50,000 the amount to be raised by the sale of bonds, and the bonds were prepared for issue.

A conflict of interests was created by the failure of the act of Congress making the land grant to contain provision for the protection of settlers on lands included on the grant. They were

estopped from the privilege of buying their claims at the land sale for $1.25 per acre and confronted with the necessity of paying a minimum price of $2.50 even should they chance to be successful bidders at the sale. But this was not all of the disadvantage at which they were placed by the terms of the enactment. The Canal Company was given the right of eminent domain, and could drive them off the property which they had improved. Moreover, the prospect of improved transportation facilities for the region through which the canal was to pass might raise up speculative competitors to bid at the sale against actual occupants.

These contingencies had been foreseen by Alanson Sweet, who was a member of the Territorial Council from Milwaukee. After the grant had been made, settlers on the canal lands held protest meetings. Disclaiming opposition to the canal project, they asserted that they would fight to defend their menaced rights. The matter became a leading issue in the campaign preceding the election of 1838 for the choice of members of the second Legislative Assembly.

An interchange of open letters between Kilbourn and Sweet indicated a bitterness of personal hostility not exceeded in political duels of more recent times. Mr. Kilbourn's communication, which was addressed to "Mr. A. Sweet," began by stating the writer had been informed that Sweet and his friends were taking unwearied pains to misrepresent him, and continued:

"From all these demonstrations I was fully satisfied I had nothing to expect from you but enmity and secret, underhand opposition. I therefore resolved to convince you of your weakness and imbecility. The great engine [his membership in the Legislative Council] which you have relied upon to control the people is now taken from you, and you must present yourself for reelection. In this I shall be your competitor, and in this I shall most probably defeat you, notwithstanding all the efforts which your friends may make to prejudice the public mind against me. You are in my power, and you cannot shake me off. I will hold you responsible for every falsehood which has been or shall be uttered against me by yourself or your tools, and I demand of you to unsay in every place all you have said against me falsely; and on your failure to do this you may rest assured that I will

exercise the power which I hold over you, the nature of which you will learn in due time. Whatever may be the result of election matters will make no difference in this. The influence which I can exert on your affairs is not of a political nature, and no result can place you out of my reach. I have the screw upon you, and can turn it at any time at my own pleasure; and whenever your acts make it necessary I shall not hesitate to do it. I shall meet you with the olive branch in one hand and defiance in the other, and you can take which you please. If I have at any time done aught which is prejudicial to the public interest I am willing the people should know it, but let those who report my acts and doings be sure they tell nothing but the truth. My intention is and my efforts have been to promote the best interests of the country."

To this flaming and angry menace Sweet under date of July 24, 1838, made a reply in kind, as the following excerpt attests:

"Your course at the land sale at Green Bay in 1835 was such as to convince me you were the friend of the settler only so long as you could further your own views. You commenced your career in Wisconsin at that sale by linking yourself with Eastern capitalists to cheat the settler out of his improvements on the public land, as many an honest man at the present day can testify. I was satisfied your object was to amass wealth by our operations and if possible reign triumphant over the County of Milwaukee, and have its citizens subservient to your nod.

"Your threats pass by like the idle wind. I fear you not—the settlers fear you not. You may have a few men you can control, but you can never get the citizens of Milwaukee to submit to you as Dictator.

"You have succeeded in getting your bill passed by Congress without any amendment securing to the settlers their land at ten shillings per acre. What is the result? The people already on and those who may hereafter go upon the canal sections have been already taxed as much or more money than is sufficient to pay for the whole ten-mile strip, and those on the even sections at least $352,000, which is to be paid to the general government as a bonus for this oppressive act by Congress. This they must either pay or lose their land.

"I gave it a cool reception at Belmont in '36. For this you

caused me to be burned in effigy in the winter of 1836-37, but afterward denied it because you found the people did not approve of the act.

"The bill had no clause to protect the settlers, but made them dependent upon the mercies of the company. My amendments carried. In no instance have I or my 'tools'—I suppose you mean my friends—made any false representations in regard to you or your measures. I am sure the greatest misrepresentation it would be in our power to make would be to call you an honest man.

"You have charged me with uttering falsehoods against you. I distinctly deny the charge and demand of you to point them out."

The outcome of the vindictive hostilities between Sweet and Kilbourn was that both of them were defeated in the election, the persons chosen to represent Milwaukee and Washington counties in the Legislative Assembly being:

For members of the Council, Daniel Wells, Jr., and William A. Prentiss.

For representatives, Lucius I. Barber, William Shew, Henry C. Skinner, Ezekiel Churchill and Augustus Story.

An interesting sequel of the episode was that within two years of the time when Sweet and Kilbourn were thus hotly engaged in mutual recriminations they met in peaceful conference, reached an amicable understanding, and thereafter were political friends —a demonstration that neither believed the charges he hurled against the other during the heat of the campaign in which they were opponents.

The first directors of the Canal Company, elected in February, 1838, were Byron Kilbourn, Solomon Juneau, James H. Rogers, Samuel Brown, John S. Rockwell, Sylvester D. Cowles and William R. Longstreet. They elected the following officers: President, Byron Kilbourn; secretary, F. A. Wingfield; treasurer, Chauncey H. Peak; engineer, Increase Allen Lapham. A memorial to Congress drawn up by President Kilbourn was approved by the board, and, under a resolution adopted by the directors, Mr. Kilbourn proceeded to Washington to promote the interests of the company. It was in March, 1839, after Congress had granted lands for the canal, that Governor Dodge made the fol-

lowing appointments to represent the interests of the Territory: Hans Crocker, register; John H. Tweedy, receiver; Lemuel W. Weeks, acting commissioner; Alexander M. Mitchell, chief engineer. To avoid confusion of personalities, it may be as well to note that this Mr. Mitchell was not Alexander Mitchell, the banker, whose arrival in Milwaukee occurred on May 28th of that year. In 1840, under an amended act of the Legislature, that body was charged with the election of canal commissioners, and George H. Walker was made acting commissioner in place of Doctor Weeks, John Hustis being continued as register and John H. Tweedy as receiver, while the Governor appointed Increase Allen Lapham as chief engineer. As agent to negotiate a loan of $50,000 for the obtainment of money for the construction of the canal, the Governor appointed Byron Kilbourn.

Protest meetings of settlers on the canal lands continued to be held from time to time. A new complication arose in connection with the sale of bonds of the Territory for the purpose of obtaining the $50,000 loan. In December, 1840, the balance in the receiver's hands subject to be expended on construction contracts then partly executed was $2,664, this, with several thousand dollars previously paid out, having been obtained from the sale of lands, and being the only means available for the prosecution of the work, as the proposed loan had not been effected. At this point differences arose between Mr. Kilbourn and Messrs. Tweedy and Hustis as to the sale of these bonds, Mr. Kilbourn being prevented from disposing of them for less than par, and also from accepting in payment anything but specie. The best current bank notes obtainable for the bonds were at that time at a discount of 5 per cent.

The national election of 1840 changed the political ascendancy at Washington, defeating Van Buren and the Jackson party and placing General Harrison and the Whigs in power. One of Harrison's first acts as President was to supersede Henry Dodge by James Duane Doty in the governorship of the Territory of Wisconsin. Dodge had been committed to the canal, but Doty in his annual message came out against the undertaking, asserting that on the route which had been surveyed it would be impracticable to make a canal of utility to the public. He also challenged the validity of the sale of canal bonds for bank currency which had

been negotiated by Mr. Kilbourn and annulled his predecessor's appointment of Kilbourn as agent for the sale of the bonds. As if taking its cue from the message, the Legislature adopted joint resolutions which had the immediate effect of putting a stop to work on the canal. All laws authorizing loans or contemplating expenditures on the part of the Territory for the construction of the canal were repealed. Congress was requested to divert the grant to such other internal improvements as might be designated by the Territory, or, failing in that, to take back the grant and dispose of the lands remaining unsold. Congress referred the resolutions to a committee, but did nothing at that session altering the status of the canal grant.

Nathaniel P. Tallmadge was appointed to succeed Judge Doty in the governorship. In his message of 1845 Governor Tallmadge observed that the interests of the Territory imperatively demanded the construction of a railroad or other means of communication from some point on Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River. "There is," he continued, "a general impression that the construction of the Milwaukee and Rock River Canal, which was intended to connect those waters, has been abandoned. It remains to be seen what shall be substituted for it."

Payments out of the canal fund in aid of the construction of the canal appear to have amounted to $31,876.97, in addition to which the company claimed to have expended $24,868.36. With the intention at the time of repaying the same to the fund, the expenses of the two conventions to form a State Constitution, prior to the admission of Wisconsin to the Union, amounting to $80,000 or upward, were taken out of the canal fund, but never were repaid. Settlers on the canal lands who had paid $2.50 for their land were reimbursed to the amount of $1.25 per acre, thus placing them on a footing with other settlers on Government lands, and eventually a settlement was effected with the Canal Company. What remained of the fund was applied to the payment of miscellaneous expenditures incurred by the Territory, enabling the State to enter the Union free from debt.

Within a short time after the failure of the Rock River Canal enterprise there had sprung up along the water power a variety of interests which in 1847 and 1848, exclusive of the manufacture of flour, yielded annually products valued in the aggregate at

$195,000 to $250,000, their several descriptions being inventoried as follows: O. Stimson, edge-tool and scythe manufactory, $20,000; Trumbull & Hotchkiss, custom mill and tannery, $10,000; Walter Burke & Co., woolen factory, $31,000; Chase & Comstock, sawmill, $15,000; Chase & Comstock, flouring mill, 200 barrels daily; Egbert Moseley, foundry, $10,000; Joseph Walters, wood turner, $2,000; Cephas Buttles, wooden bowl turner, $2,000; Winter Palmer, carriage maker, $10,000; Henry Beverung, wood turner, $3,000; John LaPointe, sash, door and blind manufacturer, $15,000; Joseph Hosford & Co., sash, door and blind manufacturers, $10,000; J. G. Bilton, scale manufacturer, $4,000; John Norwood, wood turner, $4,000; Luscombe, Hewitt & Co., pail, tub and churn factory, $30,000; Joseph Reynolds, wood turner, $2,000; Joel French, turner, $2,000; Benjamin Skidmore, turner, $2,000; Stephen V. R. Ableman, planing mill, $20,000; A. J. Langworthy, foundry and machine shop, $10,000; E. C. Kellogg, flouring mill, 150 barrels daily; John Anderson, flouring mill, 150 barrels daily; Medbery & Hoover, flouring mill, 500 barrels daily. The number of workers to whom the industries on the water power afforded employment at this time ranged from 190 to 250. Many of the establishments were not large, it is true, but those were days of small things. No wonder, therefore, that in its day the power derived from the canal was regarded as an important asset of the city and still is recalled as one of the initial factors contributing to the rise of Milwaukee as a manufacturing center.

The washing out of the dam by the freshet of 1866 occasioned millers so much inconvenience and loss that most of them put in steam power, thus escaping trouble a year later, when the section of the dam which had withstood the previous pressure and had not been repaired was carried away by the spring-time rush of water in the river.

For twenty years or more after it had ceased to be much employed as a source of power, the canal continued to exist. During the '70s a portion north of Dock Street, guarded by a tall fence from the intrusive gaze of wayfarers, afforded in summer-time a free bathing-place for women and girls, this being the forerunner of the public natatoria and swimming beaches afterward established and maintained by the city. Finally, for a nominal

sum, the city acquired the rights and privileges of the Canal Company, filled up the canal, the ancient route of which is known to the present generation as Commerce Street, and replaced the old wooden dam with a substantial structure of stone.

BUST OF CHRISTIAN WAHL
AT LAKE PARK

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITY'S FRONT DOOR

HARBOR PROBLEMS OF THE EARLY DAYS—WHAT ALBERT ORRENDORF STARTED—JUNEAU AND THE STEAMBOAT MILWAUKEE—FIRST FEDERAL APPROPRIATION FOR HARBOR IMPROVEMENT, AND WHY IT FAILED TO PLEASE—EXPERIMENT OF PIERS INTO THE LAKE—INAUGURATION OF THE STRAIGHT-CUT.

The harbor of Milwaukee, renowned today as without a superior on the lakes, presented formidable difficulties in the era of pioneering, but public-spirited citizenship began exertions for its improvement from the outset of white settlement. Here is Nelson Olin's account of his experience as a passenger on a lake steamboat bound for Milwaukee in the summer of 1835. He came from Green Bay, in company with Solomon Juneau, who had engaged him as a carpenter to assist in the erection of frame buildings on the east side of the river:

"The 17th day of June, the steamer *Michigan* lay at the wharf in the bay, bound for Chicago, Captain Blake commanding. Juneau said to him: 'Captain, if you will take me and five or six more on board your vessel and land us at Milwaukee, I will give you your choice in village lots on my claim.' The Captain at first said he would not do it, as he could not get into the mouth of the river, and the vessel, being a large one, had not sufficient anchors to hold her in case of a storm; but concluded if the weather were calm he would run in as near as he dare and set us ashore in the yawl. At 2 o'clock p. m. she left the dock and steamed down the bay into Lake Michigan. We were on our way to the new place called Milwaukee. Everything went lovely until we arrived in sight of North Point. The pilot began ringing the little bell to hold up on the steam and let her run into the bay very slowly until she came near the cut, as it was then called, not far from where the harbor was afterward built. The Captain

ordered a boat lowered and set the passengers ashore, these consisting of Solomon Juneau, Alfred Orrendorf, Thomas H. Olin, myself and five or six others whose names I have forgotten. The passengers and their trunks filled the boat. As there was a very heavy sea on, we were washed back into the lake as often as we could run ashore; but at the third time trying, when near the beach, the sailors jumped out and pulled the boat ashore by main strength. It filled with water, and so did our trunks. Every one of us was wet to the armpits; but finally we succeeded in landing from the first steamboat that ever ran into Milwaukee harbor, on the 17th day of June, 1835. The Captain did not go ashore that evening to locate his village lot, but in the course of the season it was located. He chose the corner lot east of the Newhall House, being the corner of Wisconsin and Main, now Broadway, and sold it in the course of a year for a thousand dollars. Mr. Orrendorf had claimed a fraction on the lake, at the cut-off, as it was called, at an early day, and spent some time in digging a hole through from the lake to the river, which proved to be the place where the harbor was finally located. Our first night in Milwaukee was spent in Mr. Orrendorf's claim shanty, on the fraction above described, in wet clothing, amid smoke and mosquitoes. I never knew before the number of mosquitoes that could be crowded into a shanty. When we killed one it seemed as though a million came in place of it. The next morning we went over the bluffs to the river, where we found a few white men and a great many Indians."

Alfred Orrendorf, whose surname betokens German origin, is said to have been a native of Kentucky, and arrived in Milwaukee early in 1835. Buck says he settled on the northwest corner of section 33, township 7, range 21, which he entered under date of March 17, 1837, this being four days subsequent to the great claim meeting held at the courthouse when settlers organized for protection against speculators, with Orrendorf as a participant in the proceedings. He also entered the southwest and southeast quarters of the same section, afterward known as the Russell Sage farm, which became the property of George C. Stevens and others. Orrendorf was one of the party that volunteered to go in pursuit of the Indians who slew Ellsworth Burnett and wounded James Clyman, and it was his caustic criticism of an

officer at Fort Howard who showed a disposition to let the two accused Indians escape which led to their retention in custody. Under date of December 2, 1836, Governor Dodge appointed him a major of the territorial militia. In March, 1837, he was nominated on the Democratic ticket for the office of commissioner of highways, and came within a few votes of election. Evidently he was no inconspicuous member of the young community. Like his fellow Kentuckian, Clyman, however, Mr. Orrendorf seems to have been desirous of new worlds to conquer, for after a few years in Milwaukee he departed for California. Had he succeeded in establishing his claim to the quarter-section on the lake front where he drove his first stake, the work of harbor development might have been accelerated.

The work of making a straight-cut, begun by Orrendorf in 1835, was taken up later by Byron Kilbourn, but necessitated larger expenditure than he could make at the time. Finally it was carried forward at the cost of the municipality, and completed in 1858. Of this a detailed recital will be supplied hereafter. No less inhospitable than Mr. Olin and his fellow travelers had found it in 1835 was the reception which the lake front accorded to Mr. and Mrs. John Weaver, pioneers of Waukesha County, when they landed a year later. In 1887 Mrs. Weaver recalled their experience as follows:

"My husband's brother-in-law had written us interesting reports of Milwaukee, and we decided to go there. In September, 1836, we had traveled all the way from New York, and about 12 o'clock at night were off in the lake about a mile from Milwaukee. Late as it was, we had to go ashore. The distance from the vessel to the beach was accomplished in a small rowboat, which made three trips to carry the passengers and their goods. We were in the boat on its second trip. There was no harbor apparent, and at that time no pier. The sailors rowed from the schooner as near as they could and then jumped into the water, rope in hand, to pull the boat ashore and help the rest of us in landing. There we were, with our two little children, on the beach of the lake, a long way from a house or any building, and the night so dark that we could hardly see to walk on the beach and keep out of the water. Each of us took a child in our arms and walked half a mile, close by the lake, a storm threatening

meanwhile and the thunder coming louder and nearer. At last we came to a small log house which was the abode of three families, but they were all in bed and asleep. When we rapped at the door a man called out to know what was wanted. My husband answered that he had just been landed from a schooner, with his wife and two children, and would like to get shelter for the rest of the night. The only man at home being lame and unable to get out of bed, a lady let us in. They were kind enough to afford us shelter, but had no bed for us. My husband returned to the spot at which we had landed and left our effects, bringing back a mattress, and arriving before the rain came down very hard."

In 1837 the steamer *Detroit*, whose commander was Gen. John Crawford, ran between Michigan City and Milwaukee, making regular stops at Chicago, Pike River and Root River, the latter becoming the location of Racine and the former of Southport, the Kenosha of the present day. It made connections with a line of stage-coaches from Detroit and Toledo. The *Detroit* was a small boat and of sufficiently light draft to clear the bar at the mouth of the Milwaukee River. She landed her passengers for Milwaukee at the foot of Wisconsin Street. In communicating with his engineer it was Crawford's practice to shout instructions, instead of using a bell. The way in which he roared his orders was a delight to loungers about the dock—"Give her one turn ahead!" "Half a turn back!" and so on, from the time she entered the river till she was safely moored. Captain or General Crawford was a native of Worcester, Mass. In his early life he had run lumber and merchandise rafts on the Saint Lawrence River. He had been active in reorganizing militia in New York for the War of 1812, in recognition of which important service he received a general's commission. Equally at home ashore or afloat, the General perfected a claim to land within a short distance of the city.

He usually arrived at Milwaukee at midnight, entering the mouth of the river and making his way as a rule without mishap. There was no bridge across the lower Milwaukee then, but a rope ferry existed at Walker's Point. Steaming up the stream one dark night, he was in the bow of his vessel, directing her course, when a sudden lurch made him suppose she had struck

a snag. Soon, however, he discovered that the rope of the Walker's Point ferry had become entangled with his rudder, and that he was dragging the scow and shore posts up the channel. On one of his trips from Chicago a man asked him to carry fifty bushels of potatoes to Milwaukee. He demurred on the ground that he was running a passenger vessel, not a freighter. The shipper, however, overcame his scruples by offering him fifty cents a bushel, and promising to do the loading and unloading himself. When the steamer reached Milwaukee the potatoes were readily disposed of at $5 a bushel to farmers who wanted them for seed. On another occasion the General purchased a cargo of wheat at Michigan City, expecting to sell it for seed, but the season was too far advanced. There was then no flouring mill nearer than Green Bay. The doughty General took the wheat to Chicago, had it ground, and then brought it back to Milwaukee. There was a market for it here in the form of flour, and he netted fair gains on the transaction. During the same season he brought a load of lime from Michigan City and found no difficulty in disposing of it at a profit.

His occupation as a lake captain came to an end on the 25th of October, 1837, when, in the midst of a blinding snowstorm, the *Detroit* was wrecked at Southport, now Kenosha. General Crawford had run out of wood and come to anchor off the port when the storm broke. Passengers, anxious for their lives, gathered in the ladies' cabin and considered what was best to be done. As water was rising in the hold, the prevailing opinion was that the steamer should be run ashore. At first the General demurred, but finally his anchor broke. Then the *Detroit* was headed for the shore, and passengers and freight were safely deposited on the sand.

In 1838 and the early part of 1839 the General served as agent for Farnsworth & Brush of Green Bay. It was in the latter year that he arranged with the West Side trustees in Milwaukee to run their small steam lighter, the *Menomonee*, up and down the river, bringing freight and passengers from vessels in the bay. Contrary to his own wishes, he was not allowed to make stops on the East Side till the residents of that side procured from Michigan an opposition boat, the *Trowbridge*, and put her into similar service. In 1840 or 1841 General Crawford

retired to his claim in the town of Wauwatosa and became a farmer. There he died at the age of eighty-nine on the 25th of March, 1881. General Crawford was a member of the Milwaukee County Pioneer Association, and his funeral was conducted under its auspices. Mrs. F. T. Terhune, well remembered in Milwaukee, was one of his children, and the only one who survived him.

The Weavers, referred to above, lived in Milwaukee for several months before proceeding westward to take up a claim. Meanwhile, Mr. Weaver worked at what he could find to do, as the cost of living was considerable, and he wanted to save what money he had brought with him for the purpose of paying for his land. He and the other men who had come with him purchased oxen and obtained a chance to use them in drawing wood for the steamboats. This furnished occupation for many of the people of the settlement during several years thereafter. Lyndsey Ward used to relate with gusto an incident illustrative of primitive conditions. In the fall of 1838, he said, he met Captain McFadyen ashore in search of fuel. The *James Madison* had run short of wood, and wanted enough to enable her to reach "the islands," which in those days could always be depended upon for a supply. Vessels of the *Madison's* draft could come no nearer to port at Milwaukee than the edge of the blue water. Mr. Ward had traveled with the Captain, and volunteered to help him out. They hired teams and went from house to house, explaining the situation and asking citizens to spare a portion of their winter stores of fuel for the purpose of assisting the Captain in his emergency. The wood was carted to the beach and taken in rowboats to the steamer, three days being occupied in the work, and the Captain departed for the islands.

It was at about this time that Leverett S. Kellogg,—the father of A. W. Kellogg,—who was a carpenter by trade, and had been busy building houses till the panic made Milwaukeeans unable to pay for them, rigged up a scow for the purpose of supplying the fuel needs of steamboats entering Milwaukee bay. He was able to procure cordwood at points within the present city limits along the banks of the Milwaukee River, as well as near the outlet of the Kinnickinnic, and carried on a profitable business until the building of the piers into the lake, which enabled

farmers with loads of wood to drive out and deal directly with the captains of vessels anchored alongside. When much of the near-by forest had been cut away, what remained could be disposed of by the farmers to dwellers in the city for a better price than steamboat captains were willing to concede. By this time convenient facilities for fueling steamboats had been provided at several points farther north. From first to last, however, while wood was wanted, it was bought in Wisconsin or Michigan, being scarce and high in Illinois. In 1847, when James T. Gifford came to Wisconsin from Elgin, Ill., and, in what are now the environs of Greater Milwaukee, founded the village of Ulao, he built a warehouse, a store, a steam sawmill, and a pier reaching a thousand feet into the lake. He also constructed chutes running from the top of the bluff to the beach, for convenience in supplying wood to vessels—and for seven or eight years the traffic was enormous. Gifford returned to Illinois in 1850, being succeeded as magnate of Ulao by John Randolph Howe, a lake captain, who had been interested with him from the first in the hope of making the little settlement the nucleus of a future city. The plateau above the landing became "one immense woodyard." Not only was hardwood of the best quality, such as furniture manufacturers would be glad to buy today, disposed of as fuel for lake steamers, but no one saw any objection to burning good timber for the procurement of charcoal. Three miles of road were constructed from Ulao to a point west of the Milwaukee River, the trees cut in clearing the highway being converted into charcoal which was mixed with burnt clay to form a turnpike.

Such was one of the phases of progress during the period when the Badger commonwealth was widely known as "Woody Wisconsin," her timber resources being regarded as inexhaustible. It was not till toward the end of the Civil war that the Legislature suddenly realized deleterious consequences possible from the waste of forest products, and Doctor Lapham was engaged to make a report on the subject. Today the traffic that kept Ulao busy seems almost incredible, and the spade from time to time reveals the enduring material with which, like ancient Rome, little Ulao sought to make a highway that time could not conquer.

The steamer *Champlain*, which made her appearance at Mil-

waukee in 1839, met misfortune here the following spring, when she sank at her moorings alongside of the Walker warehouse, the ice having cut a hole in her side. Raised and refitted, she was put on a line between Milwaukee and the east shore via Chicago, but was lost off Saint Joseph in the fall of 1840.

The loss of the *Detroit* and *Champlain* occasioned great regret to people concerned in pushing the development of Milwaukee. They were convinced that what was needed above all else was dependable steamship intercourse with the East. One drawback to this was the sandbar at the entrance to the mouth of the river. Often it happened that captains of steamboats carrying passengers for Milwaukee refused to take the chances of stopping off this port in any but the calmest of weather. When waves ran high in the bay they continued on their course, carrying reluctant passengers, with household goods and whatever other baggage they possessed, eighty-five miles out of their way to land them at the port at the end of the lake, whence they were obliged to travel overland back to Milwaukee, at considerable expense, discomfort and delay. Another disadvantage to Milwaukee was the practice among shipowners at the East of entering into combinations, which resulted in extortionate freight charges, adding to the cost of merchandise from the East consigned to Milwaukee. The situation was deemed intolerable, and Milwaukeeans came to the conclusion that what was most needed to correct it was the provision of independent steamboat service between this city and the East. A heroic undertaking to meet this need had been entered into by Solomon Juneau, George H. Walker and other public-spirited citizens before the collapse of the real estate boom of 1836. It ended in financial disaster to Mr. Juneau, who up to the time when he came to be confronted with responsibility for expenses incurred in this costly enterprise had been accounted the richest man in Wisconsin. The importance of the incident in connection with its bearings on the history of the city warrants explaining it in some detail. The following statement was made in 1885 by Col. Elisha Starr, who had been associated with Solomon Juneau in the enterprise at its inception, and who knew more about it than any other survivor of Milwaukee's infant days:

"Mr. Juneau was always ready to give for public improve-

ments, often to his own disadvantage. The building of the steamer *Milwaukee* was an instance of this. The steamer *Milwaukee* was built by Peter Hotaling, of Buffalo. In the winter of 1836-7 Mr. Hotaling came to Milwaukee to solicit subscriptions for its construction. He said he wanted to build a suitable boat to be used exclusively in the trade between the cities of Buffalo and Milwaukee. Mr. Juneau, with his usual liberality, subscribed. So did George H. Walker and George D. Dousman. So also did many of the smaller fry, including myself. The boat was built at Tonawanda.

"Hard times came on in 1837. Money grew scarce. The stockholders did not and could not come up to time. To go on with his work, Mr. Hotaling was obliged to borrow money from Horatio Stevens, a broker at Buffalo. Then he came to Milwaukee. All the financial support he could get here was a draft for ten thousand dollars on a bank at Green Bay, and that was drawn by Mr. Juneau. With ten thousand dollars in bills obtained from the Green Bay bank, Mr. Hotaling returned to Buffalo, where the Green Bay notes were shaved by Mr. Stevens.

"This was the beginning of serious trouble, but not the end. When the boat came out she had good points as a steamboat, but was no more fitted for the upper lake trade than was the revenue cutter *Andy Johnson* of a later day. When the *Milwaukee* was finished she was controlled by Stevens, who placed her in the lower lake trade, leaving Mr. Juneau and the interests of this city out in the cold. I was acquainted with Mr. Stevens, and on behalf of Mr. Juneau I corresponded with him. He demanded his 'pound of flesh.' Then I made up my mind that the only way for Milwaukeeans to get anything out of that steamer was to set her wheels in motion with a proper crew and head her for this city. Mr. Juneau was anxious to get something from that boat, as his subscription toward her construction had gone a great way toward making a poor man of him. The draft he gave to Peter Hotaling got into the hands of Wells, a Detroit banker. To pay it cost Mr. Juneau the Ludington corner lot, the Mitchell Bank lot, half of the Milwaukee House and the whole of a second lot 120 feet square at the corner of Wisconsin and East Water streets. On this latter lot Mr. Juneau raised five thousand dollars by mortgage to Charles Reed, and later the lot

was sold on the mortgage. The sum borrowed of Mr. Reed went to Mr. Hotaling. It was in Green Bay money, worth about fifty cents on the dollar.

"A plan to get the boat was afterward arranged. Capt. L. H. Cotton went to Buffalo on business. He picked up a crew, among the number being Captain Caswell, L. Barber and Cam Reed, the last-named for engineer. The 3d of July was the time set for action. The watch, a young man named Sylvanus Marvin, came on board late in the evening, just as the steamer was ready to move, and was surprised at what was going on. Captain Caswell invited him to go below and talk matters over. The situation was explained, and Captain Caswell said that if young Marvin did not want to remain on board during the trip to Milwaukee he would be put ashore at Dunkirk, which was done. A few years afterward, Captain Caswell built a schooner and named it after this young man.

"The *Milwaukee* made a quick trip from Buffalo, and on her arrival here there was great rejoicing. She drew about two feet more water than there was on the bar, and it took a number of weeks to heave her in. She anchored in the river at the foot of Mason Street. After her arrival many an Indian was seen on the streets wearing a splendid Mackinaw blanket marked 'Steamer Milwaukee.' Mr. Stevens soon made his appearance and tried to get the men who ran off with the boat indicted, but there was no law to fit the case. A compromise was effected. At last the *Milwaukee* was sold to Oliver Newberry, who put her engine into the steamer *Nile*."

The spectacular arrival of the *Milwaukee* from Buffalo produced enthusiasm at the outset, followed by expressions of impatience during the protracted period in which she barred the entrance to the river. It was while the *Milwaukee*, straddling the sandbar, challenged ingress and egress to the inner harbor that the first shipment of wheat from Milwaukee to the East was effected by E. D. Holton and his associates, the difficulty of their undertaking being augmented by this obstruction of the channel. Here is what the *Courier* said in its issue of July 14, 1841:

"Most of the citizens of Milwaukee were not a little surprised when they got up on Friday morning to see the steamboat *Milwaukee* anchored in our bay, and they were very much pleased

when they learned she had been brought here under the direction of our worthy townsmen Solomon Juneau and George H. Walker, to secure them for the large amount of money they had invested in her when she was building. Some time since, Messrs. Walker and Juneau were informed the combination were paying the illegal holders of the *Milwaukee* $6,000 to have her lie still the past season, and that she was lying snugly at Buffalo Creek, with only a small guard on board. Accordingly, a competent person was sent to Buffalo to ascertain the situation and if possible get her away and run her up to this place. On arriving at Buffalo the agent of the proprietors made the necessary arrangements, and on the night of the Fourth of July took possession of the vessel, and after repairing her put out with her for Wisconsin. One of the wheels was almost destitute of buckets, and all the machinery was very much out of repair. By fixing her partially at Dunkirk and Cunningham's Island, she was brought without much difficulty to Lake Huron. At Mackinaw her papers were demanded by the Custom House man, and as she had none she made but a brief stay. The *Milwaukee* is now nearly over the bar at the mouth of the river, and we expect during the day she will make her appearance up town. For the management of this enterprise our citizens are mainly indebted to our worthy fellow citizen Capt. L. H. Cotton."

The following is from the issue of the same publication for October 27, 1841:

"Steamboat *Milwaukee*.—This vessel, which for the last four months has been detained on the bar at the mouth of the river, now lies directly in the channel, forming an obstruction to the passage of boats from the river to the lake. It prevents the landing of freight from steamboats or other vessels, and the supply of the former with fuel. Several boats have been obliged to land freight destined for this place at Chicago. Those who brought her here are bound to use extraordinary exertions to remove her from her present situation. No freight can be landed till this obstruction is removed."

On November 24th the *Courier* observed:

"The steamer *Milwaukee* was by the east wind Sunday morning at last driven off the bar at the mouth of the river and then

towed up by the steamer *Trowbridge* into town. She now lies safely at the dock of Cole & Arnold."

In all, the connection of Solomon Juneau with the building of the *Milwaukee* cost him $27,000, and, with other liabilities, consequent upon the panic of 1837, nearly exhausted his financial resources.

In 1901 rummagers among old state papers at Madison came across an interesting document. It bore date of September 18, 1841, and was addressed to Governor Doty, petitioning him to pay no attention to a requisition for the extradition of Solomon Juneau on representations made by people at Buffalo claiming to have been aggrieved by the spiriting away of the steamboat *Milwaukee*. The paper consists of four closely-written pages, a page and a half devoted to recital of the circumstances of the case and the remainder to the names of the signers, about two hundred, arranged in double columns. Following are specimen signatures culled from the list, which afford ample evidence that in the summary method to which he had resorted for the recovery of his property Mr. Juneau had the hearty sympathy of the men of substance and standing in the young community in whose interest he had manfully risked a large portion of his worldly means: A. Finch, Jr., E. Cramer, Elisha Starr, H. N. Wells, Talbot C. Dousman, L. J. Farwell, Lyndsey Ward, Calvin Trowbridge, J. A. Noonan, George Dousman, Alexander Mitchell, W. W. Graham, Edmund Sanderson, James Holton, John Hustis. The attempt to extradite Mr. Juneau failed, nor did Captain Cotton's daring part in transferring the steamboat from the vicinity of Buffalo to that of Milwaukee involve him in serious consequences. Not long after the escapade he had occasion to go to Buffalo on other business, and walked about the streets of that city without incurring arrest. The era was one in which individuals frequently resorted to rough and ready expedients in the defense of what they regarded as their property rights, escaping legal reprisals which restrict impetuosity at the present time.

The *Milwaukee* could outdo her contemporaries in respect of speed, but proved unsuitable for profitable operation on the upper lakes. In 1842 Mr. Newberry, who had won recognition as a successful vessel man at Detroit, placed her engine in the steamer *Nile*, which he built that year, and which made port at Milwaukee

regularly until the fall of 1849, when she was driven ashore at the head of Wisconsin Street. Lying broadside on, under the high bluff which then marked that portion of the lake front, her peril attracted help from the shore, and her passengers and crew were brought safely to land, the steamer being abandoned for the time in what normally was an exposed position. Ice conditions during that winter, however, were such as to shield her from harm, and in the spring she was floated off and towed into harbor, where she received repairs which fitted her for renewal of her trips. But the *Nile*, like the *Milwaukee*, proved an ill-fated ship in the end. While lying at the Sweet & Jervis dock in September, her upper works were consumed by fire. It was while salvaging her engine and boilers that Caleb Harrison nearly lost his life, being struck in the face by one of the lifting chains, and sustaining fracture of the jaw. With the notion that the hull could be converted into a lumber barge, it was towed to the vicinity of Cherry Street bridge, where it lay till the spring freshet of 1866. That was an occasion when the dam gave out and a boiling torrent swept down the Milwaukee River, carrying everything before it. Uprooted from the mud where she had lain for sixteen years, the *Nile* was catapulted against bridge after bridge in her rushing descent, adding to the havoc of a river-rampage that cost Milwaukeeans "a pretty penny." The derelict's resting-place for a time was near the mouth of the harbor where the boys made use of it during the swimming season. The inside of the hull afforded them decent shelter during the process of disrobing. The outside was a vantage point for diving. It was with no approval from the juvenile portion of the population that the hulk of the *Nile* fell under condemnation of the authorities, who denounced it as an obstruction and caused it to be towed into the lake, the current carrying it to a point south of the harbor piers, where finally it was broken up by the action of the waves.

As early as 1836 a government survey of the mouth of the river, preliminary to the improvement of the harbor, was made under the auspices of the War Department, and the engineers who conducted it—Lieutenants Center and Rose—recommended the making of a straight-cut 3,000 feet north of the natural outlet of the river. In 1843, when Congress appropriated $25,000

for the improvement of the harbor, this recommendation was ignored, and the entrance was located a mile south of the present harbor entrance, much to the disgust of many of the citizens, who firmly believed that bribery had been practiced to secure the recommendation of the river mouth as the entrance to the harbor.

There were no tugs in those days, and after the improvement was effected vessels had to wait for a favorable wind to come in. Notwithstanding the fact that there was plenty of water in the channel, they often were in danger of running aground, as the passage from the bay into the heart of the city was long and narrow. Large passenger steamers could not make their way up the channel, and it was necessary to employ little flat-bottomed steamboats to act as transports, which was a disadvantage to the city.

In its issue of July 18, 1837, the *Sentinel* published the following editorial:

"Within a few days we have been greeted with the arrivals of several boats from the lower lakes. The *Pennsylvania* arrived Saturday afternoon, the *Columbus* the same evening, and the *Madison* Sunday afternoon. Besides the steamboats there are every day more or less schooners at anchor in our bay. It is but a few mornings since that we counted as many as ten lying safely at anchor, having ridden out the severe storm of the preceding night.

"Our bay is the safest refuge for shelter in a gale to be found on the lake. In this particular, nature has favored Milwaukee above her sister towns, and with the assistance of the government we could soon have the best harbor in the West. The great and rapidly increasing business of our town requires a speedy appropriation by Congress for its improvement. Vessels are now obliged to anchor a quarter of a mile from the shore, and to discharge their freight by means of small boats, thus causing great delay to vessels and great expense in the delivery of merchandise. At present freight has to be carried in boats not only to the mouth of the river, but two miles up the river, against a strong current, to the business part of the town.

"With such improvements as could be made at comparatively small expense our facilities of commercial business could be

greatly enlarged, a secure harbor for vessels in case of storm could be obtained, and the shipping that now clusters about the mouth of our river might move in the midst of us and discharge its freight directly at the wharves of our merchants."

Frequent correspondence relating to improvement of the harbor came to both of the newspapers, and no doubt was called to the attention of the delegate in Congress, who was reminded that harbor improvement at Milwaukee would benefit not only the people located here, but also those in all the country far back into the interior which was tributary to the city. As to the best location for the entrance to the harbor there were at the outset of the discussion conflicting views. A *Sentinel* editorial, later in 1837 presented the then current arguments, without committing itself to either side:

"This topic is perhaps as exciting as any that can be raised in our community. There is perhaps not a man in the town but has his opinion made up on the subject, and in most cases it will be found in strict alliance with his interest. There are some who even pretend to know all about it. Two rival points are in view for the purpose of a harbor—the mouth of the river, and a point some half a mile further down the lake, known on the map of Milwaukee as 'Harbor Street.' In favor of the first point it is urged that it is the natural outlet of the river, and that a harbor can be constructed there at a small expense. It is objected to in that it is too much on the upper side of the bay, and that in storms there would be danger of vessels being driven on to the beach in attempting to enter it; that the anchorage is not so good as further down the bay, and that it is too far from the town.

"In favor of the other point it is urged that by constructing the harbor here a mile of the windings of the river might be saved; that the river could be easily made to run out at this point, and thus at a small expense make an excellent harbor—that this point is more favorable to the shipping interest, as it is very near the center of the bay, much nearer the present town, having a direct course to it, and that it has a much better anchorage in front of it.

"These are a few of the several advantages of these rival points. The owners of property in the present town on either

side are mostly in favor of the point last mentioned, as it is much nearer the town. If the harbor should be made at the mouth of the river it might tend to injure the value of property at the present location of business. There have as yet been no considerable improvements made at the mouth of the river, owing to the fact that the land is not yet sold by the government. It is however favorably situated for the purposes of building and of commerce, and if the harbor should be located there it would be rapidly improved, it is claimed, by men of wealth and great enterprise, who will use every effort to draw there the business of the town. And should the harbor be made there by the government it is impossible to say that they may not succeed.

"We have thus endeavored to state fairly and very briefly the different views entertained on this matter. We have no interest or partiality on either side, and only wish that it may be so settled as best to accommodate the present and future business and interests of the place. It seems to us to be a subject on which, as Roger de Coverly would say, 'Much may be said on both sides.' "

April 9, 1842, a public meeting at the Milwaukee House, with D. A. J. Upham as chairman and Henry Miller as secretary, favored the making of the improvement at local expense, appointing I. A. Lapham, L. H. Cotton and B. H. Edgerton to raise the wherewithal by subscription. Perhaps it was the news of this undertaking that stirred up Henry Dodge, then representing the Territory as delegate in Congress. He introduced a bill, which was passed in March of the following year, appropriating $30,000 for the improvement of the harbor at Milwaukee. Great was the popular rejoicing on the receipt of intelligence from Washington. It was made the occasion of a celebration on the 22d of the month, beginning with a street parade in which all the industrial interests took part, followed by a dinner and speechmaking at the Cottage Inn and a dance at the Milwaukee House in the evening. Yet there was a fly in the ointment. The appropriation was for harbor improvement at the old mouth of the river, not for the carrying out of the plans of Lieutenants Center and Rose. In 1845 Morgan L. Martin, who had succeeded Governor Dodge as delegate in Congress, obtained an additional federal appropriation of $25,000, which also was

applied to work at the old mouth of the river, opposite the end of Greenfield Avenue.

The first steamboat to make use of the improved entrance was the *Michigan*, November 8, 1843, the first sailing vessels to do the same thing being the schooners *Michael Dousman* and *E. G. Merrick*. But neither vessel men nor the Milwaukee public were contented, and agitation for the building of the straight-cut persisted.

Meanwhile a compromise expedient came into play as a result of private initiative—the construction of piers extending into the lake, where vessels of deep draft could moor in comparative safety while taking on and discharging passengers and cargoes. This was a plan which had been long in vogue on inland waters at the East, but which vessel men in general had ridiculed when it was suggested as practicable on the Great Lakes. However, it was tested at Southport, and found to work to satisfaction. Then it was put into practice at Milwaukee, chiefly with outside capital, the mover in the enterprise being none other than Horatio G. Stevens, who enlisted the coöperation of Bissell Humphrey and Tufts & Kendall.

Henry Bleyer, who for many years preceding his death in 1922 was the official historian of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, wrote a paper on "The Old Milwaukee Lake Landings" which he read at a meeting of that organization in April, 1898. The following is from Mr. Bleyer's exhaustive and authentic narrative:

"Piles were driven at a point about sixty feet north of Huron Street, from premises owned by R. G. Owens, the ale brewer, who had joined Bissell Humphrey, Tufts & Kendall and Horatio G. Stevens in this test of the Kenosha plan. This landing—afterward known as the 'North Pier'—was forty-four feet wide and extended fully twelve hundred feet, a reach that ensured twelve feet of water nearly half the length of the structure. A large warehouse, a wide approach, and a toll-gate were built on the shore and sheds to shelter freight were put up on the outer extreme of the pier. The construction was superintended by Maj. Rufus Cheney, who completed it in the summer of 1843, in time to command the traffic of the season. On the 1st of June the steamer *Cleveland* landed there, and thereafter the pier was well

patronized. Owing to some disagreement with his partners, Mr. Stevens interested Judge Strong of Rochester, N. Y., in the establishment of another landing on the south side of Huron Street, at a distance of about three hundred feet from the first pier. This was placed in charge of the Judge's son, R. H. Strong, under the firm name of R. H. Strong & Co. The pier was 800 feet long and afforded craft twelve feet of water.

"As Mr. Stevens soon after resumed his relation with Tufts & Kendall, both piers were practically under one management. In 1852 Levi H. Kellogg bought an interest in the Strong landing, from which time, until 1857, when the piers fell into disuse, the business was conducted by Kellogg & Strong. A third pier was constructed in 1846 for Lewis J. Higby—off Detroit Street—one 1,800 feet in length, with an outer shelter shed 600 feet long. In 1847 another pier was opened at the foot of Erie Street by Dr. L. W. Weeks and Alexander Mitchell.

"The business of these storage, forwarding and commission merchants was quite lucrative at the outset, the item of dockage alone adding largely to their earnings while immigration was at full tide. A drayload of trunks and other baggage was taxed from $5 to $6, Mr. Higby exacted but $3, and the Weeks-Mitchell landing—'the south pier'—of necessity adopted the north pier rate, as fewer steamers unloaded there. These dockage charges seemed exorbitant to those who took little or no account of the money invested in the landings, of the few months a year in which they were open to travel, and of the cost of repairs. Later the rates of storage and dockage were somewhat modified by mutual agreement, the owners having formed a trust, as appears from a written agreement now in the archives of this club. This combine lasted somewhat longer than an earlier one formed by speculators who furnished wood to the steamers in the bay.

"Among those frequenting the northmost piers with an eye to business were teamsters who came prepared to carry newcomers into the interior of the State. Their rate was $4 a day—or for a distance of 25 miles. Hauls of about 100 miles were rated from $40 to $50, the driver's estimate covering the time and expense of his return trip. While the roads were unimproved, teaming was not always an agreeable pursuit. Wheels would collapse, axle-trees break, and swamps would sometimes stall the wagons until assistance could be summoned miles away.

"The upper landings lined Huron Street with hotels and cheap boarding houses. Mr. J. S. Mitchell, an esteemed member of this club, was landlord of the Eastern Hotel; this and Edward Warner's Cottage Hotel were nearest the upper piers. Between these and the United States Hotel at the other extreme of the street, were smaller hotels, the Western, kept by William Stupinski, Kopf's German House, and numerous taverns, such as the Mecklenburger Hof, the Lakes of Killarney and other lodging places of the kind. The hotels in the business center were close rivals while the piers existed, each employing a runner to announce the arrival of a steamer. Residents along Huron Street never missed an incoming boat, as runners always thundered by over the hollow plank walks. The men were no sooner out of sight than omnibuses and baggage wagons rattled back to the piers, the wheels raising clouds of dust, the drivers wildly urging their horses, the fast ones crowing and the others as loudly berating their luck. These runners were hail, hearty fellows, seemingly fond of the life they were leading. They spent the long interval between boat arrivals in card-playing, wrestling, jumping and racing. In foggy weather they employed singular means to guide steamers to the piers. As the boats were provided with bells and sailing craft was supplied with tin horns they devised a signal that could be distinguished from this conventional code. Long oaken planks were caught up at the ends and thrown flat upon the floor of the pier with such force that the impact could be heard miles away.

"While the piers lasted, the business of draying prospered. The dray, an odd two-wheeled vehicle that slanted back in line with the thills to within fourteen inches of the ground, was admirably adapted to the requirements of those days. When piled high with immigrant baggage, the driver walking beside it, the strangers trudging along behind, the men with guns slung across their shoulders, and the women and children carrying the lighter effects of the party; its capacity for the picturesque was as sharply defined as its practical utility in the more ordinary course of transportation.

"Another interesting feature of this pier commerce was the shipping of lead. Caravans of large, covered wagons, each drawn by five yoke of oxen, would round into Huron Street, 'mid the

whip-snapping and stentorian 'hah-gee-whoas' of stalwart drivers clad in home-spun butternut-colored clothes and broad-rimmed straw-hats. Their arrival in the evening hours pictured for the inquisitive their manner of living at the wayside. Unyoking the oxen to browse, these brawny men would build fires against stumps, fry ham and eggs, bake flapjacks, and cook coffee as deftly as the cooks in our Northern lumber camps. The meal over, an hour to whiff their pipes and talk over their experiences of the day, was the order, after which they retired to their covered wagons for the night. They spoke of themselves as 'Hoosiers,' though their homes were in Northern Illinois, the Sucker State. Each of their wagons was freighted with two tons of lead and shot—the lead in pigs weighing seventy-five pounds apiece and the shot in twenty-five-pound bags, all from the shot tower at Helena and its surrounding mines.

"Until in the early '40s this transportation was by way of the Mississippi River to New Orleans and thence to New York, whence bullet bars and shot were reshipped to us at good round figures. This round-about course cost the miners $40 a ton. With our piers and lake shipments the outlay was but $30, the haul between Helena and Milwaukee costing the owners but 50 cents a hundred pounds. In 1842 about 350 tons of pig-lead and eighty-five tons of shot were carried out of this port. In one week during the fall of 1844 'the Hoosiers' hauled to the Higby pier forty thousand pounds of shot and fifty tons of lead. These exports increased from year to year until railway communication with the East and the establishment of the Blatchford shot-tower at Chicago turned the traffic to the Garden City.

"The piers were the scene of large gatherings, brass-band receptions and farewells, firemen's tournaments, and other popular demonstrations. The volunteers for the war in Mexico embarked there and also the city militia companies which were ordered to Southport to quell a farmer foray against Champion I. Hutchinson's elevator forces. Higby's pier was the scene of a fire that destroyed about $50,000 worth of merchandise, a spark from the outgoing steamer *Sultana* having set the roof of a long shed ablaze. As the piers were inadequately lighted, passengers frequently missed the gang-planks and fell into the lake. Few

drowned, however, for the cry of 'Man overboard!' was always promptly responded to by the hotel runners and dock hands.

"Anglers found rare sport at these landings. Those who came with hook and line and spear rarely missed their share of lake food. The water was so clear that the fish could be seen even at the outer extreme of the piers. Schools of perch and herring abounded. A sudden scurrying of the small fry indicated that hungry trout were ranging for prey. Then spear-wielders stood ready to thrust their barbed poles into this larger game. Trawlers and spearmen often traveled in pairs, the former to raise the trawl so as to bring the greedy fish in line with the poised prongs. The crafty spearman as often surprised trout found napping against the shady sides of the piles during the noon hour. Sturgeon, too, some from four to five feet long, were often taken while they were enjoying a mid-day snooze. For two seasons more exciting sport than trout-fishing lured anglers to the front. After storms while the waves were yet running high, catfish were numerous in the clay-roiled waters. Larger hooks, stronger lines, and live frogs were called into play. At sight of the struggling frogs the ravenous fish—some of them weighing twenty-six pounds—rushed off with the bait at such speed that the lines fairly swished through the waves. That the catfish appeared in such numbers at that time was accounted for by the fact that a deckload of bacon had been jettisoned in the bay.

"The landings ceased to be profitable in the '50s and soon fell into decay. Our river and harbor had been improved by a straight-cut that saved navigators from the annoyances of a mile of winding stream; suitable wharves had been built, and the river soon became a much safer haven than the bay had been. In times of storms steamers rode at anchor in the bay until they could effect a landing, now they steamed in, unloaded, reloaded and were in readiness to resume their course as soon as the weather grew more favorable. The extension of the Michigan Central Railway to Chicago opened a route westward that was not subject to the inconveniences of travel by way of the lakes, to the perils of shipwreck, or such terrible incidents as the burning of the *Erie*, the *Phoenix* and the *Niagara*. The introduction of screw propulsion resulted in a form of craft far wieldier, and far more economical than the sidewheel steamers, which were thenceforth placed on

more limited routes. The new 'propellers,' as they were miscalled —side-wheels being propellers as well—were fitted for passengers as many of them are today, yet the owners depended on freighting for their profits rather than on the varying moods of the traveling public.

"Thus with the passing of the piers passed the first quarter century of steam navigation on the upper lakes. Railways were beginning to make inroads on the old methods of transportation. The propeller became a freighter in the interest of these land lines, and sail-craft found wider usefulness in carrying grain, lumber and coal. The second quarter century of our lake marine, just closed, marked as wide a divergence from former lines as that which had obtained in the '50s. Now large ships, immense car ferries, and roomy barges, are crowding out all smaller craft. From the flickering of the dim oil-lamps on the boats and piers of old, we have stepped into the clear, white light of an electrical era, an age of brilliantly lighted trains, steamers, depots and wharves, all illuming the way to still greater achievements in the future."

After the Government had expended upward of $50,000 on the improvement of the old harbor entrance it was abandoned. Not till the municipality assumed the cost of constructing a direct approach from the lake to the heart of the city was the practicable entrance planned and labored upon by Albert Orrendorf in 1835 made available for the benefit of the commerce of the lakes and the people of Milwaukee. Its utility and necessity had been obvious from the first, but like many other enterprises of unquestioned merit involving financial outlay its acquisition had been deferred for the reason that Milwaukee and Milwaukeeans were richer in enterprise and enthusiasm than they were in money. Efforts to enlist the aid of the Federal Government produced meager results, for the reason that Democratic administrations were reluctant to make generous appropriations for the improvement of inland harbors.

When the River and Harbor Convention was held at Chicago, July 5, 1847, it was attended by a large delegation of leading Milwaukeeans, who had been chosen at a public meeting in the Council Chamber, irrespective of party or wards. They carried a painted banner on one side of which was a spirited representa-

tion of the steamship *Boston* as she had appeared on her arrival off Milwaukee, in the fall of 1846, and on the reverse a view of the same vessel as she lay wrecked upon the south shore of the bay. The banner also bore an inscription in memory of President Polk's veto of the River and Harbor Bill, with the intimation that the wrecked *Boston* was a monument of that veto. A noteworthy passage in Byron Kilbourn's inaugural address, after his election to the mayoralty in the spring of 1848, was devoted to advocacy of a special tax of ½ per cent per annum for two years upon all the property in the city for the making of the straight-cut. Coming from him, this sentence was noted as having especial significance: "The time has nearly arrived, and every friend of our prosperity should hail it with delight, when we can all feel that the prosperity of any one part of Milwaukee is a common benefit to the whole." However, the work of constructing a harbor entrance by means of a canal through the sand-spit was not begun till 1854, and not completed till several years thereafter. In June, 1848, at a time of flood, which gave encouragement to the experiment, Mayor Kilbourn headed a gang of men who dug a ditch from the river to the lake across the peninsula, and offered a vessel captain two city lots if he would sail through it into town; but though water flowed through the channel, it was not practicable for the purpose of navigation. An appropriation of $15,000 toward the construction of the straight-cut was made by Congress in 1852, but this was not enough. In 1854 the city let a contract for the completion of the work, expecting to raise by assessments sufficient to pay the cost. But this was merely a gesture, for in the absence of drastic compulsion, taxpayers of the early days were notably lax in coming forward with money, and contractors for public work had discovered the fact and acquired caution. In 1855 the Legislature authorized the city to levy a direct tax not exceeding $50,000 for the specific purpose of paying for the much-needed improvement. The work was completed by Hasbrouck & Conro in 1857, at an expense which dwarfed the original estimates, the city's bill amounting to $445,971, in addition to $200,000 from the Federal Government. To secure the full amount due them for their work, the contractors became involved in litigation that lasted for many years, but eventually proved successful. Nor did the city's outlay go un-

compensated in the end, for it was partly by way of recouping Milwaukee for its expenditure on the straight-cut that Congress in 1880 enacted the measure which committed the Federal Government to the construction of the harbor of refuge.

WATER TOWER AND PARK

CHAPTER XIV

SHIPBUILDING AT MILWAUKEE

AN INDUSTRY THAT STARTED EARLY AND ATTAINED LARGE PROPORTIONS, DECLINING WITH THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SAILING VESSELS FROM THE LAKES—THE SCHOONER SOLOMON JUNEAU —GEORGE BARBER—FARMIN AND THE MERRILLS—CAPT. JAMES MONROE JONES—ALLAN, MC CLELLAND & CO.—WOLF & DAVIDSON—MILWAUKEE DRY DOCK COMPANY—TYPICAL FAST SAILERS OF LONG AGO.

The first vessel whose keel was laid in Milwaukee was the *Solomon Juneau*, built for the man whose name she bore by George Barber, and launched in the river from the flats which afterward became Ludwig's Garden, near the present location of Pleasant Street bridge. The momentous event was described as follows in the *Sentinel* of August 22, 1837:

"In the presence of something like five or six hundred people, the splendid schooner *Solomon Juneau* was launched into her destined element on the evening of Saturday last. It is said by those who were on the spot, we not having the leisure to attend, that it equaled the launch of the great ship *Pennsylvania*, the trim new vessel taking her place with pomp and grace suggestive of Princess Victoria taking the crown of England. She was built by Mr. Barber, and does him credit—a handsomer model we have not laid eyes on, if we may be allowed to judge. After a great deal of hilarity and cheering, she was towed down to Mr. D. S. Hollister's wharf by the steamer *Badger*, which was in attendance on the occasion, where she lay until the following day, when a party of some thirty or forty took a short trip up the river. Being the pioneer of a fleet which Milwaukee will send forth, she bears an appropriate title, which does honor to the Territory."

The *Juneau* was a schooner of ninety tons burden, and the timber used in her construction was cut in the woods nearby.

Barber originally had been a contractor for houses, but, like other artisans of his day was skilled in all departments of his trade, and could do excellent work on whatever he took in hand. From 1837 to 1844 he returned to housebuilding, for which there was a steady demand in the growing town. Then he went back to shipbuilding, turning out sturdy little sailing craft at the rate of one or more a year till as late as 1857.

By 1846 a score of vessels had been constructed in Milwaukee. In that year the bark *Utica* was built here for a Chicago owner by a marine carpenter named Averill who came up from that city to take advantage of the facility for obtaining cheap and good timber afforded by the contiguity of woods to the town. Merrill & Farmin—the head of this firm was the father of John B. Merrill—built the bark *C. I. Hutchinson*, for a Kenosha grain merchant of that name who was noted in his day. Alfred Gilson built the schooners *E. Cramer* for M. J. Clark and *J. Patton* for J. A. Helfenstein, shortly afterward building the brigantine *Helfenstein* for Mr. Helfenstein. Farmin and John B. Merrill built the schooner *Lawrence* for Captain Lawrence. George Barber built the schooner *Traveler* for himself.

It is to be noted that while the vessels turned out at this time from Milwaukee yards were not large, they marked an advance in shipbuilding on the lakes, the flat bottom and centerboard type having come to be recognized as conformable to the requirements for mastering conditions presented by shallows which must be encountered in the passage of the St. Clair flats as well as in many of the lake harbors. The water on the flats would rarely accommodate craft with a draught of more than nine or ten feet. In the early days tugs were unknown, and all vessels had to sail through the rivers and over the flats, which frequently was the cause of tiresome delays. They came up from Buffalo in ballast unless they were fortunate enough to get cargoes of salt. Freights were high, and the profits of the down trip left balances for the owners on the right side of the ledger. Fast time counted, and often vessels were designed with less regard to carrying capacity than to speed. Many were the ingenious adjustments to crude conditions devised by vesselmen of the olden time. One expedient of captains anxious to make profit for owners was to load with grain to the draught which was safe for passing the flats

without trouble and then take on a deck-load of hides, to be transferred to a side-wheel towboat employed when the flats were approached and resumed when the flats had been passed and the carriers were again in deep water.

In the spring of 1848 there were more sail vessels building at Milwaukee than at any other port on the upper lakes. A bark of 350 tons for Merrill & Sweet and a schooner of 119 tons for a merchant of Southport were in course of construction at the shipyard of D. Merrill & Company in the Fifth Ward. At the shipyard of George Barber, near the mouth of the Menomonee, in the Fourth Ward, two vessels were on the stocks—a schooner of 150 tons for Thorsen and Arnold, and another of 110 tons for George D. Dousman. S. A. Hubbard, in the Second Ward, was building a three-masted schooner for Perkins & Hubbell, while another vessel was being lengthened. The shipyards were affording employment to 145 men.

Coming from Buffalo in the year named, Capt. James Monroe Jones embarked in shipbuilding on a large scale, his plant at first being where the Western Transit docks were later, and afterward at Jones Island, which perpetuates his name. Captain Jones was born on a farm near Lorraine, Ohio, March 17, 1824. He learned the ship-carpentering business at Cleveland, under his brother Washington. In 1849 he married Angeline Childs, daughter of John and Sarah Childs, Milwaukee pioneers. Noteworthy among the earlier ships of his construction were the *Daniel Newhall*, *Two Charlies*, *Advance*, *Fred Hill*, *Badger State*, *Norway*, *D. O. Dickenson*, *May Queen*, *Milwaukee Belle*, *Shanghai* and *Tubal Cain*. On the Island he executed a commission for the *Alleghany*, the first propeller built in Milwaukee. Her capacity was 593 tons. The *Driver*, the *Hans Crocker*, and a long list of other craft which became famous in the history of the Lakes, added to his renown. The financial panic of 1857 hit him very hard, and he failed in 1861, but paid his creditors. Then he went to Detroit and again entered upon a career of shipbuilding, in which he prospered until 1873, after which year he constructed no more ships. He died at Detroit in June 1898. His wife had gone before, in 1865. Their remains are interred at Elmwood Cemetery in that city. The Old Settlers' Club of

Milwaukee County preserves a photograph of Captain Jones which was taken shortly after his removal to Detroit.

Innumerable were the interesting records made by Milwaukee skippers in Milwaukee-built ships during the picturesque period of sailing vessels on the lakes. The vessel whose exploits lingered longest in the memory of old-time mariners was the barkentine *Badger State*, a product of the Milwaukee shipyards. She was built by J. M. Jones in 1853, on a salt-water model, and was what sailors called "long-legged," drawing considerable water for her size—a long, lean vessel, with very little sheer and more dead rise than was given to the vessels of a later date. This decreased her carrying capacity, but what she lacked in that direction was in a great degree made up in speed. She was heavily sparred—more so than any other vessel ever built on the lakes. She was the first vessel on the lakes to have thick ceiling bolted through edgewise, which afterward came to be "the regular thing" in the construction of lake-going vessels. She carried an immense spread of canvas, her fore yard being 75 feet long, and as big as the mainyard of a seagoing ship, with all the other yards and beams in proportion. Capt. Hugh Shorts, famous as her commander, was the man to put on sail to an extent that nearly took out the masts; yet he rarely got into trouble, while the good showing on the right side of the ledger reconciled her owners to his reputation for reckless daring. He was known to his crews as a man who tolerated no nonsense, and there was no more rigid disciplinarian on the lakes.

In 1856 the barkentine *Hans Crocker*, with carrying capacity of 496 tons, was built on Jones Island. She was renowned for speed and one of the finest finished vessels on the lakes at that day. Not only were her cabins a work of art, but her centerboard box was polished. She was constructed on a salt-water model by a builder from the East named Capes, who gave her a good deal of "dead rise," in consequence of which she resembled the *Badger State* in being "long-legged." But for the shallow water in the St. Clair Flats she could have loaded down to a draught of fifteen feet, and this would have improved her sailing records, but even drawing only eleven feet she proved to be a fast sailer. Capt. James Bruce had her when she first came out. Once he made the trip from Milwaukee to Port Huron in forty-eight

hours. She did not carry all her sail on the trip, nor would it have been wise, as the wind blew a gale all the time.

Captain Cross, who was a brother of James B. Cross, mayor of Milwaukee, succeeded Captain Shorts as commander of the *Badger*, and maintained the record established by his predecessor. In 1857 Captain Cross made one of the fastest trips in history up to that time. Late in November the schooners *Hans Crocker*, Captain William Fitzgerald, and *Republic*, Captain Adlam, loaded wheat at Milwaukee for ports on the lower lakes. The cargo of the *Republic* was for Rochester, on a contract which called for its delivery that fall. The *Republic* started out with the *Crocker*, but when off Sheboygan the wind canted off to the northwest and the weather came on cold. The *Crocker* shortened sail and turned back to Milwaukee, but Captain Adlam held on, with the result that some of his men were badly frost-bitten in getting in canvas. On reaching Milwaukee he refused to persist in the attempt to go below that fall, and prepared to put his vessel into winter quarters. Meanwhile the *Badger State* was booming up and down the lake. The weather changed and came on pleasant a few days later. During that spell the *Badger State* arrived in Milwaukee, and Captain Cross began preparations for laying up. But the cargo of the *Republic* had to be taken to Buffalo; so the consignor entered into negotiations with Captain Cross and the owners of the *Badger State*, making pecuniary inducements which won their consent. Her second mate, Captain Jack Wright, had begun the work of stripping her for winter as she lay just below Spring Street bridge, when Captain Cross went on board and informed him she was bound for the lower lakes. The tug came to tow her to the elevator, and soon she had her cargo and was ready to enter upon the perilous voyage. The consignor knew how to get into the good graces of seamen, and presented a pair of warm buckskin mittens to each member of the crew.

Towed outside, the *Badger State* began her flight to beat King Winter, and four days later was lying at her dock in Buffalo, after a trip that tested the quality not only of the trig and zipping barkentine but of the hardy fellows who manned her. Her captain had piled on canvas at the commencement of the voyage, and she had flown before a favoring wind through waters un-

ruffled by any keel but her own. When she passed through the straits into Lake Huron the wind went round to the northwest and blew half a gale, with shrouds and stays singing like fiddle-strings. The pressure of the heavy canvas proved too much for the foretopmast stay, which was carried away, and the foretopsail had to be taken in. Then the maintopmast stay went, and that sail had to be taken in. So high, however, was the pressure of the northwester that despite the reduction of canvas there was little diminution in the vessel's speed. It was cold on Lake Huron, and the sailors needed their mittens. The wind held while the *Badger State* continued on her course down the rivers. At the mouth of the Detroit River she ran into a snow squall and a small schooner which she had overhauled came to anchor; but Captain Cross kept on. Had he dallied he would have been frozen in for the winter, for the schooner did not get out till the following spring. At Buffalo the *Badger State* was unloaded without loss of time and laid up for the winter. For their sufferings on the trip the crew and officers were presented with pecuniary rewards and entertained at a banquet paid for by the grateful consignee.

The brigantine *Greyhound*, built at Buffalo, was the nearest rival of the *Badger State*. Not quite so fast, she was a better carrier. While the two were at the height of their prestige there were many races between them. The *Greyhound's* commander was Captain Robinson, a daring character and a skillful sailor. Once when the two vessels in a gale of wind were nearing Milwaukee at the same time, Captain Robinson hit the beach while trying to come inside. Captain Cross, had come to anchor, but his anchors began to drag, whereupon he let go his chains and stood out into the lake. The insurance companies were interested, and the following morning J. B. Merrill took their tug, the *Tift*, to go to the relief of the *Badger State*, which could be seen well out in the lake. On reaching the point at which the *Greyhound* was fast on the bottom, Captain Robinson desired the *Tift* to pull him off, but she continued on her way, the reason being that the *Badger State*, which was the tug's first care, was out without anchors, her necessity being greater than that of the *Greyhound*. Captain Robinson was a master of imprecation—most of the lake captains of those days possessed talent in the same direction—

but the people on the *Tift* let him swear at what he denounced as favorism, and the *Badger State* was towed into port before the *Greyhound*. Captain Cross left the *Badger State*, and took command of the steamer *Dakota*. He was lost with all his crew, when the *Dakota* went ashore near Buffalo. As years went by the *Badger State* surrendered her prestige, becoming first a lumber-hooker and finally a tow-barge, the *Greyhound* experiencing a similar fate.

There was an occasion late in the 'fifties when Captain William Fitzgerald, in command of the *Crocker*, made almost as late a trip as that of the *Badger State*. The *Crocker* had started with the *Republic*, both being laden with grain for below. Off Sheboygan they found it necessary to turn back on account of severe cold weather, and came inside Milwaukee harbor, where they were frozen in for four days. The consignor of the *Crocker's* cargo was anxious to get it down that fall, and when the weather came off mild again Captain Fitzgerald made up his mind to try. The tug *Tift* broke the ice about the schooner and towed her outside. All sail was set, and the trig craft went booming down the lake, swinging into Lake Huron with the wind still favorable, and reaching Port Huron on December 1. There the captain was notified that the ice on the flats had thawed and was ordered to go on to Buffalo. December 10th, he started from Buffalo on the return voyage, but the mercury dropped while he was off Erie; on account of which he ran into that port and laid up. While in the Straits on the way down, Captain Fitzgerald had met the *Badger State* coming up. It was after arriving in Milwaukee on this trip that Captain Cross took on board the cargo of the *Republic* and made the run to Buffalo in four days. The *Crocker* maintained her reputation till the development of the demand for larger carriers.

Wheeler, in his Chronicles, published a list of sixty-eight vessels which were built at Milwaukee between the years 1836 and 1858.

More than one of the men who later rose to distinction as shipbuilders first learned their trade under the tutelage of Captain Jones. William H. Wolf, remembered in Milwaukee as Commodore Wolf and Alderman Wolf, died at the age of seventy-two, on the 28th of January, 1901. He was born in Germany and

came with his parents to this country. In 1848 he was apprenticed to a butcher in New York. Setting out to make his fortune he found his way to Milwaukee by 1849, but pushed on into the pineries, shipping on a lumber raft for St. Louis at Big Bull Falls, now Wausau. One trip sufficed him. He was not long after engaged in working on the *Lady Elgin* while she was building at Buffalo. In 1852 at Waukesha he married Miss Mary Gauthier, returning to Buffalo, but coming back to Milwaukee in 1853 and securing employment in the shipyard of J. M. Jones. In 1858 he entered into partnership with Theodore Lawrence—Wolf & Lawrence, shipbuilders,—selling out to Ellsworth & Davidson in 1863. Mr. Wolf then established a shipyard at Fort Howard. In 1868 he returned to Milwaukee, forming the shipbuilding firm of Wolf & Davidson. For a long time theirs was one of the leading shipyards on the lakes, building the *William H. Wolf*, *Nelson*, *Moonlight*, *Saveland*, *Alice B. Norris*, *Marengo*, *Joseph Paige*, *Angus Smith*, *Tanner*, *Lem Ellsworth*, *Typo*, *George G. Houghton*, *Itasca*, *Penokee*, *Hanover*, *Waukoma*, *C. G. Breed*, *Ford River*, *Resumption*, *Jim Sheriffs*, *Progress*, *R. P. Flower*, *Fred Pabst*, *Ferdinand Schlesinger*, and other well known ships. Commodore Wolf made his ships of great strength by the liberal use of iron, and often sacrificed beauty for serviceability. After conducting operations for several years on the old bayou north of the east approach to Oneida Street bridge, Mr. Wolf removed to his well-remembered location at the foot of Washington Street, opposite Jones Island. This yard was thirteen acres in extent, and admirably equipped, taking a long time to complete, on account of the swampy nature of the ground. Its dry dock was of great advantage to the port. Mr. Wolf retired from active business in 1891, having built some of the stanchest vessels that ever sailed. When the *W. H. Wolf* was launched she was the largest steamship that had been constructed in Milwaukee shipyards. When she slid into the water a huge wave swept over the dock and carried scores of people into the water, but luckily no one was drowned. Eccentric in some respects, but jovial and popular, "Commodore" Wolf for many years was an outstanding character in Milwaukee. More than once he was elected to serve his fellow citizens in the Common Council. While he was acting in this capacity there arose from merchants in the down-town

district a clamor of complaint that public interest suffered by reason of the failure to regulate tugs, which belched forth clouds of black smoke that poured into dry goods stores and injured stock, and necessitated the too frequent opening of the bridges, and whose captains delighted in tooting their whistles, filling the air at all hours with discordant and deafening shrieks. One alderman after another, introduced measures in the Council to abate the alleged nuisance, but so long as Commodore Wolf was a member of the body, it was customary to refer proposals affecting marine interests to the committee of which he was chairman, and drafts for the regulation of tugs never got further than his pocket. As an employer, the Commodore was brusque in his dealings with his men, but invariably kind-hearted, and often after discharging an employe would take him back.

Lemuel Ellsworth was born in Ulster County, N. Y., December 27, 1836, and came here in 1857. Three years later he married Miss Nellie Jones. He then entered the shipbuilding business, forming a partnership with Thomas Davidson. Ellsworth & Davidson constructed several noted vessels. After a few years Mr. Ellsworth retired and engaged in the general business of working on wrecks. In 1875-6 he represented the Seventh district in the Legislature, having held the office of County Treasurer to which he was again elected in 1880. He was chief of police under Mayor Wallber. Later he served as a member of the State Board of Control.

For many years during the later 'sixties and early 'seventies Allan, McClelland & Company—Robert Allan, George McClelland and others—conducted a shipyard and dry-dock, at first on the site subsequently occupied by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company's Elevator A, and later on Vogel's Island in the Menomonee River. In 1874 the Milwaukee Shipyard Company was organized, continuing the business. The tugs *F. B. Aldrich* and *William Goodnow* and the schooners *Rouze Simmons*, *C. H. Hackley* and *Idea* were constructed in this yard, followed in later years by the three-and-afters *John B. Merrill* of 850 tons and *Porter* of 1,000 tons. The *Myosotis*, also a three-and-after, was begun by the old firm and completed by the Milwaukee Shipyard company. Louis Pahlow, who had worked for J. M. Jones and served as draughtsman and master mechanic with Allan,

McClelland & Company, being also a member of the firm, continued his identification with its successors and with a subsequent organization, the Allan & Pahlow Dry Dock Company.

William E. Fitzgerald, who died in July, 1901, as the result of an accidental gas explosion at his summer home, had been prominent in marine matters for many years and was well known throughout the region of the Lakes. His father had acquired an interest in the Allan & Pahlow Dry Dock Company, for which as a young man W. E. Fitzgerald served as a clerk. Eventually the company consolidated with the Wolf & Davidson Company under the name of the Milwaukee Dry Dock Company, of which W. E. Fitzgerald was president at the time of his death. He was a member of the Committee of Ten appointed by the municipality to look into the feasibility of deepening the inner harbor. As a shipowner he was interested in many well-known vessels of his day, including the *Puebla, Denver, Topeka, Omaha, J. W. Westcott* and *Hennepin.*

As freights dropped it became necessary to provide craft carrying larger cargoes. Vessels like the *Porter* and the *Moonlight* filled this requirement and also showed commendable speed. The *Moonlight* carried 1,100 tons, and was one of the fastest sailing vessels of her time. Her score of eleven round trips between Chicago and Buffalo in the season of 1880 broke previous records and is excelled by only a few of the fastest steamers of today. Eventually, however, came the triumph of steam on the lakes, and except as sported by pleasure craft the utter disappearance of sails.

It was in the days of schooners that the Milwaukee shipyards were at their prime. Wisconsin's forests have bowed before the ax. Timber is relatively expensive where once it could be had for little more than the cost of cutting down the trees. Wooden ships have gone out and steel ships have come in. At present the drydocks at Milwaukee are used by the American Shipbuilding Company as repair yards.

CHAPTER XV

DIRECT TRADE OVERSEAS

PICTURESQUE INCIDENTS IN THE HISTORY OF MILWAUKEE AS AN OCEAN PORT—FIRST DIRECT SHIPMENT FROM THE GREAT LAKES TO EUROPE, ON THE DEAN RICHMOND, IN 1856—THE M. S. SCOTT'S TRIP TO HAMBURG—THRILLING NARRATIVE OF THE VOYAGE OF THE HANOVER, BUILT IN MILWAUKEE, WHICH WENT TO BREMEN IN 1863—SOME OF THE VESSELS FROM DISTANT PARTS THAT HAVE CALLED AT THE PORT OF MILWAUKEE.

The first shipment of wheat from Milwaukee direct to Europe was made on the 21st of July, 1856, in a sailing vessel, the *Dean Richmond*, Capt. Daniel Pierce. This was not only the first direct shipment from Milwaukee to Europe, but the first from the Great Lakes. The *Richmond's* port of destination was Liverpool, and the shippers were the firm of C. J. Kershaw & Company. In the summer of 1884, S. T. Hooker, of the firm of Hooker, Crittenden & Co., who at that time was the Nestor of the Chamber of Commerce, was appealed to for fuller information on the subject than had been vouchsafed by the newspapers of the period at which it occurred. Mr. Hooker replied:

"I remember the circumstance quite well. A number of members of the Chamber of Commerce went out with Kershaw on the tug which towed the vessel into the bay, and I was one of them. When we came back, Kershaw treated us to a little banquet at a place on the southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets. Some one proposed a toast to Daniel Pierce, which, so it seemed to me, was not received with sufficient enthusiasm. I got up and said: 'Boys, perhaps you think you're toasting President Pierce, but the toast is Captain Pierce.' Then they gave a rousing cheer. The celebration was an impromptu affair. Kershaw had invited the members of the Chamber who happened to be standing around when he went down to see the vessel off. That's

about all I can tell you; but if you see Joe Hill, Kershaw's partner, very likely he can give you fuller details."

When Joseph F. Hill was appealed to he observed that the matter occurred long before his partnership with Mr. Kershaw began, but that he had a distinct recollection of it because he was the junior member of the firm of H. & J. F. Hill & Co., which bought the wheat to complete the cargo. "The senior member of the firm," Mr. Hill continued, "was my uncle, Horatio Hill, at one time president of the Chamber of Commerce. The *Richmond* took half of her cargo at Chicago and came here for the rest. We bought the wheat and loaded the vessel at the old Yellow Warehouse, now Keenan's Mill [southwest corner of East Water and Chicago streets.] Kershaw made the shipment. We had nothing to do with it but buy the wheat on his order. There was about 16,000 bushels in the cargo, which was considered a very good quantity of wheat at that time, and it was a very good quality of wheat. There have been other direct shipments since. E. D. Holton shipped a cargo of wheat direct to Liverpool some years later, and went to Liverpool himself to sell it."

In 1859 John H. Thorsen and Detmer Fischbeck loaded a vessel for Hamburg with black walnut and other fancy woods. She made the voyage and returned with a cargo of miscellaneous merchandise, Mr. Fischbeck going over on the vessel to superintend the business. The following account of the transaction is in Mr. Fischbeck's own words:

"Our shipment was made in the latter part of May, 1859. The panic of 1857 had left business very flat, and we thought that the experiment of taking a cargo of fancy woods to Europe for sale was worth trying. We purchased a sailing vessel, the *M. S. Scott*, which had been built at Cleveland three or four years before for the grain trade, and loaded her at St. Joe, Michigan. Her cargo consisted principally of black walnut in square blocks. There was also some ash, in long sticks, for car building, some superior oak, and quite a little birdseye maple. The vessel cleared from Milwaukee. I went in her. She was commanded by Captain Blend, who several years afterward was cast away in a storm on the lakes. It took us thirty days to make the run from here to Quebec—just about the same length of time in which we subsequently crossed the ocean. From Quebec we went to Cowes, in

the Isle of Wight, where vessels generally called for orders. Our next destination was Hamburg, where we sold part of the cargo at auction and stored the rest, in the hope of getting better prices for it afterward.

"We didn't do very well with that cargo. In fact, we closed it out at auction eight or nine months later. We could have done better by keeping it right here in Milwaukee. I wish we had that same cargo of black walnut here today. It would be worth $100 per 1,000 feet [this was said in 1884.] We bought it at $18. It was splendid timber. You can't find such blocks now.

"But I must go back to the story. The appearance of a lake vessel was a curiosity in European waters. The *Scott* was a large two-master. Her masts were very long and her sails large in comparison with those over there. When we got to Hamburg people came great distances to look at us. One fellow came down from Leipzig and took a picture of the vessel which afterward appeared in one of the Leipzig illustrated papers. At Hamburg we loaded with a partial cargo of general merchandise, consisting of barley, toys, paintings, cigars and gin, for the city of Milwaukee. This freighted us to about one-third of our capacity. For the balance we chartered the vessel to carry a consignment of boots, shoes and other merchandise to St. Johns, New Brunswick. On the way from Hamburg to St. Johns the *Scott* encountered a heavy storm and lost some of her rigging and sails, but reached port safely without the loss of any of her cargo except a few cases of boots and shoes, which were on the deck and had to be thrown overboard during the storm.

"She was too late to come up the lakes that season; so after getting new rigging and receiving other repairs, she took a cargo of fish-oil to Boston. The goods which we had bought in Hamburg on our own account we sold mostly in Boston, except a few which got here by rail. From Boston the *Scott* went the same winter to Brazee City, Louisiana, to get a cargo of sugar, but when she arrived there was no sugar left. She then went to New Orleans for sugar, but could get none there either, and so took a cargo of whisky and cotton for New York. From New York she chartered to take ice to Mobile, and from Mobile she went to Pensacola, to take a cargo of lumber to Martinique. She sailed in ballast thence to Turk's Island, to get a cargo of salt, which it was in-

tended she should bring to Milwaukee for James Roddis, who was a leading pork packer in those days. She got it too late, however, and, being unable to come up the lakes that fall, on account of the closing of the canals, she took her cargo to New York, where it was sold, after which she chartered again to take ice to Brazee City, and at Brazee City she was chartered to carry live oak for shipbuilding for the government.

"The war had broken out, and her captain had trouble getting pay for her cargo of ice and getting clear with her cargo of live oak. She probably never would have got away without loss but for the friendly offices of the collector of the port, who had lived in Milwaukee years before. As it was, the Louisiana people did a good deal of swearing about a Yankee vessel being allowed to go in there and get lumber for building ships to fight them with. The captain didn't dare to wait at last, for fear the vessel would be seized, and sailed away with only a part of his cargo of oak, and without clearing papers. When he delivered his cargo he had to pay a fine of $100 for leaving port without clearing papers, but the government afterward paid the money back. That was in the spring of 1861.

"We then bought in New York the salt we ought to have delivered to Roddis the year before, and brought it in the *Scott* to Milwaukee. We also brought some naval stores. The *Scott* arrived in the middle of June. It was the year when the American House burned down, on the Fourth of July, having been set on fire by some boys playing with firecrackers. The American House stood on the site afterward occupied by the Plankinton, and the fire spread over the whole block. The *Scott*, which was lying at the dock back of the old Roddis packing house, had a narrow escape from being set on fire by the falling sparks. I had been out in the country and came into town while the fire was raging. Seeing the danger the vessel was in, I got a gang of men to help me run her down the river to a place of safety. We kept her on the lakes that season and sold her in 1863. Soon after she passed out of our hands she was wrecked on a rock in Racine harbor."

One of the vessels that afterward made the trip to Europe from Milwaukee was the brig *Hanover*, built in this city, which took a cargo of wheat to Bremen in 1863. During the '70s a

number of lake vessels, several of them owned by Milwaukeeans, carried what Americans call pine lumber and what Englishmen call "deals" to British ports, among them being the *G. C. Trumpff*, the *J. R. Benson* and the *City of Green Bay*. During the same period the schooner *Thistle* sailed from Milwaukee to a Scottish port, and was sold there, while the schooner *Narragansett* made a successful trip across the Atlantic and back. The *Surprise* went over safely, but was wrecked in mid-ocean on the voyage homeward.

Capt. William Callaway, who superintended the building of the *Hanover*, and who commanded her on her voyage to Europe, wrote an account of the enterprise in a paper which he read before the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, and which was published by the club in 1916. His recital opens as follows:

"In the spring of 1862 I shipped on the schooner *Stella*, owned by Mr. Goldsmith of Port Washington and commanded by Captain Smith. We loaded at the pier, carried wheat to Buffalo and came back to Milwaukee. Charley Millett, the mate, said, 'Bill, lets you and I buy a vessel of our own.' I asked him how much money he had, and he said, 'A hundred dollars.' I had the same amount. Our united resources did not seem a sum that would go far toward the purchase of a vessel, but 'where there's a will there's a way.' We started out, got as far as Division Street bridge, and there saw a small schooner called the *Mariner*. We asked the captain if he knew of a vessel for sale, and he told us the *Mariner* was for sale for $850. She carried twenty-one hundred bushels of wheat. The owners were Peter Hansen and Mr. Backet of Sheboygan. My father-in-law kept a store on Wisconsin Street, and as we thought he knew more about business than we did, we sent him to Sheboygan to see the owners. The owners came to Milwaukee the next day, and we bought the vessel for $850, paying $200 down and giving our notes for the balance—$100 to be paid each month for five months and $150 in the following July. It looked rather risky, but we paid the notes as they came due, supported our families, and saved money besides, after which we sold the *Mariner*.

"When I was in the store I became acquainted with Otto Wermuth. In July, 1862, I met him on Wisconsin Street, and he said he was going to have a vessel built to go to the old country,

and asked me if I would superintend the building, fit her out and take her across the ocean. I though he was only 'blowing,' but answered 'Yes.' When he told me to go to Ellsworth & Davidson's shipyard and tell them what kind of a vessel was suitable for crossing the ocean, I wanted to back out, but he would not listen to it. I had never superintended the building of a vessel, and was not thorough in navigation, but after I had consented I was determined to see it through. I went to Ellsworth & Davidson and asked them to make a model, which they did. I made another lake trip, and when I came back the contract was signed, the vessel to be finished by November 1, 1862. I then stayed on shore and fitted the rigging, having it ready to slip over the mastheads as soon as they were stepped."

Captain Callaway's narrative goes on to tell how he took lessons in navigation from Patrick J. Roche, who had been a teacher in the British Navy, and who in 1862 was keeping a school for boys and girls on Lyon Street. After securing a start with Roche, Captain Callaway bought an Epitome and Nautical Almanac, and concluded his studies at home, where he was accustomed to fill a plate with molasses, place it in the back yard, for use as an artificial horizon, and each day with its aid take the altitude of the sun with his sextant. His narrative proceeds:

"By November 1st I was pretty well informed. The vessel was finished November 6th and laid up till spring. Mr. Wermuth went to Germany with his family. When he came back in the spring I had the vessel all ready loaded with wheat for Buffalo at 11 cents a bushel. He was so pleased that he put his arm around my waist. Then he pulled a gold watch out of his pocket and made me a present of it.

"The *Hanover* was built just west of Reed Street, where Elevator A now stands. I believe she was the first and only vessel built in Milwaukee that went from here to Europe, although there were two other vessels that made the trip across the ocean from the Great Lakes before she did. I took the *Hanover* from here, through the Great Lakes, the canals and the St. Lawrence River to Quebec, and from there to Liverpool, England. From Liverpool I took her to Brock, on the River Wieser, in Germany. She was sold in Brock to parties in Hanover, and I took her to Gestemunde, where my crew and I left her. I returned to my home in Mil-

waukee about October 20th of the same year. For a number of years after that I followed the occupation of sailing."

Captain Callaway's story is a characteristically modest recital of an achievement that holds no inconspicuous place in the maritime history of Milwaukee. As a passenger he carried a well-remembered Milwaukee lawyer, DeWitt Davis, who had been advised by physicians to take a sea voyage for the benefit of his health. The *Hanover's* mate was Capt. James Bruce, a native of Waterford, Ireland, who began a seafaring career at the age of thirteen, finding his way to Milwaukee in 1855, and making this city his headquarters till the end of his long life. In the winter of 1857, to prove that his land legs were as good as his sea legs, Captain Bruce performed the feat of walking from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. When he died in 1911 he had held the post of night superintendent of the Milwaukee Tugboat Line for twenty years. Captain Callaway, on his retirement from the lakes, established himself as a dealer in fuel, laying the foundations of the Callaway Coal Company, whose president, Edward Callaway, is one of his sons. In the fall of 1929 Captain Callaway's daughter, Mrs. Thomas Spence, of this city, completed two years of faithful and efficient service as President of the War Mothers of the United States. Captain Callaway died in 1917 at the ripe age of eighty-six.

There were incidents in the voyage of the *Hanover* as thrilling as the most famous passages of any novel of the sea that Fenimore Cooper or W. Clark Russell or Joseph Conrad ever penned, but Captain Callaway did not put these into the story he told the Old Settlers. On another occasion he wrote a narrative of the voyage, referring to some of them, and this is drawn upon for the following:

"Besides wheat for Liverpool, the *Hanover* carried a miscellaneous cargo of flour, sewing machines, ox horns, tobacco, and other things that Milwaukeeans had consigned to friends on the other side. When I was taking these goods on board I was lying at the foot of Detroit Street, and got pretty well acquainted with the sheriff. The vessel was attached two or three times by parties that had done work on her. One man named Ashford came on board and wanted to know if I had one hundred barrels of flour for him. He said the owner owed him considerable money for

watches he had let him have when on a passage from Liverpool. Wermuth told him he would smuggle them on shore and avoid paying duty, which he did, and brought them to Milwaukee, and then to Chicago, where he sold them and put the money into his pocket. After I had got all the freight on board and was ready to send for the tug that was to tow me out on the way to Sheboygan, where I was to take on 15,000 bushels of wheat for Liverpool, a policeman came on board and said the owner was arrested and wanted me to see him at the sheriff's office. I went there and Wermuth gave me some instructions, and then, on the 20th of May, 1863, the *Hanover* was towed out into the harbor and sailed for Sheboygan.

"A week later she started on her long journey. The first trouble I got into was at Detroit. At that point we were to take on a passenger for Liverpool by the name of Smith. While staying in Detroit we mentioned that we were taking a cargo of provisions, and the United States officials suspected we were going South. Consequently I had to go to the custom house in Detroit and had some difficulty in convincing them that I was all right. Before they would let me go they forced me to show all the ship's colors. The second mate brought them up and emptied them on the deck. Among them was a Hanoverian ensign, with a white horse on a red ground. This seemed to puzzle them, but finally they permitted me to proceed. When I got to the canals I had to lighter up to ten feet of water, and took the grain in again at the other end of the canal. At Kingston I had to lighter up to nine feet by unloading into barges, and hire a tug to tow us to Montreal, at which place we took in our grain again. At Montreal the owner had some papers made out by the Hanoverian consul, so that we could show them instead of the American papers, in the event of falling in with a Confederate privateer. Another precaution we took after we got into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and that was to lower the board and paint 'Gestemunde' on the stern, where 'Milwaukee' had been. Gestemunde is the only port that Hanover has, and our idea in doing this was to pretend that we belonged to Hanover, in case of interference by Southern privateers.

"I forgot to mention that I had six passengers on board. One was DeWitt Davis, the lawyer, who was going across for his

health. Edward D. Holton had been thinking of going over with us, along with his family; but I advised him to go by steam, which he did. At Montreal the owner joined me, going as far as Liverpool. At Quebec I got a pilot and left with about twenty other vessels, which got under way before me. The pilot left us at Bick Island, which is at the mouth of the river. We had a head wind and beat down the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Two days afterward the *Hebe* crossed our bow in the foggy weather, and I did not see any more of her till I saw her at Bristol. About ten miles off the island of Anticosti we saw the largest whale I ever saw in my life, and I have seen a great many. We had the wind ahead off Anticosti, and stood across the gulf to the southward. The next day we were out of sight of land, and the wind changed more to the south; so I took the sun and shaped my course to go between Brian Island and the Magdalene Islands. When we made the land, we found we made the passage as straight as if we had seen it all the time.

"Resuming our journey, we passed the Bird Islands to the port of us, and I hauled more to the east. I passed St. Paul's Island, and shaped the course across the Green Bank, and, with a fresh breeze and fair wind, I soon got into the fog, which is nearly always on the banks of Newfoundland. The next afternoon we heard a gun firing, and when it cleared up a little, there was Cape St. Pierre on our lee, which was twenty-five miles out of our way. I could not account for this until I discovered that some one had put a lot of nails in the binnacle, evidently for the purpose of attracting the compass and throwing me out of my course. If I had not discovered it before the fog raised we would have been on the rocks. I believe Wermuth did it, with the intention of wrecking the ship for the heavy insurance.

"I shaped my course again, and sixteen days afterward a gale of wind from the northeast forced us to heave to, and she rode the sea like a duck. After a good many cloudy days we sighted Cape Clear, and ran along the coast of Ireland into St. George's Channel. At Holyhead we took a pilot aboard and had a glimpse of the steamship *Leviathan* about a mile away. We got up to Liverpool at 12 o'clock on a Sunday night. I found a letter there from my sister, saying my mother had died on the Friday before; so I left for Bristol, my mother's home, on the Monday

following. As I was crossing one of the bridges at Bristol, Tuesday afternoon, I saw the clipper ship *Hebe* just coming in. She had left Quebec the same time I did, and so I beat her two days.

"The *Hanover* lay in Liverpool unloading wheat for several weeks, and on the Saturday afternoon when we were to start for Bremen news came that the Southern privateer *Florida* was at Cork. We started about 4 o'clock Sunday morning, and when we got past Holyhead, and were standing across the Channel, toward the Irish coast, the wind being ahead, to go around Land's End, we saw a big steamer steering down the Channel, and she turned square around and came up under our stern and had a good look at us. I am convinced she was the *Florida*, as she had no name on her; but she did not dare touch us there in English waters, although I thought it likely she would wait for us off Land's End. I resolved to avoid her; so when it came night, the wind being fair to go up north, I about helm and shaped my course for the Mull of Cantire, which I went through the next day.

"Afterward I got into the channel called the Little Minch, which divides the islands of Scotland from Scotland itself. I got up to Loch Talbot at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and that night ran back there for shelter, as it blew a gale of wind. An old fisherman told me our ship was the first that had ever come in there without a pilot. We dropped anchor there, and the next day I took some of the passengers and a boat's crew and went ashore.

"We had a fair wind and passed Cape Ruth, and got to the Pentland Forth, a dangerous passage between the Orkney Islands and Scotland. After we had got through the Pentland Forth it came on to blow very heavy from the northwest, and about noon on September 6th the wind blew away our mainsail and foretopmast staysail, but it left us about five cloths of the mainsail up the luff by the mast. All the rest was blown away. I unbent one of the jibs and bent on to the end of the mainboom and hoisted to the gaff-end and hove to the best way I could, heaving the lead every hour, as I knew I was drifting to the Shetland coast. Next morning, when the mate came and told me that he had ten fathoms of water and a fine sand bottom, I felt sure we were on the outer edge of the Horn Reef, which is about fifteen miles from land. I set the lower topsail and mainstaysail and unbent the

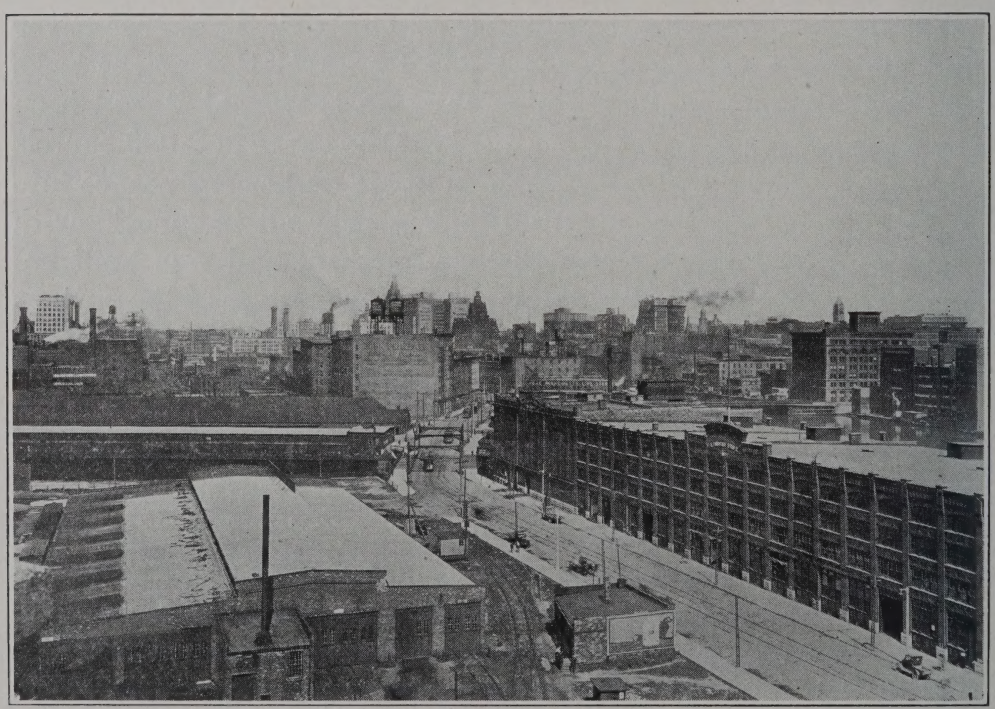
inner jib and bent the foretopmast staysail. Then she headreached about two and a half miles an hour, and soon deepened the water.

"About 2 o'clock the following morning a sudden squall laid the vessel on her beam ends. The rudder was so much out of the water that it had no effect, but I told the man at the wheel to put his helm up, as it did no good. I sang out to the mate to let go topsailsheet, and said to myself, 'Good by to the *Hanover!*' Just then the mainstaysail flew to pieces and the mate let go the topsailsheet, which took the pressure off her, and she righted up. In the afternoon the gale abated, and we shaped our course for Heligoland. There we got a Hamburg pilot, and the remainder of the trip to Bremerhaven was uneventful."

The first European merchant vessel to enter the harbor of Milwaukee steamed up the river on the evening of May 26, 1894, with the flag of Norway floating from her mainmast and the Stars and Stripes displayed at her bow. She was the steamer *Craggs*, Capt. Peter G. Johnson, which had left Bergen, Norway, thirty-five days before, consuming twenty-two days in crossing the Atlantic and twelve in coming through the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes, devoting a day to negotiation of the locks of the Welland Canal. To pass through the canal it had been found necessary to lighter two-thirds of her cargo of 8,000 barrels of herring, which had been taken on again on her emergence into Lake Erie. The *Craggs* was 168 feet over all in length, with twenty-six feet beam, and 316 tons burthen, and was built entirely of iron. She carried triple-expansion engines of the pattern most approved at the time. With the exception of the Columbian caravels and the Viking ship, which had called here en route to the Chicago World's Fair, she was the first vessel flying a European flag that ever put into this port. Six hundred barrels of her cargo were unloaded here, and she left for Chicago on the following day. Thousands of Milwaukeeans lined the docks and crowded upon the bridges to get a glimpse of her on her progress up the stream, and there was a ceremony of dipping flags on tugboats whose whistles screeched as she passed by way of welcome. The visit of the *Craggs* was recognized as a noteworthy incident in the history of the port—the presage of a time when the improvement of artificial waterways between the lakes and the

Atlantic shall open Milwaukee to the larger commerce of the seas.

July 17, 1929, brought to Milwaukee the first cargo which had traveled all the way by water from the Hawaiian Islands. It had undergone more than one transshipment by route, however, and in that aspect was less significant than the arrival of the *Craggs*. The *Corapeak*, laden with Hawaiian sugar, unloaded at the docks of the Terminal Warehouse Company, on South Water Street. She was a lake boat, built at Manitowoc, Wisconsin, in 1919, and her maiden journey had been from Milwaukee to a Russian port, with a cargo of flour. Her sugar cargo consisted of a thousand tons, shipped in the raw from Honolulu, refined at San Francisco, and transported thence to New York by way of the Panama Canal. From New York it had been carried up the Erie Canal to Buffalo, where it was reloaded to the *Corapeak* for the voyage to Milwaukee.



DOWN-TOWN MILWAUKEE, 1920

CHAPTER XVI

THE STRUGGLE FOR RAILROADS

HOW THE CITY AND ITS LEADING RESIDENTS CONTRIBUTED TOWARD THE PLANNING AND BUILDING OF PIONEER RAILROADS IN THE NORTHWEST—THE COLLAPSE OF 1857 AND ITS EFFECT—ALEXANDER MITCHELL'S EFFICIENT LABORS—OTHER IMPORTANT FIGURES IN THE TRANSPORTATION HISTORY OF MILWAUKEE.

While the canal project was still under full headway, public sentiment in Milwaukee favored the construction of railways. It found expression as early as September, 1836, in a meeting at Leland's Tavern, Byron Kilbourn taking part, which appointed a committee to correspond with leading citizens throughout the Territory, asking them to instruct their legislative representatives to authorize the incorporation of a company to build a railroad from Milwaukee to the Mississippi. Then came the panic of 1837, putting a damper on public enterprises of every description. In October, 1841, the *Sentinel* observed that a canal to the Mississippi would take long to build, and when completed would be frozen up throughout the winter, while a railroad would be in operation during every month of the year. Assuming that the Rock River waterway improvement had been abandoned, friends of railroad building held a large and enthusiastic meeting at the Milwaukee House on the 22d of January, 1842. William A. Prentiss was chairman; James H. Rogers and Maurice Pixley were vice presidents; Joshua Hathaway and Harrison Ludington acted as secretaries. Resolutions drawn up by Paraclete Potter, George D. Dousman, F. Randall and William Brown, Jr., who had been constituted a committee for that purpose, gave forceful expression to the sentiment of those assembled and were adopted without a dissenting vote. At the session of the Territorial Legislature that winter a bill authorizing the formation of a corporation to be named the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway Company was

introduced, but failed of passage. Wisconsin lawmakers were hostile to corporations of every description. That was one obstacle to securing a charter for a railway company. Another was the prevalence of sectional jealousies.

The Milwaukee mass-meeting in 1845 which started the successful movement for municipal organization appointed a committee to promote the building of a Milwaukee and Mississippi railway; but, seemingly because of personal incompatibilities, its chairman could not get the members to come together.

When Byron Kilbourn became mayor of Milwaukee, on the 12th of April, 1848, he made the necessity of a railroad to the Mississippi the leading topic of his inaugural address. Declaring that no city on the great lakes was in possession of higher natural advantages for business than Milwaukee, he went on to point out that these advantages might be lost by supineness or indifference on the part of those in whose favor they were available. Art and enterprise, he argued may do much to overcome difficulties and disadvantages of position and turn the current of commerce from natural into artificial channels. "Boston enterprise compelled New York to build her Erie Railroad. Will not Chicago enterprise induce Milwaukee to build the Mississippi Railroad? Unless she is content to see the business of the finest region of the country wrested from her grasp, she must do it without delay."

In 1847 a bill to authorize the incorporation of a Milwaukee & Mississippi railroad company was defeated in the Territorial Legislature. This was followed by appeals from citizens of Waukesha for legislation that would allow people of the interior to construct for themselves a way to reach the lake market. On the last day of its last session the Territorial Legislature took action tantamount to the granting of this request, and Governor Dodge affixed his signature to the resulting measure, a bill incorporating the Milwaukee & Waukesha Railroad Company, which was authorized to construct and operate a railroad between the places designated in its title.

A meeting of citizens of Milwaukee held at the courthouse in February, 1849, adopted with great enthusiasm a series of resolutions exhorting communities along the route of the proposed railroad to coöperate with Milwaukee and memorialize the Legis-

The First Rate Table of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Rail-Road, (Now the Chi. Mil. & St. Paul Ry.)

RATE TABLE.

Resolutions adopted by the Board of Directors of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Rail-Road Company, Dec. 1850.

Resolved, That the following Rules be adopted relative to passengers—to be conspicuously posted in each Passenger Car:

There is to be no free list: no persons whomsoever shall be entitled to a free passage on any train, except by order of the Board, or by a free pass, singed by the President of the Company, or Superintendent of the road; and except also in cases of persons on Company business—which exceptions will be specially communicated to each Conductor.

The following low rates shall be established for Passenger Fare, until otherwise ordered, viz:

	Milwaukee.	Spring Street Road	Chase's Mill.	Wauwatosa.	Blanchard's.	Underwood's.	Elm Grove.	Dixon's Road.	Power's Mill.	Tew's Road.	Plank Road.	Fox River Cottage.	Waukesha.
Milwaukee, - - -		10	15	20	25	30	35	45	50	55	60	65	75
Spring Street Road	10		5	10	15	20	25	35	40	45	50	55	65
Chase's Mill, - -	15	5		5	10	15	20	30	35	40	45	50	60
Wauwatosa, - -	20	10	5		5	10	15	25	30	35	40	45	55
Blanchard's, - -	25	15	10	5		5	10	20	25	30	35	40	50
Underwood's, - - -	30	20	15	10	5		5	15	20	25	30	35	45
Elm Grove, - - -	35	25	20	15	10	5		10	15	20	25	30	40
Dixon's Road, - -	45	35	30	25	20	15	10		5	10	15	20	30
Power's Mill, - -	50	40	35	30	25	20	15	5		5	10	15	25
Tew's Road, - -	55	45	40	35	30	25	20	10	5		5	10	20
Plank Road, - -	60	50	45	40	35	30	25	15	10	5		5	15
Fox River Cottage	65	55	50	45	40	35	30	20	15	10	5		10
Waukesha, - - -	75	65	60	55	50	45	40	30	25	20	15	10	

Note. In cases of Passengers being taken up between any of the aforesaid points, the fare will be the same as if taken at the point back of that at which such passengers may be received.

Children under ten years of age, at half the above rates.

DAILY FREE DEMOCRAT PRINT—MILWAUKEE.

OLD RAILROAD RATE TABLE

lature to pass laws authorizing villages, towns, cities and counties to subscribe. An ordinance approved at the meeting and recommended for indorsement by other meetings of citizens authorized the City Council to subscribe $100,000 of stock in the Milwaukee & Waukesha Railroad, with the privilege of increasing the amount to $250,000. The Council was to borrow money on the credit of the city and meet payment on the loan by an annual tax of 1 per cent. on real estate within the corporate limits, or more, if in any year the exigency of the case should require it. Every person who paid the tax was to be entitled to receive from the city treasurer a receipt exchangeable for railroad stock.

At the annual banquet of "the Sons of New York" held in Milwaukee in 1849, one of the toasts was as follows: "The Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad. Projected and at present prosecuted by individual energy and enterprise, may it receive the favorable notice and encouragement of the State Legislature, until its Iron Horse shall slake his thirst in the broad Mississippi, and from there may it be adopted by Congress, and extended westward until its iron bands shall encircle the continent and become the great highway of nations."

Newspapers became vehicles of exhortation to the public to subscribe for shares in railroad companies. An argument influential with the average farmer was that instead of expending half the value of his wheat in getting it to market by wagon, he would do well to invest in railroad stock, by this means bringing a market to his door and enhancing the value of all his possessions a hundred fold.

Commissioners named in the charter of the Milwaukee & Waukesha Railroad Company were William A. Barstow, Norman Clinton, Alexander W. Randall and Alexander F. Pratt of Waukesha County and Paraclete Potter, Daniel Wells, Jr., Edward D. Holton, Byron Kilbourn and Lemuel W. Weeks of Milwaukee County. Books for the entry of subscriptions to stock were opened at Milwaukee and Waukesha, and on the 10th of May, 1849, the subscriptions at that time amounting to $100,000, the company was organized by the election of directors. Meanwhile, at the initial session of the State Legislature, the act to which the corporation owed its existence had been amended, changing its title to the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company and

sanctioning the extension of the proposed line. The original directors were Lemuel W. Weeks, Edward D. Holton, Alexander Mitchell, Erastus B. Wolcott, Anson Eldred, Byron Kilbourn, Benjamin H. Edgerton, Walter P. Flanders, James Kneeland, John H. Tweedy and E. D. Clinton. The officers were: President, Byron Kilbourn; treasurer, Walter P. Flanders; secretary, Benjamin H. Edgerton.

The line was surveyed to Waukesha by July 9, 1849. Grading began promptly. The first earth for this first railroad in Wisconsin was moved in the fall of 1849 from a spur of high land near the later site of Elevator A in the Menomonee Valley. Progress was slow at the outset, owing to crude methods, which were improved upon as time went on. Nearly everybody seemed friendly. Farmers along the route loaned the laborers such implements as they possessed and frequently turned in and worked gratis with teams and men till the grading in their vicinity was completed.

It has been said that nearly everybody at first seemed friendly to the railroad; but there were exceptions. Drivers on the pike regarded it with hostility, and so did keepers of rural taverns, together with the folk in their employ. Sometimes hand-to-hand encounters took place between representatives of the conflicting interests. In more than one instance rails were torn up. But the warfare was one that could not last. The railroad represented progress. Sturdy fellows who worked for the company were not averse to fighting. After a while the fighting stopped, individuals who had started it giving up their futile gesture of competition with "the iron horse" and seeking new situations wherever they could be found.

On the morning of the 12th of September, 1850, the schooner *Abiah* arrived in port at Milwaukee with a locomotive for the new railroad. Boys skipped school that day to flock to the Menomonee River, where Robert Shields had spiked down the first rails. The heavy piece of freight was not easily handled, but with derrick, blocks and tackle it was brought ashore. Then it was coaxed onto the track. On the 25th a large part of the population of Milwaukee lined up on Fowler Street to see it make its first run. With Byron Kilbourn, Garret Vliet and others in the cab and on the tender, five runs out and in were made on the half mile of

track. The company went on with the grading of the line through the swamp west of Eighth Street to the Muskego Avenue crossing. A sad mishap interrupted progress. The rails, ties and filling over the marsh passed out of sight in a night, and instead of a railway there was a canal that would float a pontoon. This was the effect of a heavy storm. E. D. Holton, Sherburn S. Merrill and others worked with crowbars to lift the submerged rails, while earth by the wheelbarrow-load was chucked under the ties to bring them back to grade. Though the catastrophe was serious beyond what had been supposed, more men, more wheelbarrows and more toil finally repaired the mischief. Grading continued throughout the winter.

By February, 1851, the road was completed in a rough way to the village of Waukesha. It reached Eagle in January, 1852, Milton in the same year, and Stoughton in 1853. The date of its arrival at Madison was May 24, 1854. By April 15, 1857,—seven and one-half years from the time ground was first broken for it in Milwaukee,—there was a line of track extending to Prairie du Chien.

The first train out of Milwaukee left the city in the morning on Tuesday, February 25, 1851. The following is from the *Daily Wisconsin* of the next day:

"At the hour appointed, the depot was thronged with passengers for the trip and eager spectators. The train consisted of four passenger cars and one freight car fitted up with seats, all of which were filled. Everything being ready, at about 20 minutes past 11 o'clock the cars started, amid three cheers from the assembled multitude, which were returned by the passengers in the cars. After a pleasant ride of one hour and forty-five minutes, including sundry stops on the route to take on more passengers, the train arrived at Waukesha, where it was greeted with three hearty cheers from a crowd of friends from the village and country, who had assembled to welcome the first train from Milwaukee to Waukesha. The pleasure of the trip was enlivened with frequent strains of music from Hess' Band, which by special invitation accompanied the party. On the arrival of the cars, the company proceeded to the spacious car-house of the railroad, which is 50 by 130 feet, fitted up for the occasion. Soon after the company had assembled, John P. Story read a letter from Hon.

Byron Kilbourn, expressing his regret at not being able to be present, in consequence of his arm being badly fractured a few weeks since. The Hon. D. A. J. Upham was then unanimously appointed president of the meeting. The company to the number of nearly 500 sat down to a sumptuous dinner most liberally prepared for the occasion by the citizens of Waukesha. There were nine tables, well laden with rich viands. The dinner over, pertinent remarks were made by Mayor Upham, A. W. Randall and Rev. Mr. Martin of Waukesha, Mr. Goodrich of Milton, Mr. Cheney of Whitewater, and Messrs. Grant, Holton and James S. Brown of this city. The return trip was much more rapid than the outer trip and better enjoyed by the passengers. The cars arrived at the depot at about 5:30 o'clock, having left Waukesha at about 4:00."

During the month of March, 1851, the receipts of the road averaged $45 per day. In April they rose to $55 and $60 per day, and by the end of May they had still further improved, on one day attaining the encouraging figure of $114. These cash sums inspired respect in an era of small things, but they did not provide capital sufficient for the carrying on of building operations. That was obtained by other means.

For two years after Milwaukeeans could go to Waukesha by railroad, they went by stage to Chicago. When the Milwaukee & Mississippi was thrown open to traffic as far as Janesville, on the 4th of January, 1853, Superintendent Brodhead issued the following announcement:

"Passengers will be ticketed through by the stage company for $5, via Janesville, to Chicago, and by taking the 3 p. m. train from Milwaukee will arrive at Janesville at 7:20 p. m., remain overnight there, and take the stage the next morning for Belvidere or Rockford, as they may choose, the price being the same, and arrive the next afternoon at Chicago. From Chicago, they will also remain overnight at Janesville and arrive at Milwaukee at 12:30 p. m. the next day."

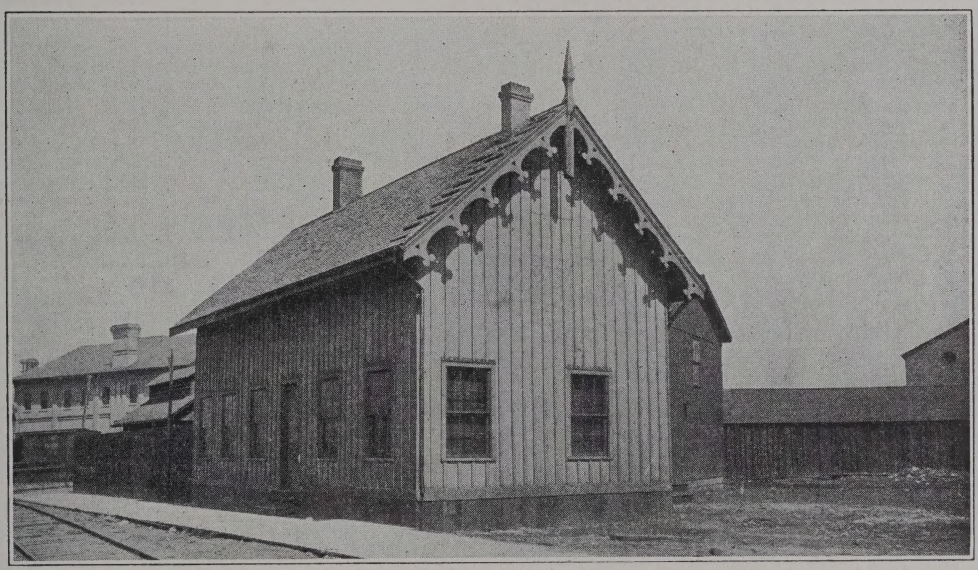
Thus, by traveling some two hundred miles, thirty-five of them by stage, it was possible for passengers to make the journey between Milwaukee and Chicago in little more than twenty-four hours. However, possibilities even more attractive were in prospect. Work had been begun which held out the promise of direct communication by railroad between Milwaukee and Chicago. The

prominent Milwaukeean in the building of this line, which was started simultaneously at both ends and opened in 1855, was Levi Blossom. The name of the company was the Chicago & Milwaukee. It built through Racine, Kenosha and the other intervening cities along the edge of the lake, and today is a part of the Chicago & North-Western. Alexander Mitchell would have annexed it to the Milwaukee & St. Paul, but was opposed in that policy by some of his Eastern colleagues on the St. Paul's board of directors—which was where those gentlemen made a mistake that they realized at a later day when their road was obliged to construct an independent entrance to Chicago. When the Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad began business its depot was south of the original mouth of the Milwaukee River, and deposited its passengers for Milwaukee near what afterward came to be known as Bay View, whence they made their way the remainder of the distance very awkwardly by water. It was later that the company built a station at the end of Elizabeth Street, now National Avenue, bringing its trains to that more convenient point over a trestle across the marsh, which in those days covered most of the area on the South Side east of Clinton Street.

The first report of the directors of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company, bearing the signatures of Byron Kilbourn as president, Walter P. Flanders as treasurer and B. H. Edgerton as secretary, as well as those of Lemuel W. Weeks, Edward D. Holton, Alexander Mitchell, Erastus B. Wolcott, Anson Eldred, James Kneeland, John H. Tweedy and E. D. Clinton, who were the other members of the Board, was issued in 1850. In addition to a brief review of the circumstances under which the corporation came into existence, this report contained the following:

"The surveys of the first division were completed, and the several sections of work offered to public competition for contracts, on the 28th of September last [1849], at which time the grubbing and grading of the whole line was put under contract, except certain sections near Waukesha, which were reserved by special arrangement for this work to be performed by the stockholders.

"About four-fifths of the whole number of stockholders are farmers and mechanics in towns and villages in the interior, who



FIRST RAILWAY DEPOT IN MILWAUKEE—1851

Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad, corner Fowler and Second Streets

own a large majority of the stock, nor can any one exercise individually any controlling influence. It approaches more nearly to an organized democracy than any corporate body within our knowledge, and is entirely destitute of any feature of monopoly. The whole community have been invited to become stockholders, and it is presumed that nearly all in the vicinity of the line will avail themselves of the opportunity before the books shall be finally closed.

"It is of the first importance that this undertaking be in the hands exclusively of the people of Wisconsin, and as generally diffused through the body of the community as possible, so that every citizen may feel that in its success his individual interest is to be promoted. In the hands of such owners its success is far more certain than if held as a monopoly in the hands of foreign capitalists for their benefit alone, and to whom the people of Wisconsin would be forever compelled to pay tribute."

E. D. Holton was the active manager and financial agent of the first railroad till it was completed to Prairie du Chien. Recounting its early history ten years later, Mr. Holton said: "For one entire year the grading was prosecuted, and paid for by orders drawn upon merchants for goods, by carts from wagon-makers, by harness from harness-makers, by cattle, horses, beef, pork, oats, corn, potatoes and flour from the farmers, all received on account of stock subscriptions, and turned over to the contractors in payment for work done upon the road."

In spite of the bright hopes of great profit to stockholders which were held out by projectors of the enterprise, procuring money was difficult at every step of the way. There was little cash in the hands of the people. The State could not vote financial aid, for that was prohibited by the Constitution. Recourse was had to ingenious expedients. One of these was to induce cities to come forward with money and credit. Another was to get farmers to mortgage their farms and use the proceeds for purchasing stock. The latter plan was first broached at a mass-meeting of stockholders held at Waukesha in the spring of 1850. Three hundred people were in attendance. Joseph Goodrich of Milton, who was one of them, said: "I can mortgage my farm for $3,000, and go to the East, where I came from, and get the money. Are there not one hundred men between Mil-

waukee and Rock River who can do the same? If so, here is your money. I will be one of them." In his account of the matter, Mr. Holton observed: "This was a new idea. It was turned over and over. There were serious objections, but it was the best thing that was presented. The plan was adopted. One hundred men were found who put up the required number of mortgages, and an attempt was made to negotiate them. This was found impossible at first. It was a new class of security, and no market could be found for it. But while these mortgages would not sell, the bonds of the city of Milwaukee would. An application was made to the city to issue $234,000 of her bonds in aid of the road. The city promptly and cordially responded. The bonds sold for cash at par; the money was at once invested in iron at very low prices, and the success of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad was set down as fixed."

Very energetic canvassing was required to secure subscriptions. The following is another extract from the report of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company which was quoted above:

"The Board proceeded at once to the discharge of the duties devolving upon it, by taking measures for the early prosecution of the work, and for the increase of stock necessary to the extension of the road beyond Waukesha. For these purposes, the Board at its meeting on the 4th day of June last adopted the most ready and effective means of organizing a suitable and effective corps of engineers by appointing the president of the company [Byron Kilbourn] to be chief engineer, and authorizing the employment of such assistants and laborers as might be necessary to conduct the field surveys and prepare the line of road for construction at the earliest practicable period. Also, by appointing members of the Board to receive additional subscriptions to the capital stock of the company in this city and the country at large, which has been thereby increased from $100,000 to over $600,000. And as these means of strength are still being pressed forward by the most active and efficient agencies, there seems little room to doubt that the amount subscribed will reach a million dollars by the first of April next. This is the full amount which the Board deem it advisable to receive; and when this shall have been subscribed the books will be closed and no further

subscriptions will be received. With this amount and a sound system of finance the entire road can be completed without any further direct contributions of the stockholders."

It was with light hearts, without misgivings, that the first railroad builders went to work. Here is another citation from the report:

"As the country increases in wealth and population, the business of a railroad must also increase, and this in a higher ratio than the means of competition will be increased. If we admit, then, that the income will be only 14 per centum and gradually and permanently increasing forever, the inducement would be sufficient to engage the attention of our citizens, especially as this income is of such a nature as to flow constantly, without any effort on the part of the individual stockholder other than making the first investment. It is a crop the seed of which being once sown yields its annual return without the labor of culture and harvest. Now, if the iron and locomotives, or the means to purchase them, be obtained on the credit of the road, to the amount of $5,000 per mile, and the whole road cost $11,349 per mile, the rate of 14 per cent. on the latter sum would be nearly 32 per cent. on the former, so that the income of the road would pay for the iron and locomotives in less than four years, and leave the whole road in the hands of the company at the expiration of that time at a cost of $6,349 per mile—after which a dividend to stockholders of 14 per cent. per annum on the cost of the road would be to them a little over 25 per cent. per annum on their actual investments."

Railways meant as much to people on the farms as to people in the cities. Prior to their advent the settlement of Madison and the interior of the State was very slow. The building of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway caused a great accession of population and a marked increase in the value of real estate. It was natural that inhabitants of the interior, who had been material contributors of means for the construction of the road, should feel inclined to take a hand in its management. This was in part the explanation of the election of John Catlin to the presidency of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company in 1852. Mr. Catlin was a Vermonter, born in 1803, and admitted to the bar in 1833, who came to Wisconsin in 1836, and settled at Min-

eral Point, where he entered into partnership with Moses M. Strong. Two years later he removed to Madison, where he had been spending a great deal of his time, first as clerk of the Supreme Court and then as clerk of the Territorial House of Representatives. Appointed postmaster at Madison in 1838, he was removed on the accession of General Harrison to the Presidency, but reinstated by Tyler, holding the office till 1844, when he resigned to qualify as a member of the Territorial Council, to which he had been elected. He was the first district attorney of Dane County. He was secretary of the Territory from 1846 to 1848, and by virtue of that office was prominent with Morgan L. Martin in the organization of the Territory of Minnesota. Later he was county judge of Dane County, from which office he resigned to accept the presidency of the Milwaukee & Mississippi. In the latter capacity he was notably energetic and efficient. It was he who procured the passage of the law making the first mortgage bonds of the railroad a foundation for banking. Under his administration the credit of the company appreciated to such an extent that he was able to effect a loan of $600,000, and this was influential in the extension of building operations to the westward. For five years, till 1856, he continued at the head of the company's affairs, when he declined re-election.

At about the time when Mr. Catlin was elected president, Edward H. Brodhead, who had made a reputation in the East, was brought out to be engineer and superintendent. Mr. Brodhead's practical knowledge of railroading and energy in working for results were illustrated in many ways. It was a frequent thing for him to arrive at conclusions different from those of others, and invariably the outcome proved his judgment right. Under his management the road prospered.

An unavoidable consequence of the hand-to-mouth conditions under which the pioneer railroad had been built was crudity astonishing to railway experts from the East. Well remembered is the anecdote of a visiting engineer who after making the run from Milwaukee to Waukesha and return was said to have observed to Mr. Kilbourn: "I have only one fault to find with your road; I have discovered a place where you might have put in another curve and neglected to do so."

In the hilly country west of Waukesha steep grades were not

to be avoided without outlay which was entirely beyond the company's means. The highest point was at Eagle, followed by a precipitous down-grade from there to Palmyra. Often long runs on the down-grade were made without the expenditure of a pound of steam. Accidents were frequent. One day when one locomotive was proceeding west and another was toiling east, both with long trains behind them, they met at the foot of the hill near Palmyra, on the single track, and were completely telescoped. Fortunately, no one was injured. The station agent telegraphed from Whitewater to headquarters at Milwaukee, and then proceeded to the scene of the disaster, where he saw one of the locomotive engineers who had been involved in the disaster sitting on the side of the track and pouring sand from one hand into the other, nervously expecting, of course, that when the wrecking train arrived with the officials of the road he would be dismissed in disgrace. When Superintendent Brodhead came, all he did was to look at the wreck and observe: "That's a very bad mess. Get to work, men, and clear it away." Nobody was discharged. Nobody was even reprimanded. Brodhead was an experienced railroad man, and realized that under the conditions the employes involved in the smashup had acquitted themselves as well as was humanly possible.

Long after the state of affairs in general had been greatly improved, the switching equipment in railroad yards at Milwaukee continued to consist of a horse and his driver. Locomotives were for moving trains to distant destinations, and were regarded as too costly for use in the yards. Passenger coaches in those days had a capacity of thirty-eight or forty people. They were not the luxurious drawing rooms of today. Tallow candles, or dim and dirty lanterns, one at each end of a car, furnished light at night, what heat was supplied for the comfort of passengers coming from wood-burning box stoves in the corners. The cars were coupled with chain links, and every time the train stopped there was a bump that threw unwary travelers out of their seats. The locomotives were wood-burners. When the supply of fuel on board became exhausted en route, a stop was made at one of the wood-piles frequent at intervals along the road, and a fresh stock of wood heaped into the tender, the train crew often receiving assistance in this time-consuming labor from passen-

gers who were in a hurry to reach their destinations. In some directions railroad improvement was obstructed by legislative enactments. Confident of their own wisdom, and bent on regulating everything by law, Solons had placed upon the statute books a measure forbidding employes of railroads to put more than twenty thousand pounds of merchandise into a freight car.

Superintendent Brodhead was an unerring judge of men, and when he found a good man in the employ of the road, he stood by him. The West was a new country, filling up with people from every point of the compass, many of them having migrated because of dissatisfaction with their neighbors in the localities they had left and some of them accustomed to go to extreme lengths if necessary for the purpose of having their own way. Milton was populated by Seventh Day Adventists, committed to the observance of Saturday instead of Sunday as the weekly day of rest. Edward Barber, afterward well known in Milwaukee, a member of one of the families from England that colonized Black Earth, had been appointed by the railway company to take charge of the station at Milton, and arrived on a Friday to begin his duties. The Adventist Sabbath began on Friday at sundown. The management of the corporation had no money for the construction of elaborate terminal facilities. In lieu of a station building, a rough shanty and an improvised platform sufficed. All day Saturday Mr. Barber sat at the door of the shanty, ready to attend to business, but no business was offered. Townspeople in go-to-meeting attire deigned to inspect the place and its custodian, some of them deploring the wickedness of Agent Barber in ignoring the sacredness of the Sabbath. Trains arrived and departed, without a dollar's worth of patronage. The next day, being Sunday, was the Sabbath for Mr. Barber, but not for the inhabitants of Milton and its vicinity, to whom it was the first day of the work-time week. Teams laden with pork and wheat and oats and corn drove up to the shanty. Farmers were eager to send their produce to the Milwaukee market, but they found no one authorized to take shipments and give receipts. When they hunted up Mr. Barber at his boarding house, he informed them that Sunday was his day of rest, and he would not have it broken in upon. Then there were complaints to the officials of the road, who disagreed regarding what ought to be the com-

pany's policy. One of them bluntly advocated discharging a station agent who turned away business. Superintendent Brodhead, however, sided with Mr. Barber, admiring his pluck, and insisting that decision of character was a valuable quality in the employes of a railroad. Mr. Barber was promoted to the position of station agent at Whitewater, whence he was later advanced to Madison and then to Prairie du Chien as those places became strategic points on the line.

Throughout the early '50s the road seemed to prosper. Its earnings for the months of January, February and March, 1854, were $70,115, compared with $27,875 in the corresponding months of 1853, which, in the opinion of Superintendent Brodhead, was a guarantee to the stockholders that their stock "would pay 10 per cent. under all circumstances and in all times." At the annual meeting held on the 10th of January, 1854, the directors declared a dividend of 10 per cent., payable in stock. There was a surplus in the treasury of $6,260. The earnings for the preceding twelve months had shown an increase of 104 per cent. compared with the preceding year. Hard times were ahead, but they cast no shadow in the hearts of the energetic and hopeful gentlemen in attendance at that meeting, who included John Catlin of Madison, Adam E. Ray and William H. Barstow of Waukesha, Hercules L. Dousman of Prairie du Chien, and Dr. E. B. Wolcott, George H. Walker, Asahel Finch, Jr., Eliphalet Cramer, Alexander Mitchell, Hans Crocker and Edward D. Holton of Milwaukee.

The Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad was opened to Madison, and doing business between the lake shore and that point, on the 22d of May, 1854. In the following month Superintendent Brodhead published an interesting report, containing a synopsis of its history from the beginning, indicating a degree of financial prosperity, that must have been highly encouraging to intending investors; though as matters turned out, this prosperity was not destined to last. Mr. Brodhead's report began with this statement: "The Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad is now completed and in full operation to Madison, ninety miles, with a branch to Janesville. * * * It is the first Wisconsin railroad to make a showing of earnings claiming attention. * * * The road was first opened to Waukesha, twenty miles, February 25, 1851,

from which to December 31 following the gross earnings were $22,111, expense of operating $7,596, and net earnings $14,514. Meantime the work of extension was being carried forward and the road opened to Eagle, 36 miles, January 22, 1852; to Palmyra, 42 miles, August 2, and to Milton, 62 miles, December 1, 1852. The Southern Wisconsin was extended to run from Milton through Janesville to the Mississippi, of which the first eight miles had been built by the Milwaukee & Mississippi and opened to Janesville, 70 miles from Milwaukee, January 6, 1853. The annual report of this company showed gross earnings for the year ending December 31, 1852, amounting to $75,340, expenses of $26,658, and net earnings of $48,682. The cost of completing and equipping the road from Milwaukee to Janesville, 70 miles, was $1,364,570, an average of $19,494 per mile. During 1853 the work was extended from Milton to and beyond Madison, but no section was opened during that year. The opening of the road to Stoughton, 18 miles, took place January 2, 1854; so that the statement of earnings for 1853 was for only the 70 miles, excepting for two days. The annual report for January, 1854, showed total earnings for 1853 of $226,918, expenses of $87,115, and net earnings of $139,803." Mr. Brodhead observed: "We doubt if another road in the country can show a larger rate of increase of receipts or of operations carried forward than this. The expense of operating the road last year was equal to 33 1-3 per cent. of the gross earnings."

On Judge Catlin's retirement from the presidency in 1856 Mr. Brodhead was elected as his successor. Nobody seemed aware of it at the moment, but the country was on the eve of one of the most terrific financial tornadoes in all its history. When the panic of 1857 burst, the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company owed debts amounting to $4,798,705, and was committed to annual interest payments of $468,823. Stagnation reduced its income. Its salary list was low and all its affairs had been managed with discretion, but it could not "make ends meet." At the annual election of 1858 Judge Catlin was recalled to the presidency, but what had been impossible for President Brodhead proved impossible for him. Loans were not to be had. In 1859-60, failure to pay interest resulted in foreclosure of a mortgage. A new company, the Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien, was organized to bid

in the property at this sale, its incorporators being Lewis H. Meyer, William Pitt Lynde, Allen Campbell, William Schall, John Wilkinson, John Catlin, Hercules L. Dousman and N. A. Cowdrey. They made the purchase in January, 1861, and managed the road till its absorption by the Milwaukee & St. Paul in 1866.

To procure legislation authorizing the organization of the first railroad corporation in Wisconsin had been a difficult task, but after a precedent had been established the thing was easy.

In March, 1851, E. D. Holton, Alexander Mitchell, Eliphalet Cramer, James Kneeland, Daniel Wells, Jr., Hans Crocker, John H. Tweedy, George H. Walker, Byron Kilbourn, D. H. Chandler, and J. W. Medbery of Milwaukee, together with William M. Dennis, D. Jones, B. F. Fay, L. A. Cole, Simeon Ford, Peter Rogan, P. V. Brown and E. Gilman of Jefferson County, were named as commissioners for the Milwaukee & Watertown Railroad, incorporated with the object of building from Milwaukee or some point on the Milwaukee & Mississippi to Watertown. The line which it constructed began fourteen miles west of Milwaukee, at Brookfield Junction. It was completed to Oconomowoc in December, 1854, to Watertown in October, 1855, and to Columbus in December, 1856. The name of the road was changed to the Milwaukee, Watertown & Baraboo Valley; later it was known as the Milwaukee & Western, under which name it passed into the possession of the Milwaukee & St. Paul.

The Milwaukee & Fond du Lac Railroad Company was chartered in 1851 to build from Milwaukee to Fond du Lac via Iron Ridge. The La Crosse & Milwaukee was chartered in 1852 and the Milwaukee, Fond du Lac & Green Bay in 1853. In the summer of 1853 the Milwaukee & Fond du Lac and the Milwaukee, Fond du Lac & Green Bay were consolidated. In 1854 the resulting corporation was merged with the La Crosse & Milwaukee.

In the organization of the La Crosse & Milwaukee, which followed quickly his retirement from the presidency of the Milwaukee & Mississippi, the prime mover was Byron Kilbourn, who was chosen president of the new company and with great energy set to work upon the consummation of far-reaching plans, the nature and extent of which may be gathered from the article on "Railroads" in the Milwaukee City Directory for 1856:

"The La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad extends from the depot in Milwaukee to La Crosse on the Mississippi, a distance of 198

miles. The road has been in operation to Beaver Dam, a distance of 61 miles, since the 25th of April, and its construction is rapidly progressing between that point and Portage City, a further distance of 33 miles, to which it will be completed by December next.

"Besides the Milwaukee & Horicon Railroad, which connects with this at Horicon, and is in operation to Waupun, other railroad companies are organized and actively engaged in bringing into operation roads connecting with this, as, for instance, from Beaver Dam to Baraboo and Sauk Prairie, from Schleisingerville to Fond du Lac, from Fox Lake northwesterly toward St. Paul, and from Portage City to Madison and Stevens Point.

"It is supposed with good reason that this road will become a grand trunk railway extending across the State in the natural direction of trade and travel, furnishing to the various portions of the State by connecting roads diverging from either side the railroad facilities they all so much demand, and securing to itself, as the great artery, an amount of business which will place it in the front rank of Western railroads. It is expected that the road will be completed to La Crosse in two years."

This setting forth is recognizable by the careful reader as partly in the nature of a prospectus. Money, or the equivalent of money, in large amounts, was essential to carry the project fully into effect. Individual investors had made subscriptions for stock providing funds sufficient for a beginning. Help from municipalities and from farm-mortgagors had been diligently invoked. Mr. Kilbourn held in view another source of support. Federal land grants were a description of aid in railroad-building beginning to be available.

A Federal land grant the disposal of which was entrusted to the Wisconsin Legislature precipitated as fierce a struggle as that body has ever known. Rival railroad companies, some of them hastily-concocted shams, contended with the La Crosse & Milwaukee for the prize. The La Crosse & Milwaukee was successful. The Milwaukee & Watertown Railroad Company had begun construction westward from Brooklyn Junction. Its charter authorized the extension of its line by way of Portage to La Crosse, and it was a dangerous competitor of the La Crosse & Milwaukee for the lands comprised in what was known as the St. Croix land grant, a vast tract reaching from the center of the

State to the western end of Lake Superior. The absorption of the Milwaukee & Watertown by purchase, effected in the fall of 1856, materially assisted the La Crosse & Milwaukee in securing the conditional award of these lands.

The Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad Company sought to secure the northeastern grant, so called, consisting of 3,840 acres per mile along a route extending from Fond du Lac to the boundary between Michigan and Wisconsin. This, however, was conferred upon the Wisconsin & Superior Railroad Company, a corporation chartered by the legislators for the express purpose of receiving it. The Legislature of the following year authorized the consolidation of these two last-named companies under the name of the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac, which eventually became a part of the Chicago & North Western.

During the contest for these grants bitter resentments had been engendered. Charges of bribery filled the air. Time passed, but the uproar did not subside. The Legislature of 1858 appointed an investigating committee which reported that after the Legislature of 1856 had disposed of the grants an agent of the La Crosse & Milwaukee appeared in Madison and made a distribution of packages containing bonds and shares of stock in the road. These to the par value of $175,000, the committee reported, were handed to senators, also $335,000 to assemblymen, $16,000 to clerks, and $50,000 to the governor who had signed the bill. Besides these gratuities $250,000 had been dispensed among individuals not members of the Legislature or State employes. Members who had not voted for the grant to the La Crosse & Milwaukee received no gratuity at its hands. Of legislators who had voted in favor of the company only three senators and an equal number of assemblymen refused to receive its proffered gifts. Such, in brief, was the committee's report. Several members of the Legislature of 1856 whose names appeared in the document as recipients of gratuities admitted that they had taken the gifts but denied that they had been corruptly influenced. "I voted for the grant because I believed it to be for the interest of Wisconsin that the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad should receive substantial encouragement to build. It was after I had voted that I was offered the stock. I knew of no reason why I should not accept it." This was the substance of explanations made by legislators

who explained. Some of those who accepted bonds or stock were rejected by their constituencies when they came up as candidates for re-election. The few who withstood the tempting proffer evoked unstinted popular approval. One of the latter was John Fox Potter, who was elected to Congress, of which he became an outstanding member before completing his first term.

In his "Badger Politics, 1836-1930," Ralph G. Plumb, the latest writer on the subject, disposes of it in these words: "Randall, upon taking office [in 1858,] immediately called the attention of the Legislature to the scandal of land grants to railroads. * * * Aspersions were cast at the record of many members of the Legislature, and the trail was believed by some to lead to the Bashford administration and to the Governor [Bashford] himself. Of course the parties charged denied the accusations, and as they were not brought to trial the only conclusion the historian can reach is the Scotch verdict of 'Not proven.'" Dr. Milo Milton Quaife, in "Wisconsin: Its History and Its People," (The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, Chicago, 1924), plainly indicates that he holds no brief for any of the parties to the controversy, but observes: "One point of some significance, however, attaches to Kilbourn's defense. He roundly charges that his critics and the rival railroad group to which the Northwestern grant was awarded were guilty of the same sort of conduct as they were holding up to public reprobation, and that the whole investigation was animated by motives of political and personal rivalry. The acts of Kilbourn's enemies were never investigated, and we have no way of checking these charges." To anyone going through the voluminous documentary sources of data on the subject the pertinency of this observation will seem irrefragible.

In a communication addressed to the Legislature following the passage of the land grant measure in which he was so deeply interested Mr. Kilbourn said:

"We have great satisfaction in being able to lay before you so favorable a state of progress. Since the passage of the act referred to, only some three months have elapsed, and yet, with the established credit of our company, acquired by years of intense labor and the faithful performance of every obligation, we have been able to accomplish more than could be effected by a newly

organized company in almost as many years. We look to your honorable body to second and sustain our efforts; and with such aid and support we feel certain conviction that we can accomplish the completion of these several lines of railroad in as short a time and as complete a manner as it could be effected through any other agency whatever. In our successful and rapid progress the people of the State are deeply interested, and we therefore ask for and confidently expect their cordial coöperation as well as that of their representatives, and the several officers of the State government, through whom we must communicate with the general government, and on whom we shall greatly rely in the various transactions required in the selection of the lands and perfection of titles, in which the interest of the bondholders will be deeply concerned."

The following glowing statement of advantages expected to accrue from the procurement of the land grant and the partially executed purchase of the Milwaukee & Watertown Railroad was made by President Kilbourn in a circular to the stockholders of the Milwaukee & La Crosse Company issued on the 5th of November, 1856:

"To say that our road, when completed, would pay annually a dividend of 20 per cent. would not be in any way to exaggerate the facts. The Galena and Chicago road has done this for seven successive years, and a part of the time against a sharp competition. If that could be done by means of the trade of the Upper Mississippi, when it was not one-tenth its present amount, why can it not be done now, by a road equally commanding it, when so largely increased? Like causes will ever produce like results; and there can be no more doubt of that result being realized than that the road shall succeed in reaching the Mississippi. Let the cause be rendered active, and the effect must surely follow. If, therefore, we have a road the legitimate business of which will pay a dividend of 20 per cent. per annum on the par value of its stock, and if this stock really stands the holder in only 33 per cent. of that value, it follows that his income is pretty well towards an hundred per cent. per annum of his investment. Such, I doubt not, will be the actual result with those original holders who have the sagacity to hold their stock long enough to allow these causes to operate. But with purchasers subsequent to the sale

of the lands the case will be different, as they will have to pay the advancing price of the stock as its value becomes known. Still it will always be largely a productive stock, and it is not probable that its market value will ever be so great but it will pay a largely remunerative dividend on its cost."

The land grant, from which much had been hoped, contributed to complicate the embarrassments of the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad Company. Bonds issued on the strength of the grant dropped to a heavy discount within a short time after they appeared on the market, and lost all value whatever in the course of time. Governor Randall held that the company had failed to meet conditions with regard to building its line which were prescribed in the grant, and pending compliance with these conditions refused to execute deeds of conveyance. In his history of Wisconsin railroads, published in 1878, H. H. Giles observes: "Neither the La Crosse Company nor its successors ever received any of the lands granted to the State." This, however, was only one of a host of difficulties descending upon the company when the panic alone would have been likely to precipitate its doom. Contractors and other creditors wanted their money. Conflicting interests carried disputes to the courts. Years elapsed before all the cases involving the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad were adjudicated. Long before this was accomplished the management of the company had passed into other hands.

In October, 1857, Matt H. Carpenter, then living at Beloit, appeared with William Pitt Lynde of Milwaukee as counsel for Newcomb Cleveland upon the trial of an action in the United States District Court against the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad Company for damages for breach of a contract for the construction of a portion of the road. The trial was sharply contested and protracted, resulting in a heavy judgment for Cleveland.

Meanwhile the company had confessed a large judgment to Selah Chamberlain, another Eastern contractor, who in fact was the chief builder of the road, and by way of security for this judgment had executed in his favor a lease of the entire property, these transactions, if held valid, manifestly operating to render the judgment in favor of Cleveland worthless. In behalf of his client, Mr. Carpenter assailed them as fraudulent, and succeeded

in procuring from the District Court in equity a decree declaring them invalid as to Cleveland's judgment, and therefore seemingly leaving open to the debtor company no course but to arrange for promptly meeting its liability to Mr. Cleveland. Instead of ending at this point, the battle was now fairly under way.

While these proceedings were pending, the railroad company, under date of June, 1858, executed a deed of trust to William Barnes, of Albany, New York, conveying its entire property and franchises, including the lands granted by Congress in 1856 and turned over to the company by the State to aid in the construction of its road. This transfer, subject to prior mortgages and liens, was made with the purpose of securing an issue of corporate bonds to be used presumably for funding the unsecured debts of the company. A few of the bonds were so used, while the others were sold for a very small proportion of their face value. When the first semi-annual installment of interest fell due, January 1, 1859, and was not paid, foreclosure followed promptly, for which, in February, 1859, the trustee employed E. G. Ryan. When Mr. Ryan proceeded by advertising the property for sale by the trustee, under power of sale contained in the trust deed, vigorous opposition was made, suits being brought and injunctions obtained to arrest the proceedings, but in spite of all obstacles the foreclosure was consummated in May, 1859, the property being bid in for the bondholders under the Barnes mortgage or trust deed, after which they organized a new corporation, taking title as the Milwaukee & Minnesota Railroad Company.

The property of the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad Company was still in the hands of its lessee, when, in December, 1859, bills were filed in the United States District Court at Milwaukee for the foreclosure of separate mortgages on the eastern and western divisions of the company's road which were older than the Barnes mortgage, and Hans Crocker was put in possession of the whole road as receiver appointed by the court.

Russell Sage had become largely interested in these prior mortgages and in the movement to cut off the rights of the new company, of which he was president. Stockholders of that company, through Mr. Carpenter as their counsel, obtained leave to appear and defend in the company's behalf. Afterwards they secured control of the company by their election as its directors.

Joshua Stark has written: "The contest maintained during the succeeding seven years by Mr. Carpenter for the Milwaukee & Minnesota Railroad Company, against the weight of constantly increasing debt and the power of capital, is one of the marvels of legal practice. His client was without income or resources. The priority of right and lien of the plaintiff's mortgage were undisputed. The income of the road in the hands of the receiver was inadequate even to the payment of interest on the prior liens, and burdens upon the property as against his client were constantly increasing. Yet with masterly energy and ingenuity he maintained the unequal contest, securing at times important though temporary advantages, and postponing the final judgment and sale for years."

The foreclosures were prosecuted by John W. Cary, as solicitor for the mortgagees. After practicing law in Racine for several years, Mr. Cary had located in Milwaukee in January, 1859. In 1863, the foreclosure sale of the land-grant mortgage, covering the western division of the road, ended in a sale of that division, and the organization of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company by the purchasers. The eastern division, extending from Milwaukee to Portage City, remained in the hands of the receiver, having been separately mortgaged. The struggle went on for the possession of this part of the road. Mr. Carpenter had procured a decision of the District Court, affirmed by the Supreme Court, to the effect that all the rolling stock of this entire road, except forty box cars and a proportion of the rolling stock purchased by the receiver while operating the road, belonged to this eastern division. He also obtained from the Supreme Court an order that the Milwaukee & Minnesota Railroad Company should be let into possession of the eastern division upon payment of the overdue interest upon the prior mortgages thereon and the costs of the foreclosure suit. To effect this required the payment into court of more than half a million dollars in cash; but the resources of Mr. Carpenter proved equal to the task. He prepared an elaborate brief supporting with strong argument the contention that the Milwaukee & Minnesota Railroad Company, holding title under the Barnes mortgage, which covered the whole road, was in an advantageous position compared with claimants under other mortgages purporting to affect only portions of the

property. Upon their faith in this postulatum capitalists advanced the money, to their subsequent regret. The rolling stock decision was reversed by the court which had made it, and after a few months of seeming victory the company for which Mr. Carpenter had waged his long and brilliant fight was driven from the field.

John B. Smith, Jasper Vliet and Daniel H. Richards originated what looked like and was a promising enterprise when they led in the construction of the Milwaukee & Horicon Railroad. Beginning in 1852, and pushed with vigor, the undertaking exhibited tangible results in 1856, during which year trains were running to Horicon and Berlin. The panic drained the leaders of their financial resources. Conflicting interests among the creditors struggled for possession of the property, which was entrusted to Lyndsey Ward as receiver, his management continuing till 1863, when the road was absorbed by the Milwaukee & St. Paul. Horatio Hill and W. J. Whaling were two of many Milwaukeeans who sank money in the Milwaukee & Beloit, a railroad projected and graded from Milwaukee nearly to Burlington, but never built.

Fourteen years after railroad-building had begun in Wisconsin the principal lines were bankrupt. Moreover their several managements were working at cross purposes and wasting in mutual belligerency energy which would better have been directed to the furtherance of policies of co-ordination and reconstruction. Fortunate indeed for the future of Milwaukee was the enlistment at this time of the financial genius of Alexander Mitchell in the solution of the transportation problem. He collected scattered fragments, united them by connecting links, and consolidated them into the nucleus of a system which he extended far beyond the borders of the State, rescuing her back country for Milwaukee and constructing what under his wise direction came to be recognized far and wide as one of the greatest railroads in the world.

The financial brain behind the Milwaukee & St. Paul was that of Alexander Mitchell, while the physical development of the property was in large part a manifestation of the tremendous individuality of Sherburn S. Merrill. Born at Alexandria, New Hampshire, July 28, 1818, Mr. Merrill passed his early years upon a farm and in the public school. From the age of sixteen he made

OFFICERS AND EMPLOYES OF MILWAUKEE & ST. PAUL RAILWAY

From lithograph by Louis Kurz, preserved by Old Settlers' Club.

Of the 128 figures in this picture all but ten are named in the following list: D. M. Hughes, Russell Sage, W. H. White, E. H. Goodrich, A. Cary, J. M. Kimball, H. C. Atkins, D. L. Harkness, R. D. Jennings, F. W. Spear, H. R. Hatmaker, Selah Chamberlain, W. R. Sill, S. H. Bailey, G. H. Daniels, D. J. Whittemore, C. H. Prior, D. L. Wells, E. C. Jennings, E. A. Patterson, C. L. Rice, D. Goodrich, E. M. Hall, W. B. Gilbert, W. W. Wilson, J. P. Worstell, G. T. Nutter, H. T. Rumsey, L. Everingham, C. E. Harlow, D. W. Keyes, W. L. Hinsdale, A. Alcott, W. E. Kittredge, F. Woodley, C. N. Parker, Sr., B. T. Wells, W. F. Kittredge, H. Dana, C. M. Whitney, W. P. Cosgrave, A. F. Merrill, C. M. Williams, T. H. Tucker, W. Kittredge, C. Colin, S. F. Greeley, S. J. Noyes, J. K. Tremain, J. W. Crippen, T. W. Beaver, F. West, N. W. Todd, J. H. Turrell, O. F. Willis, F. W. Lyman, F. H. Greenleaf, U. Reynolds, N. Philips, J. T. Purdy, S. M. Green, J. C. Hobart, G. B. Clason, F. Pierce, G. L. Caldwell, C. M. Stewart, W. M. Viall, B. Coyne, C. Bridgman, E. Bridgman, S. Smith, A. Pollard, I. G. Loomis, L. W. Wood, C. Philips, A. Gerrlings, J. K. Miller, W. Westlake, M. Dorward, D. Mathews, J. McDonald, J. Roesch, J. P. Streeper, N. Day, S. B. Ormsby, T. G. Bilty, J. E. Meyers, J. Case, J. J. Frownfelter, J. L. Dickinson, S. R. S. Andres, R. Olmsted, P. G. Murphy, G. W. Jennings, G. W. Marling, H. Finehont, H. Moore, H. W. Giese, E. R. Crippen, C. E. Page, H. C. Meyers, J. Ellis, C. Oliver, J. M. Follet, J. B. Johnson, C. N. Parker, Jr., G. E. Huntington, M. Coffin, C. Case, J. N. Morrison, D. Wiley, L. Abbott, A. R. Elliott, G. W. Conway, P. H. Lyons, W. T. Thompson.

his way without financial aid from others. It was in November, 1850, when he had turned the age of thirty-two, that he arrived in Milwaukee, finding employment in the construction department of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad. From boss of a section gang, he rose to the posts of conductor, paymaster and assistant superintendent. Next he was entrusted with the superintendency of the Milwaukee & Watertown Railroad and then with that of the La Crosse & Milwaukee. While incumbent of this post his health gave way, necessitating escape for a time from the chilly winds of Lake Michigan, and he went to Minnesota, where for six months he was superintendent of the Winona & St. Peter. In July, 1865, he returned to Milwaukee, accepting the general managership of the Milwaukee & St. Paul, to the duties of which position he devoted the twenty years that remained to him, performing the crowning work of his life.

Like Mr. Brodhead, under whom he had emerged from comparative obscurity to positions of increasing trust and responsibility in the earlier stages of his career, he possessed unique capacity for grasping physical details and was an unerring judge of men. He was energetic, clear-sighted, brilliantly efficient—a consummate organizer—a great executive. Strict in his discipline, he was always just, inspiring the confidence of all who worked for him and commanding unflinching obedience to orders. His figure was known to every employe of the road. Unsparing of his own exertions, he presented a shining example to those about him and became the object of their enthusiastic personal regard.

As has been made clear in the preceding portion of this effort to elucidate the railroad history of Milwaukee, many parts of the network of lines incorporated at the outset in the system which came to be known as the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul were built by companies or individuals that were unable to make them pay. When amalgamated by the financiering necromancy of Mr. Mitchell and placed under the management of Mr. Merrill, fragments of railroad which by themselves had been practically worthless were transformed into feeders operating with profit. Mr. Merrill was largely instrumental in the construction of far-reaching additions into new territory. He knew conditions, and was better able than most men to judge of prospects in advance. When others hesitated, thinking that the country to the north-

west should be allowed to fill up by immigration before embarkation upon the costly experiment of pushing transportation lines to the frontier, he stood out for making the railroad itself the pioneer, affording a highway over which settlers would be encouraged to move to fertile lands and engage in their development. His counsel, approved by Mr. Mitchell, was adopted, and what had been a wilderness was transformed.

When he died, on the 8th of February, 1885, at his home in Milwaukee, his loss was deeply deplored throughout the imperial domain whose growth had been accelerated by his and Mr. Mitchell's initiative. General sentiment received feeling expression in an eloquent address delivered by Colonel William F. Vilas before the Legislature of Wisconsin. "A strong hand," said Colonel Vilas, "unloosed its grasp upon the guiding lever of the great enginery of our modern civilization, a potent brain ceased its long unwearying care over Wisconsin's greatest corporate industry, a big and generous heart, ever responsive to the plea of tenderness, became still forever, when the spirit fled from Sherburn S. Merrill."

Equally poignant and sincere were expressions of the sense of public loss following the death of Alexander Mitchell, which occurred on the 19th of April, 1887. The following summary of Mr. Mitchell's record in railway management is from the memorial address by Professor James Davie Butler at the annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin held at Madison on the 5th of January, 1888:

"He obtained the mastery of a nucleus which developed into the St. Paul Road, and added to it the Watertown and Horicon, which he already controlled. By this movement nearly the whole business of these lines was brought to Milwaukee, instead of being diverted, as before, at Milton and Minnesota Junction. Next, securing the Prairie du Chien and McGregor & Western, he extended that line northward in 1867 to St. Paul and Minneapolis. He thus made the name of his road, the St. Paul, no longer a misnomer, and completed the first bond of iron connecting the twin cities of the Northwest with Milwaukee and Chicago. His consolidation of Wisconsin roads and concentration of them in Milwaukee he was on the point of supplementing by the purchase of the line from Milwaukee to Chicago. This purpose being thwarted by Eastern directors, the connections of his system with

Chicago were at the mercy of a rival company. Hence he was forced to construct a line of his own by an inferior route from Milwaukee to that metropolis. Had his advice been taken on another occasion, his road would many years ago have penetrated the lumber belt of Wisconsin to Lake Superior, and would have been enriched by a land grant in that direction. From the Chicago base, by purchase and construction, he extended his line west to Omaha, southwest to Kansas City, and to Missouri River points northward. Buying the river road up from La Crosse, he completed the best avenue, and that with many branches, to the great cities of the north. Pushing westward from Milwaukee into Dakota, he laid a thousand miles of track in that territory largely in advance of settlement, but still more largely promotive of it. The road of which he became president and all those it successively absorbed had before been failures—their notes gone to protest, their floating debts unmanageable. Thanks to his cash and credit, they all obtained cash and credit. * * * Financially, he stood behind his road in every emergency, and at times its overdrafts on his bank were very large. Several of its purchases and extensions which he carried out were master-strokes of policy. Others, which he proposed but was not permitted to carry out, it was ultimately seen would have been equally wise. Among minor aids in his last years he advanced $700,000 in procuring the terra firma for the new Milwaukee station, which he never entered alive. As one result of his railroad policy Milwaukee and the whole State were built up from a condition of depression and started on a career of prosperity which still continues."

The men who took the lead in railroad-building in Wisconsin were men of vision. They saw a glowing future for the city and the State, dependent upon the construction of railroads. The construction of railroads necessitated the investment of capital. There was little money in the West, but there were unbounded hope and unlimited enthusiasm. Enthusiasm was made to take the place of money. Elate and confident individuals came forward with what cash and credit they could command. This sufficed for a beginning, but there was need of more. The masses grew confident to the point of recklessness, inspired by the confidence around them. Hope was in the ascendant in the commu-

nity as a whole, and hope was fanned to flame in which caution was consumed. By reason of inhibition in the Constitution, pecuniary assistance from the State government was not to be obtained. Upon the assumption of indebtedness by minor civil divisions there was no limitation at the time. The credit of towns and cities was readily enlisted. Finally business circles at the East, became interested. New railroad projects were launched on every side, applying for municipal assistance on the ground that it was due to them because it had been extended to their predecessors.

An economic emergency had given rise to untried expedients in financiering. The situation was inherently experimental. It involved in a high degree dependence on the judgment and ability as well as the moral integrity of the men concerned in its creation. Even they could control the outcome only in part, for continued prosperity in the country at large was essential to its success. At the height of the experiment came the panic of 1857, compelling summary liquidation under conditions involving appalling sacrifice that stripped thousands of possessions which had been acquired by a lifetime of effort. Individuals suffered misery for a time. Then came readjustments and realization that the West was on the threshold of a new era. With natural resources unimpaired it was now equipped with transportation facilities permitting development on a scale that had been impossible without their aid.

Wisconsin's pioneer railroads connecting the Great Lakes and the Mississippi were completed in time to be in running order at the outbreak of the Civil war. Inestimably valuable as an economic asset to the nation in its struggle with rebellion at the South was the service which these railroads rendered not only to Wisconsin and to all the settled region west of the Father of Waters, but also to consumers of breadstuffs and beef and pork in the Union armies and in the manufacturing centers at the East. They were the food-carriers. At thousands of minor agricultural depots they picked up small parcels of wheat and corn for transportation to the elevators at the lake ports. At the shore of Lake Michigan their labors ceased. Thence to the seaboard their accumulations were transported by lake shipping and the Eastern trunk lines.

Railroad construction within the borders of Wisconsin was practically at a standstill while the war was in progress, not because enterprise was lacking, but because there was greater incentive to activity of this character on the further side of the Mississippi than in the region near the lake. In the seven years following the firing on Sumter additions to railroad mileage in Wisconsin were less, all told, than in the single year preceding the panic of 1857. Southern Wisconsin was becoming increasingly subject to crop shortage, owing to the exhaustion of her soil. Business originating in this region declining, railroad managers found themselves forced to seek new sources of freight in the fresh and fertile field beyond the Mississippi. It was while cannon were booming in the South that the men in control of the Milwaukee & St. Paul took a prominent part in the building of the Minnesota Central. After the return of peace they spread their line over Northern Iowa. The Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien aided in the construction of the McGregor & Western, and finally absorbed it. Milwaukeeans were deeply interested in the building of the Winona & St. Peter through Southern Minnesota. In 1863 the railroad mileage of Wisconsin was 957 and that of Minnesota only thirty-one. Nine years later the railroad mileage of Minnesota was 1,900, contributing enormously to the development of that fertile State and making profitable business for the railroads of Wisconsin. In 1868 railroad building in Wisconsin revived, and thereafter its progress was rapid. Within six years the mileage of the State more than doubled. In January, 1868, Wisconsin contained but 1,030 miles of railroad, nearly all of which lay within the southern third of its area. By the end of 1873 the State boasted 2,379 miles of railroad, and Northern Wisconsin was coming into its own. Into that region three land-grant railroads were projected, the Wisconsin Central, the West Wisconsin and the extension of the Chicago & North Western from Green Bay to Marinette. Three other lines of notable importance were also under way—the Green Bay & Lake Pepin, the Wisconsin Valley and the Milwaukee & Northern.

Indicative of an angle from which railroad history of the pioneering era was viewed by the generality of Milwaukeeans in an earlier day, is the following from the pungent pen of Col. E. A. Calkins, writing in the decade of the '70s:

"Perry H. Smith settled at Milwaukee in the early days, but could not make a living at the law, the business all going to Tweedy & Crocker, A. D. Smith, J. E. Arnold, Francis Randall, D. A. J. Upham and a few others. So Smith went to Appleton, where he was elected county judge of Outagamie County and sent to the Legislature. In 1856 he manipulated the legislation by which the eastern or Superior land grant was secured through a new auxiliary corporation for the Northwestern Railroad Company, that company running in this State only from its Chicago connection via Janesville up the Rock River Valley to Fond du Lac and Oshkosh, forming a perfect cut-off as to Milwaukee from the entire State and the Northwest, except a strip of territory forty miles wide upon the lake shore. This land grant was intended to aid in building a Milwaukee road to Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Appleton and Green Bay and so on to Lake Superior, but the legislative intrigues of Perry H. Smith and his coadjutors enabled him to divert it to Chicago through these means. In the consolidation of interests with the Northwestern Company, Smith was made vice president of that corporation, and he so secured the confidence of William B. Ogden that he became the acting manager of its affairs and director of its policy. He removed to Chicago in 1861 or 1862 and resided there afterward. From these causes, in a great measure, Milwaukee did not recover from the panic of 1857, and it even suffered from stagnation and paralysis during the intense strain and excitement of every business interest during and after the Civil war. At length, however, the active energy of the St. Paul Company, under the Mitchell-Merrill management, began to tell in favor of Milwaukee. They pushed the St. Paul lines by the Western Union southwesterly, so as to cut off Chicago from a portion of Iowa, and then occupied Northern Iowa, Dakota and Minnesota, and made the various lines of the St. Paul road the great wheat route, and Milwaukee the wheat market of the Northwest. Milwaukee then started on the march of development, receiving a wonderful impulse from the business it necessarily drew after the great Chicago fire of 1871, and at last secured its revenge in the state of travel, traffic and business which compelled the Northwestern to build competing branches for all its lines to the lake shore at this point, at a cost of millions of dollars, on top of its enormous debt. So

the work of Perry H. Smith was undone at last, after he had retired from the control of the Northwestern road."

Here is another of Colonel Calkins' observations, set down at about the same time:

"Under the policy of William B. Ogden, Perry H. Smith and George L. Dunlap, the Northwestern Railroad gobbled up everything in its way, while its stock was kicking about in the market. They were bold in guessing and grasping, and thus acquired an extent of track far ahead of the St. Paul. In subsequent years this policy was reversed, and the St. Paul became one of the great railroads not only of the West but of the world. The odds and ends of wrecked companies which had been snapped up by the St. Paul were combined into a system. Believing that the Northwestern had suffered by reason of prejudice against it in Wisconsin, its directors entered into a campaign to regain prestige at Madison. This resulted in the extension of that road to the capital. When it became possible to make the distance between Milwaukee and Madison via Waukesha in three hours travelers were delighted at the saving in time."

There is a controversial flavor in the Colonel's remarks, remindful of conditions long ago outgrown. As years went by the Chicago & North-Western was destined to become intimately associated with the fortunes of Milwaukee and one of the important agencies contributing to its commercial and industrial development and progress.

In 1870 Milwaukee found itself in a disadvantageous position with reference to trade with the northern portion of the State. The city practically was without rail connections north of Oshkosh, Neenah, Menasha, Appleton and Green Bay. That was before the Chicago & North-Western had established close relations with this city. With Angus Smith, Guido Pfister and a few others, a movement originated in Milwaukee to construct a railroad which would provide a trade opening toward the north, the result being the construction of the Milwaukee & Northern. Besides the two gentlemen already named, original stockholders included John Black, James Ludington, E. D. Holton, David Ferguson, Ephraim Mariner, O. H. Waldo and E. B. Greenleaf. With Mr. Waldo as president and Mr. Greenleaf as manager, work was pushed rapidly till 1873. After the panic, like other

enterprises requiring capital for preliminary development, the Milwaukee & Northern entered upon a struggle for existence. While the corporation was on the verge of bankruptcy most of the early stockholders sold their holdings. Smith and Pfister held on, and from their private resources kept the company alive, a public-spirited service in which they secured valuable assistance from David Ferguson and Jesse Hoyt. A lease was made to the Wisconsin Central, upon the latter's agreement to pay the interest on the Milwaukee & Northern's bonded indebtedness. The Central, however, encountered troubles of its own, and failed to keep this agreement, so that in 1879 the road was taken out of its hands and placed in charge of James Clinton Spencer as receiver. Two years later reorganization was effected by arrangement with the bondholders and an extension programme carried out which greatly enhanced the earning capacity of the road. In 1890 it passed again into the hands of the Wisconsin Central. At that time the length of the Milwaukee & Northern, including its Appleton, Menominee and Ontonagon branches, was 352 miles, while its equipment consisted of forty locomotives, thirty-seven passenger coaches and 1,165 freight cars. It maintained shops of its own at Fort Howard. Its acquisition by the Wisconsin Central was an event attracting attention in railroad circles throughout the country.

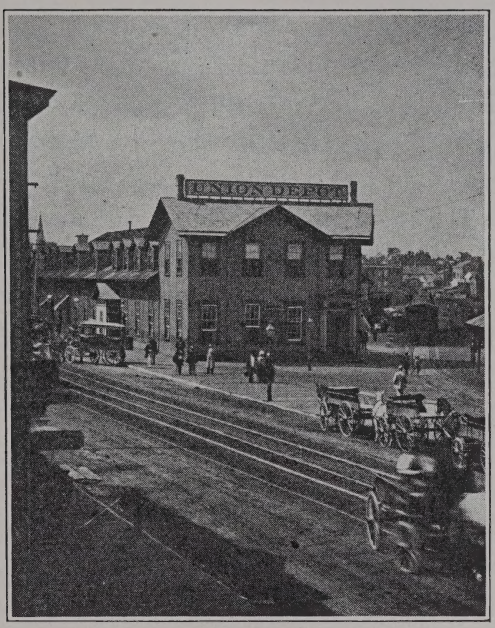
The Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western Railroad was one of the lesser but by no means unimportant enterprises meriting attention in connection with the transportation complex of the decade embracing the latter half of the '70s and the beginning of the '80s. The nucleus of this line was a roadbed from Manitowoc to within a few miles of Menasha which had been constructed for the Manitowoc & Mississippi Railroad Company, lying without rails and idle since the panic of 1857. In 1871 a new company, the Appleton & New London, had come into possession of this grade, and, making Appleton instead of Menasha its point of destination, had finished the work of construction and equipment, beginning to run trains in the fall of 1872. Another new corporation, the Milwaukee, Manitowoc & Green Bay, was consolidated with the Appleton & New London, which then took the name of Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western. The counties of Manitowoc and Sheboygan and the cities of Manitowoc, She-

boygan and Two Rivers voted aid to this line in the total amount of $480,000, but the greater portion of its cost came out of the pockets of capitalists at the East. Under the strain of the panic of 1873 the local projectors were unable to carry their load and the property passed into the hands of Easterners who had purchased the company's bonds. Henry Mann of Milwaukee was made one of the directors, and so were Joseph Vilas of Manitowoc and James H. Mead of Sheboygan, but the others were all Eastern men, and the president of the company was F. W. Rhinelander of New York. In 1879 the officers were F. W. Rhinelander, president; W. H. Guion, vice president, both of these being Easterners, and the following residents of Milwaukee: Alfred L. Cary, secretary; H. G. H. Reed, general superintendent; H. F. Whitcomb, general freight and passenger agent; C. F. Rand, auditor. By that time it owned 250 miles of railroad and was doing a flourishing business, besides extending its facilities with the object of reaching the lumber regions of Northern Wisconsin and tapping the northern peninsula of Michigan.

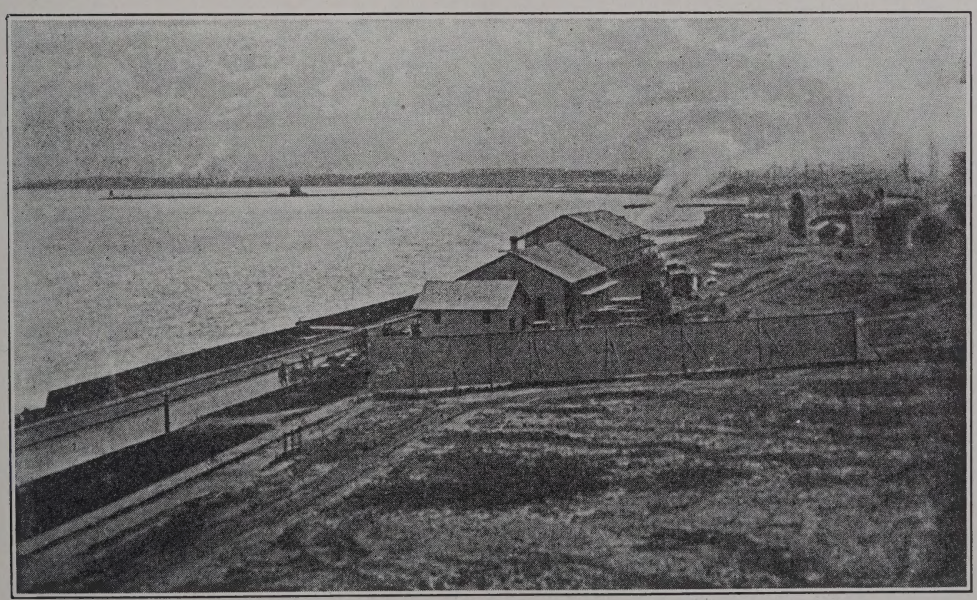
In 1872 the Chicago & North-Western Railroad Company came into possession of what was then called the Northwestern Union Railroad, which previously had been known as the Milwaukee & Northwestern, and colloquially referred to as the "Air Line," running from Milwaukee to Fond du Lac and there connecting with the Chicago & North-Western. A few years later the Chicago & North-Western completed its line from Milwaukee to Madison, where it connected with its other western and northern lines. Still later it absorbed the Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western, thus bringing its whole system in Wisconsin, Northern Michigan, Minnesota and Dakota into direct connection with Milwaukee, and establishing a mutuality of interests beneficial to the city as well as to itself. Resultantly its terminal facilities in Milwaukee were tremendously increased to meet growing demands of travel and trade and it made a welcome addition to the city's architectural adornments at the time by the erection of its passenger station at the head of Wisconsin Street.

In 1919 Frederick W. von Cotzhausen wrote as follows of circumstances under which the Chicago & Northwestern entered Milwaukee:

"When in 1870 Messrs. Joseph Vilas, Levi Blossom and their



UNION DEPOT, REED STREET, 1877



OLD LAKE SHORE DEPOT

Chicago and Northwestern Railway—About 1872

associates obtained a charter from the Legislature for the construction of a road between Milwaukee and Green Bay, I succeeded Judge Taylor of Sheboygan, soon after the organization of the company, as general counsel and solicitor. The project was purely local. Manitowoc, Sheboygan and Port Washington clamored for a direct connection with Milwaukee and Chicago, but the Milwaukee and St. Paul then the almighty ruler in State and local politics, dictated a line some ten to twelve miles west of these cities, by way of Cedarburg and Plymouth, to Green Bay, for which route the Milwaukee & Northern secured a franchise during the same session. As the two lines are parallel and were expected to cover substantially the same territory, there was great friction, first in the Legislature and then in the open field.

"Both of these companies depended for their success largely on local aid, which during those days was very liberally granted, sometimes to the very point of exhaustion. Stock subscriptions by the promoters were merely nominal; the roads were built in most cases on the credit of the interested counties, cities and towns, supplemented by first mortgage bonds. The Milwaukee Northern, backed by the Milwaukee and St. Paul, met with no trouble in securing from the city of Milwaukee a subscription to its capital stock, but a similar application to aid the Milwaukee, Manitowoc and Green Bay road was promptly turned down by the city as well as the county. * * * The lake shore cities and counties helped liberally by subscription to the capital stock.

"Under the management of Mr. Vilas our road was built from Manitowoc southward, and simultaneously continued from that city west by way of Kaukauna to Appleton. When the grading had reached the Dillman farm in the town of Milwaukee, I was charged to negotiate with Mr. Alexander Mitchell, of Milwaukee, president of the Milwaukee & St. Paul road, for the joint use of the old Horicon depot on Third Street, as we intended to come down on the right bank of the Milwaukee River and utilize part of the right-of-way of the Northern Division of said railway. However, my negotiations signally failed. Mr. Mitchell told me plainly that a number of his friends were interested in the Northern road, which by that time was built as far as Cedarburg, and that he did not feel his company ought to grant us any facilities adverse to their interest.

"Time was precious and means were limited. Efforts were continuously made to prevent the negotiation of our bonds in eastern markets and to undermine our credit. However, our chief engineer, Louis Soulerin, proved equal to the emergency. He suggested the striking of a line from the Dillman farm toward the lake shore, coming down the bluff near North Point and entering the Third Ward, where lands were then at a low price. At first I was shocked at the idea, because the expense of grading and protecting the track against the encroachment of the waves seemed enormous. But as the proposition was revolved in our minds it gained strength. The right-of-way along the beach was certainly cheap; the route would be contiguous to the business portions of the city; no street crossings to be maintained; little danger of accidents—all of which considered, a survey was promptly ordered; the line was struck; Mr. Vilas and myself took the train for Chicago, where we conferred with Mr. Keep, acting president of the Chicago and North-Western, and Judge Howe, its counsel. They quickly seized upon the opportunity to enter Milwaukee. Mr. Ephraim Mariner was instructed to organize the Northwestern Union Railway, and as a result the Chicago and North-Western built into Milwaukee along the lake shore to Fond du Lac. Our company reserved a ninety-nine years' lease for joint right-of-way from the Lake Shore Junction and for depot facilities in the Third Ward; and thus it came that Milwaukee secured in less than two years three northern outlets—one to Sheboygan and Manitowoc, another to Fond du Lac, and a third by way of the Milwaukee Northern to Plymouth and Green Bay."

The first president of the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company was Gardner Colby, and the Wisconsin Central Railroad was his idea. Mr. Colby was a native of Maine. The death of his father occurred while he was a small child, and his mother, with her four children, moved to Boston, where Gardner received his education and started in business on his own account at the age of twenty-one, becoming an importer of dry goods and acquiring a large fortune. He was a generous patron of educational and religious institutions. In 1869 Mr. Colby came West for the purpose of looking over the territory contiguous to the St. Croix & Bayfield Railroad, in which he had an interest. The region was a wilderness. He drove in a carriage from St. Paul

to Bayfield, devoting a week to the trip, and camping out or accepting the hospitality of Indian wigwams encountered on the way. On his return to the East his attention was directed to the Portage, Winnebago & Superior, a projected line located to a large extent in the country through which he had made his tour. The region was rich in pine, and the company possessed a land grant of great magnitude and value. Mr. Colby was so much interested that he made a second visit to northern Wisconsin, and his first impressions concerning its ripeness for development were confirmed. To the work of effecting this development he devoted the remainder of his life, enlisting his sons and a number of his friends in the enterprise. His health failed in 1876 and he died in 1879. His son, Charles L. Colby, who was elected to the presidency of the Wisconsin Central Railroad Company to succeed his father, held the office until March, 1890, when he resigned and was succeeded by his brother, Joseph L. Colby. From 1874 till after his retirement from the presidency of the Wisconsin Central Charles L. Colby was a resident of Milwaukee. He possessed a rare personality and made many friends. In 1880 he was elected as a Republican to represent his district in the State Assembly. He was a leading Baptist and was much interested in the work of the Milwaukee Young Men's Christian Association of which he was vice president from 1880 to 1884, and to which he made liberal gifts, besides being generous in various other directions. He gained wide repute as an eloquent public speaker. His death, which came suddenly while he was engaged in the delivery of a memorial address at the silver anniversary of the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, of which his mother had been one of the charter members, occurred at Newton Center, Massachusetts, on the 27th of February, 1896.

There had been a number of more or less futile undertakings to give railroad facilities to localities in northern Wisconsin. In 1864 Congress had made a grant of lands to aid in the construction of a railroad from Berlin, Doty's Island, Fond du Lac and Portage, by way of Stevens Point, to Bayfield. The Legislature of 1866 had undertaken to dispose of this grant to two companies, one of which was to build from Portage City by way of Berlin to Stevens Point, and the other from Menasha to Stevens Point, whence the two were to build to Bayfield and Lake Su-

perior. These corporations were the Winnebago & Lake Superior and the Portage & Superior. In 1869 the two were consolidated under the name of the Winnebago & Superior. With George Reed as president, this company had begun building operations between Menasha and Stevens Point. In 1871 the company underwent another change of name, becoming the Wisconsin Central, the articles of incorporation providing that Gardner Colby should be president and George Reed a member of the board of directors. It was in this year that the Wisconsin Central absorbed the Manitowoc & Mississippi Railroad Company. Actual work proceeded slowly until the incorporation of another company, the Phillips and Colby Construction Company, with authority to do all manner of things with reference to railroad building and construction. The leaders of the Phillips and Colby Construction Company were E. B. Phillips and Charles L. Colby. They contracted with the Wisconsin Central Company to build a line from Menasha to Lake Superior, completing it to Stevens Point in 1871 and to Worcester, 100 miles north, in 1872. The road was built from Ashland to the Penokee Iron Ridge, a distance of thirty miles, in 1872-3, and the gap between Worcester and Penokee Ridge was closed in June, 1877. The straight line from Portage to Stevens Point, a distance of seventy-one miles, was completed between October, 1875, and October, 1876. In the meantime, in November, 1873, the Wisconsin Central had leased from the Milwaukee & Northern its line from Schwartzburg to Menasha and the branch running thence to Green Bay, and acquired from the same company the use of the tracks of the Chicago, Milwaukee & Saint Paul Company into Milwaukee, together with depot facilities into this city. This, as briefly as it can be told, is the story of how the Wisconsin Central Railroad came to Milwaukee. Its general offices were opened here and remained here for many years.

The Wisconsin Central Company went through a series of ups and downs too numerous for recital in this summary narrative. For ten years, beginning in 1879, it was operated by trustees, who appointed Charles L. Colby as their agent. On November 1, 1889, the trustees returned the road to the directors of the Wisconsin Central Company, with excellent evidence that in their hands it had been thriftily managed, the market value of

its securities having advanced during the interim from $2,000,000 to $12,000,000. A piece of good fortune which had befallen them was the discovery and development of iron in the Gogebic region. Not only had this led to heavy shipments of ore over the trust railroad to Ashland on their way to the east, but it had enhanced the value of lands included in the company's grant, which had been withdrawn from the market and in some instances leased for mining purposes, the rentals going into the coffers of the trust estate. Arrangements had been made also for the acquisition of a number of small connecting and tributary lines which had been operated with satisfactory results as feeders, their ownership, however, being separate from that of the company itself. In 1890 the Wisconsin Central properties were leased to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. When the Northern Pacific passed into the hands of receivers in 1893 there was litigation to determine whether the Wisconsin Central lines were covered by the receivership. They were not, but after being operated for a few months by E. H. Abbot and E. B. Phillips, the Central's trustees, they were entrusted to Howard Morris and H. F. Whitcomb as receivers. Subsequently the Wisconsin Central passed into the control of "the Soo Line," in connection with which it became virtually a part of the system whose controlling factor was the Canadian Pacific. After failing in an effort to secure independent terminal facilities in Milwaukee it built an extension to Chicago by way of Burlington, by reason of which its through business passed to the latter destination without coming into this city. Its trains into and out of Milwaukee used the tracks of the Chicago, Milwaukee & Saint Paul by reason of an arrangement of long standing with that company. In Chicago it used facilities obtained by agreement with the Chicago Terminal Transfer Railroad. It enjoyed similar privileges obtained from the Saint Paul & Northern Pacific at Saint Paul.

In an interview published in the *Milwaukee Journal* of January 16, 1921, at the time of his sale of dock property near the harbor entrance to the Hansen Storage Company, E. H. Abbot said:

"The docks were known in the old days as the Shea & George docks, and were built somewhere about 1886 or 1887. I purchased the property—840 feet of waterfront—in 1889, for the

Wisconsin Central Railroad Company, for $325,000. The Northern Pacific had leased the Wisconsin Central, in which Charles L. Colby and I were heavily interested, with the intention of using it as an entrance to Chicago. Villard and Oakes wanted to bring the Central into Milwaukee. Its nearest approach to the city was Waukesha. Having leased it, and having purchased terminals in Chicago, on which the Grand Central station now stands, they wanted to swing the entire Wisconsin Central and Northern Pacific business down through this city. It would have been a tremendous thing for the development of Milwaukee.

"As a part of the plan, I was authorized to spend $1,000,000 in picking up at the then market price property which would be needed later. We took an option on the Milwaukee & Northern Road and the stock of Angus Smith, and there was an understanding arranged with Mr. Rhinelander, of the Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western, by which both of those roads, now parts of the Milwaukee and the North-Western systems respectively, were to use the new terminal which we were planning. The idea was to enter the city from the north, striking the end of Jackson Street and tunneling under the property along the east side of that street until we came out on the slope across from the present post office building, and there our passenger station was to be located. The four roads were to use this tunnel entrance to Milwaukee.

"The plan of course was kept secret. I bought certain parcels of land in advance which would have been difficult to acquire later, this dock property among others. It was an important link in the scheme, as we planned to cross Jones Island at that point, and then, turning to the natural land, cross the North-Western tracks into the Chase Creek district, where I bought twenty-three or twenty-four acres for yard purposes; then run south to the main line of the Wisconsin Central and into Chicago. In that city there had been purchased something like four hundred acres of land, covering the only available entry-way.

"That was our plan, and it was a great one. But Villard and Oakes went under in the crash of '93, and the Northern Pacific passed into the hands of a receiver. This killed it.

"When the Northern Pacific failed, I determined to break

the lease and regain control of the Wisconsin Central. I petitioned the United States Circuit Court to intervene in the Northern Pacific foreclosure proceedings, and succeeded in having the lease canceled for non-payment of rent. The land which I had picked up in furtherance of our plan for a joint entry into Milwaukee was disposed of from time to time. At the request of the company I took this dock property off its hands, and have held it ever since. With its sale to the Hansen Company vanishes about the last trace of the Northern Pacific-Wisconsin Central plans for an independent entrance to Milwaukee. We had figured on this water frontage as a most available site for a car-ferry terminal, as it is the first dock property after entering Milwaukee harbor, with no bridges to pass, and with 375 feet of open water in front of it, because of the junction of the Milwaukee and Kinnickinnic rivers. I still expect some day to see it put to such a use."

Five years after the plan of tunneling under Jackson Street to East Wisconsin Avenue in Milwaukee had been abandoned, Mr. Abbot and others were looking forward to a re-routing project involving the building of links from Greenwood to Chippewa Falls and from Menasha to Manitowoc over which cars running in connection with lake ferries at Manitowoc would establish a new direct and short line between the Northwest and the Atlantic Ocean. At that time he observed: "I am a believer in the idea that lake navigation has not yet seen its best days, and that its greatest development is still far ahead. I believe that the time will come when ocean steamers will be seeking entrance into Lake Michigan harbors."

The work of port development which has gone forward steadily at Milwaukee for many years, involving liberal outlay on the part of the municipality, embodies far-sighted provision for the future, attracting admiring attention from engineering authorities at home and abroad. The government at Washington has taken cognizance of the demand for deeper waterways that shall make the Great Lakes accessible to ocean carriers of twentieth century dimensions. When the commerce of the modern world gains entrance to Lake Michigan, it will find Milwaukee equipped with ideal facilities for its accommodation.

CHAPTER XVII

EVOLVING MACHINERY OF FINANCE

WISCONSIN'S BANKING LAW OF 1852—BANK RIOT OF 1861—HONEST AND ABLE BANKING A PRIMARY CONTRIBUTION TO THE UPBUILDING OF MILWAUKEE.

A handicap from which Milwaukee suffered at the outset of its career was the hostility of Wisconsin legislators to everything pertaining to the formal organization of capital. This attitude of antagonism was the outcome of bitter experience. Because they had been placed at a disadvantage by certain of the moneyed speculators attending the first government land sale, and swindled by the circulation of "wildcat" issues from Michigan and elsewhere, and disappointed if not victimized by the fiasco of the three Wisconsin banks chartered by the first Territorial Legislature, the early settlers in general became convinced that corporate organization was inimical to public welfare. Because dishonest, incompetent, or merely unfortunate management had been followed by the collapse of banks, they set their faces against all banks. A variety of similar reasons accounted for vague but deep-seated prejudice against the granting of governmental sanction for corporate organization in any form. Jealousy and envy fanned the embers of apprehension. Competition between localities produced innumerable complications. Individuals interested in townsite projects regarded promoters of other townsites as dangerous rivals. Concrete plans for railroad-building encountered obstruction. Many an innocent undertaking suffered mortal hurt from poisoned arrows of malevolent suspicion.

Aside from United States currency—then confined to gold and silver—of which very little found its way this far west, the sole reliable medium of exchange in the Territory consisted of certificates of deposit put out by the Wisconsin Marine and Fire

Insurance Company. But for these certificates commercial transactions for the most part would have been restricted to the crude expedient of barter. Great was the advantage to Milwaukee consequent upon the location of this sound financial institution at this place. As recently as 1899 an interesting attestation was made by James Bonnell, who was a leading merchant of Milwaukee from the village period till the close of the Civil war. Mr. Bonnell said: "I came here in 1842, attracted by the Mitchell Bank. At that time there were but two banks of standing between Buffalo and the Pacific. One was Mitchell's Bank of this city, and the other the State Bank of Missouri at Saint Louis." Mr. Bonnell's observations are cited at greater length elsewhere in this work. His testimony is repeated here because of its obvious pertinency to the subject under discussion. He spoke of "Mitchell's Bank." It was a bank in fact, because it carried on a banking business. In name and in legal status, it was not a bank, but an insurance company. The following, from the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of December 5, 1845, is reproduced as collateral evidence of importance:

"The Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company has been appointed one of the Government Depositories, and henceforth all the receipts at the Chicago, Milwaukee and Green Bay Land Offices will be deposited here instead of being sent to Detroit. Under the competent management of Mr. Mitchell, this institution has always enjoyed a deservedly high credit, and we cannot doubt the arrangement will be exceedingly advantageous to the government, while at the same time a matter of considerable interest and importance to Milwaukee."

During the long interval from 1839 till four years after Wisconsin had emerged from its Territorial chrysalis and entered upon Statehood, the institution of which Mr. Mitchell was the virtual head continued to furnish demonstration that a corporation honestly and ably administered could render services incalculably beneficial to the community. In spite of efforts to undermine it which were made at every session of the Legislature, the Marine and Fire Insurance Company pursued its beneficent career. Yet prejudice against the granting of corporate privileges persisted. On the other hand, there was growing up among practical men a conviction that pending the adoption of a more

liberal policy toward machinery for the aggregation of capital, and for the duly safeguarded extension of credit, Wisconsin's material development must suffer retardation.

So unpopular was the granting of charters, that securing a municipal franchise for Milwaukee was possible only because of an accidental opportunity to obtain support from members of the Legislature willing to enter into a "log-rolling" agreement. So inveterate was hostility to banks that it found its way into the first draft of a State Constitution. Other provisions of that document were loudly assailed when it came up for ratification at the polls, but students of political history conceive that the real reason for its rejection was its iron-clad prohibition of banking. The land-limitation agitation of 1848-50 afforded another striking illustration of short-sighted and narrow prejudice prevailing at the time. So did the initial impossibility of securing for Wisconsin's first railroad a charter authorizing its construction from Milwaukee to the Mississippi. Finding that they could not get what they wanted, the friends of the project contented themselves with what they could get, procuring consent to build between Milwaukee and Waukesha, a distance of only twenty miles, and relying upon subsequent developments for the larger sanction they desired.

In the glow of enthusiasm aroused by actual embarkation upon railroad-building, narrow prejudices faded. Debate on the subject of banking had been in progress for several years. The following is from the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of February 7, 1845:

"We have advices from Madison that a bill has been introduced to restore the charter of the Bank of Milwaukee and supersede by legislative enactment the quasi-banking power exercised by the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company of this place. After looking at the measure in view of the important influence such an institution must exercise upon the business relations of our merchants, forwarders, manufacturers and vendors and purchasers of lead, copper and agricultural products, we are in favor of it and hope it will become a law. When it is considered that all the beneficent commercial facilities heretofore extended to our community by the Insurance Company have been regarded by many as unwarranted by the company's charter, and therefore unauthorized if not illegal, and when it is further consid-

ered that those facilities are indispensable to our business men, and will be continued to be extended whether authorized by the charter or unauthorized, and subject the community to all the hazards and looseness of banking operations without the usual security of a bank, it is evident a legally chartered and well conducted bank would be an improvement. It is no more than justice to the mode in which the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company of this place has been conducted to say that if it will surrender all claim of banking powers and invest its large capital, as we understand it proposes to, in the Bank of Milwaukee, under the charge of Mr. Mitchell as cashier, its sphere of usefulness will be vastly extended, with proportionately increased advantages and security to the community."

The charter of the Bank of Milwaukee was not revived, but the temper of the discussion which the proposal evoked revealed a recession from extremism. The *Sentinel* might be expected to express the views of the Whigs, but the *Courier's* politics were Democratic. In March, 1845, the *Courier* made this editorial comment on a communication uncompromisingly hostile to banking which it had received from a subscriber:

"If the chartering of a bank is a violation of Democratic principles then every Democratic legislature in the Union has proved recreant. But here is the principle for which Democrats contend: that stockholders and directors shall be individually liable for the debts of their institution—that the capital shall be taxed the same as the capital of others—that the people shall be secured against loss, and that all issues shall be convertible into coin. This has been complained of by Whigs, and fears are expressed by the Whig papers of Pennsylvania that the adoption of this principle will drive capital from that State. As regards the writings of the Fathers of Democracy, we assure our correspondent that we have 'read extensively,' and that reading has taught us it is not one of the principles of Democracy to destroy trade, commerce or any of their legitimate appliances. The life and writings of a Jefferson, a Madison, a Jackson, a Van Buren, a Benton, sustain the position we took upon this question."

In the first convention to frame a Constitution for the State, John H. Tweedy urged the adoption of the free banking system which at that time was undergoing development in New York.

Mr. Tweedy was a Whig, the only member of that party in the delegation from Milwaukee. In the convention as a whole, Democrats outnumbered Whigs in the proportion of seven to one. The gathering was hardly likely to be hospitable to Whig suggestions. Certainly they would find no favor with the chairman of the committee on banking, who was E. G. Ryan, then a resident of Racine. Mr. Ryan was uncompromisingly opposed to bank notes and to banking, and wrote the article on banking which in substance was adopted by the Convention, and which led to the rejection of the proposed Constitution when the document was submitted to the vote of the people. In place of absolute and final prohibition of banks and banking, the provision on that subject contained in the Constitution framed by the second convention and ratified by popular vote was as follows:

"The Legislature shall not have power to create, authorize or incorporate, by any general or special law, any bank or banking power or privilege, or any institution or corporation having any banking power or privilege whatever, except as provided in this article.

"The Legislature may submit to the voters at any general election the question of 'Bank, or no bank?' and if at any such election a number of votes equal to a majority of all the votes cast at such election on that subject shall be in favor of banks, then the Legislature shall have power to grant bank charters, or to pass a general banking law, with such restrictions and under such regulations as they may deem expedient and proper for the security of the bill holders; provided that no such grant or law shall have any force or effect until the same shall have been submitted to a vote of the electors of the State at some general election, and been approved by a majority of the votes cast on that subject at such election."

In 1851 the Legislature submitted the question of "Banks, or no banks?" to the electors, a majority of whom pronounced in favor of banks. In 1852 the Legislature enacted a general banking law, which in November of that year was approved by a majority of the voters, thus becoming effective. It was very similar to the free banking law of the State of New York, which had then been in operation for nearly fifteen years, apparently with satisfactory results. The proposition which John H. Tweedy had

made to the Constitutional Convention of 1846, and which that body had refused to entertain, had now received the sanction first of the Legislature and then of the electorate. Under its provisions, Wisconsin was enabled to avail itself of advantages afforded by modern machinery of finance.

The law thus placed upon the statute books was not perfect, but it operated immediately to bring about conditions favorable to the transaction of business on a larger scale and with better facilities than had been possible without it. Long years thereafter—at the general election of 1902—the Constitution of Wisconsin was amended by the substitution of the following for sections 4 and 5, which are the paragraphs of that instrument quoted above:

"The Legislature shall have power to enact a general banking law for the creation of banks, and for the regulation and supervision of the banking business, provided that the vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each house, to be taken by yeas and nays, be in favor of the passage of such law."

Attention has been directed to the important service rendered by Alexander Mitchell in the development of Milwaukee. A few words will be in place here regarding other well-remembered men identified with banking in the city's earlier days.

Eliphalet Cramer was the eldest son of John Cramer of Saratoga County, New York. His father desired that he should become a lawyer, but his own preferences were for the ministry. He attended Union College, from which he was graduated in 1834. Mr. Cramer's constitution was not robust, and in the hope that travel would benefit his health he set forth on a Western tour, fully expecting to enter Princeton Theological Seminary on his return. Happening to visit Milwaukee while real estate speculation was at its height in the fall of 1836, he decided in favor of a business career, and the following summer found him settled here as a representative of Eastern capital. He earned a reputation for being careful of his clients' interests. Erastus Corning said to him in 1841, "You are the only person through whom I have made a Western investment without losing money." Much of Mr. Cramer's business during the early years was in the nature of private banking. In 1853, with Eastern friends, he organized the State Bank of Milwaukee, becoming its first

president, and remaining at its head till failing strength compelled him to resign. When the Milwaukee Gaslight Company, founded by John Lockwood, was in a shaky condition, Mr. Cramer purchased Mr. Lockwood's interest and established the enterprise on a firm financial basis. A rival gas company started on the South Side erected a plant at a cost of $100,000 and then became involved in difficulties. The fact that its property could be purchased for $50,000 reached Mr. Cramer's ears and he mentioned it to a business acquaintance, who proposed that they should acquire it jointly and turn it over to the Milwaukee Gaslight Company for $200,000, dividing the difference between themselves. What Mr. Cramer did was to make the purchase for $50,000 and turn the property over to the Milwaukee Gaslight Company for exactly that amount. Another interesting demonstration of his sense of fiduciary responsibility occurred when the securities of Southern States suddenly shriveled in value at the outbreak of the Civil war. Like many other Wisconsin institutions, the State Bank of Milwaukee had placed with the comptroller at Madison bonds of that character as a guarantee for circulation. He proposed and carried out the plan of cutting down the capital of the bank from $500,000 to one-half of that amount. The summary winding up of the bank's affairs was an expedient within the law, but this was sturdily objected to by Mr. Cramer, who said, "No; it would be unwise on our part and unjust to the shareholders." With the coöperation of Jason Downer, another scrupulously conscientious and capable man, Mr. Cramer's plans prevailed.

C. D. Nash was one of the men who helped to make the financial history of Milwaukee. He came to Wisconsin in 1843, having been first a farmer's boy in his native State and then having gained familiarity with the banking business in his father's bank in Middlebury. Making Milwaukee his headquarters, he bought government land in Racine, Fond du Lac and Dodge counties, which he afterward sold at a profit. The next year he bought 2,500 sheep in Ohio, driving them overland to Wisconsin and putting them out with farmers on shares. The next year he repeated this operation, and both ventures were financially successful. Yet he thought he could do better in his native State, and returned to Vermont, engaging in the manufacture of woolen

goods, which kept him occupied till 1852. There had been only 3,000 people in Milwaukee on the occasion of his early visit. He came back finding 25,000, and decided to remain. Purchasing land at the corner of Juneau Place and Biddle Street, he built a home in which he resided to the end of his life. In company with S. H. Alden and Newcomb Cleveland, Mr. Nash organized the Farmers' and Millers' Bank, with a capital stock of $50,000 and became its cashier. At the end of a year he disposed of his interest and organized the Bank of Milwaukee under a State charter. It was incorporated as the National Exchange Bank in 1865. He became its president and financial advisor, continuing in that capacity till 1892 and building up a successful banking business. He was one of a group of Milwaukeeans, the others being S. S. Daggett, H. L. Palmer, Dr. E. B. Wolcott and M. S. Scott, who in 1859 bought out a mutual life insurance company located at Janesville, removed its office to Milwaukee and built it into the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, one of the largest fiduciary institutions in the world.

James B. Martin had been successfully engaged in business at the East before he came to Milwaukee in 1845. He was born at Baltimore, Md., August 10, 1814, completed his education at St. Mary's College, and entered the counting house of a firm of commission merchants, in whose employ he remained until he went to Utica, N. Y., where for six years he was engaged on his own account in the clothing business. After that he was in business in New York City till, in his thirty-first year, he located permanently in Milwaukee. He brought money with him, and made judicious investments in real estate, which he improved, to his own advantage and that of his neighbors. He engaged in private banking. Later, with Eliphalet Cramer and John G. Inbusch, he helped to organize the Wisconsin State Bank. Circumstances placed him in control of a milling property. He became a successful miller and one of the heaviest dealers in wheat in the city. Indicative of the sturdiness of his character was the solidity of the business structures which he erected. He was dependable and safely progressive. He was kind as well as just, but his charities and other benevolences were unostentatious. Mr. Martin died on the 18th of January, 1878.

When Samuel Marshall died, on the 1st of September, 1907,

he was eighty-seven years of age, and had been engaged in banking in Milwaukee for sixty years. At the time of his death he was president of the Milwaukee Cement Company. Mr. Marshall had come to Milwaukee in 1847 from his former home in Delaware County, Pa. On his arrival he opened a private banking business. In 1849 the bank of Marshall & Ilsley was organized, with Mr. Marshall and Charles F. Ilsley at its head. During the long period of his activity in Milwaukee Mr. Marshall had passed safely through all the panics and banking troubles which visited the country, and had taken a good citizen's part in affairs. He was one of the founders of the Young Men's Association, which gave the city its public library. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and for forty years had attended the annual gatherings of the Quakers in Philadelphia.

Charles F. Ilsley came to Milwaukee in 1847, and had been for nearly three years in the employ of the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company Bank when in 1849 he become associated in the banking business with Samuel Marshall, under the firm name of Marshall & Ilsley. It was Marshall & Ilsley who organized at Madison the first State bank in Wisconsin under the law of 1853. Their Milwaukee establishment was the oldest private banking house in the State when, with Mr. Ilsley as vice president, it was incorporated under State law, in 1888. Mr. Ilsley's sagacity and conservatism commanded the confidence and esteem of the community and were an important factor in the uniform prosperity of the Marshall & Ilsley Bank, which, during the Civil war, was the financial agent of the State for the distribution of extra pay voted to the soldiers. With Alexander Mitchell, Messrs. Marshall and Ilsley negotiated the first State loan. More than eighty years have elapsed since their banking business was established in Milwaukee. In all those eighty years its credit has never for a moment suffered a shadow of impairment. Mr. Ilsley was for ten years a trustee of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company. He was one of the directors of the old Milwaukee & Prairie du Chien Railroad Company. He died at a ripe age, in December, 1904.

When William H. Jacobs came to Milwaukee in 1850 he was eighteen years of age. Born in the village of Holzen, Province of Brunswick, the son of a landed proprietor and official, he had

enjoyed the benefit of a liberal education. His first desire in his new environment was to familiarize himself with American business methods, and with this in view he secured a position in the banking house of Marshall & Ilsley. Five years afterward he established the Second Ward Bank, which later became the Second Ward Savings Bank, and of which he was cashier and executive head, as well as principal stockholder, for many years. During the Civil war he served as Colonel of the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin Volunteers—the famous "German Regiment." Wounded at Chancellorsville, he returned to service in time to participate in the battle of Gettysburg, in which his regiment suffered heavy losses. Colonel Jacobs was a competent and successful banker. He was also a noted figure in the cultural, social and political life of the city. The Democrats elected him to the office of clerk of the courts and to the State Senate. He was an outstanding member of the Milwaukee Musical Society. His home was a center of refinement and hospitality. The Colonel delighted in travel, and made several trips to Europe, besides visiting most parts of the United States and taking a look at Mexico. He died in Milwaukee on the 11th of September, 1882.

Hoel H. Camp was born at Derby, Orleans County, Vermont, January 27, 1822, and came to Milwaukee in the winter of 1852. After a year in the grocery business he became interested in the Farmers' and Millers' Bank, serving as its cashier till the enactment of the national banking law, and participating in its organization under that law as the First National Bank, which was the first national bank organized in Wisconsin. He was cashier until 1882, in which year the bank was reorganized at the expiration of its first charter, Mr. Camp becoming president, and serving as such until December, 1893, when, after consolidation with the Merchants' Exchange Bank, he retired from its active management, still, however, retaining a large interest, and serving as director until 1900, when he sold his interest and severed all connection with the bank. Mr. Camp wrote illuminatingly on the subject of banking. At the annual convention of the American Bankers' Association, held at Saratoga, N. Y., in August, 1879, he read an address, "History of Western Banking," which attracted much attention. While always contributing liberally to charity, Mr. Camp deserves especial mention as

the originator of the Charity Relief Association, organized in 1886, setting aside $40,000, the interest upon which was to be employed in making loans to the deserving needy, with the object of exempting them from the extortions of "chattel mortgage sharks." Loans by the organization were to draw interest at a rate not exceeding 6 per cent, and the earnings were to be added to the principal of the fund, enabling its trustees to keep it growing and extend its beneficent activities from year to year. Mr. Camp was trustee of the Chamber of Commerce Gratuity Fund, and for many years was identified with the Associated Charities. He was also a trustee of the Milwaukee County Hospital for the Insane. Upon his retirement from the active management of the First National Bank he organized the Milwaukee Trust Company, of which he was president till 1901.

George Greenleaf Houghton, when he died, March 18, 1902, was vice president of the First National Bank. He was a native of Guilford, Vermont, and came here in 1844, then eleven years of age. His entry upon business life was made in dry goods. In 1850 he went into lumber. In 1868 he turned to banking, the firm being known as Houghton Bros., continuing for twenty years, and being changed to the Central National Bank, with a capital of $300,000. In the summer of 1899 it consolidated with the First Wisconsin. He was for deepening the Milwaukee River to permit the entry of the largest vessels. He was for extending facilities to railroads desiring to enter the city.

Moritz Wilhelm Herman von Baumbach was for half a century a private banker in Milwaukee, his business career covering a period of actual activity longer than that of almost any of his contemporaries, with the exception of course of Daniel Wells, Jr. He was seventy-five at the time of his death. His father was for some years president of the Landtag of Hesse Cassel, coming to this country with his family in 1849 and to Milwaukee in 1856, where the father was German consul, his son succeeding him on his death in 1883. On consolidation with the private bank of Nunnemacher, the institution became the German Exchange Bank of Milwaukee, later consolidating with the First National.

Edward D. Holton's versatile genius and boundless energy found expression in many directions in which they contributed

to the development of Milwaukee. For ten years—from 1852 to 1862—he was the president of the Farmers' and Millers' Bank, the stock of which, under his administration, advanced in value from $50,000 to five times that amount. Mr. Holton was born at Lancaster, New Hampshire, April 28, 1815, and came West in 1841, beginning as a merchant in a small way and showing aptitude for whatever he undertook. In 1843 he was elected sheriff of Milwaukee County. He was a leader of the movement for the abolition of slavery. In 1853 he was the nominee of the Free Soil party for the governorship of Wisconsin, but was defeated. He was a leader in the movement that gave Milwaukee its first railroads. By appointment of President Lincoln he held the office of allotment commissioner, in which he labored for the benefit of Union soldiers during the Civil war till a physical breakdown necessitated temporary cessation from business. He traveled widely and wrote entertainingly and informingly of what he saw. For a time in the early '70s he was interested in the upbuilding of the Northwestern National Fire Insurance Company. He died December 2, 1902.

E. H. Brodhead was president of the Farmers' and Millers' Bank and its successor, the First National Bank, from 1862 to 1882, retiring in the latter year, when its original charter as a national bank expired. His education had been that of an engineer, and it was as a railroad engineer and manager that he passed his first eleven years in Milwaukee. He is remembered as a success in whatever he undertook—one of the clearest-headed and most forceful characters in the history of the city—a man with a record of inflexible integrity in the management of every trust committed to his care. After his retirement from the presidency of the bank, he accepted the vice presidency. Originally a Democrat in his political views, he gave his hearty support to the administration of President Lincoln, and devoted much of his time and money to work for the Union soldiers during the Civil war, in grateful recognition of which he was made a companion of the Loyal Legion. He was one of the three special commissioners representing the interests of the city at the time of the construction of the waterworks. Much of the credit for the building of the tunnel from the lake to the river which greatly contributed to the comfort of his fellow citizens was due

to the positive stand in favor of that project which was taken by Mr. Brodhead at a time when many opposed it as fallacious. He died in December, 1890.

The first bank organized under the law of 1852 was the State Bank conducted at Madison by Marshall & Ilsley, whose Milwaukee establishment dates from 1849. Quickly following came the organization (or reorganization) of the Wisconsin Marine & Fire Insurance Company of Milwaukee, making that veteran institution a bank in complete compliance with legal requirements in Wisconsin. Both of these banks went into operation under the provisions of the statute early in January, 1853, the same year witnessing the opening of the State Bank of Wisconsin (later the Milwaukee National Bank), and the Farmers' and Millers' Bank (afterward the First National Bank). The establishment of the Bank of Milwaukee (subsequently the National Exchange Bank) occurred in January, 1854. All these banks were foundation-stones in the financial history of Milwaukee. All of them became factors in the commercial and manufacturing development that made the city what it is today. Other stanch Milwaukee fiduciary establishments were creations of later years.

What was stigmatized by early Milwaukeeans as "the wildcat bank" of Joel W. Hemenway came into existence on the 12th of February, 1850, before the authorization of banks by the State. It put forth paper currency. This establishment failed to achieve an extended career, and the summary winding up of its business involved loss to the public; but viewed in perspective it was a small affair, worthy of mention here only as one of a few exceptions among the banks of Milwaukee, which as a rule were honorably and competently conducted, with resulting benefit to their clients and advantage to the community in general.

Besides the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company Bank, the State Bank of Wisconsin and the Farmers' and Millers' Bank, the following banks were organized in Milwaukee during the interval between the enactment of the State banking law and the second year of the Civil war:

The Exchange Bank, of William J. Bell & Co., William J. Bell, president; James B. Kellogg, cashier; opened November 2, 1853, closed July 14, 1855.

The Bank of Commerce, George W. Peckham, president; Joseph S. Colt, cashier; opened April 19, 1854, closed in 1856.

The Germania Bank, of G. Papendiek & Co., George Papendiek, president; Christopher H. H. Papendiek, cashier; opened August 1, 1854, failed in January, 1855.

The People's Bank, of Haertel, Greenleaf & Co., Herman Haertel, president; Emory B. Greenleaf, cashier; opened November 1, 1854, closed January 4, 1858.

The Bank of Milwaukee, Charles D. Nash, president; Peveril S. Peak, cashier; opened January 1, 1855, and became the National Exchange Bank in 1865.

The Marine Bank, Jacob A. Hoover, president; John H. Skidmore, cashier; opened February 1, 1856, closed in 1860.

The Second Ward Bank, Augustus C. Wilmanns, president; William H. Jacobs, cashier; opened February 1, 1856, and became the Second Ward Savings Bank on February 1, 1866.

The Globe Bank, Asahel Finch, president; William R. Freeman, cashier; opened June 1, 1857, closed January 4, 1858.

The Juneau Bank, James B. Cross, president; Samuel B. Scott, cashier; opened April 23, 1858, and closed in 1859.

The Merchants' Bank, Edwin H. Goodrich, president; Samuel B. Scott, cashier; opened August 1, 1862, and became the Merchants' National Bank in 1865.

The Milwaukee County Bank, John Armstrong, president; James L. Spink, cashier; opened August 1, 1862, and closed in 1869.

The Globe Bank never was fully organized. As in the case of the other banks described as "closed," its affairs were wound up without serious loss to its customers. The bonds deposited to secure the circulation of the Germania Bank were sold by the comptroller, proving ample for the purpose, but its other creditors were less fortunate than the bill holders and did not receive the full amount of their claims.

The banks first organized under the law of 1852 in different parts of the State were started in good faith, in principal towns, with honestly paid-up capital. While denied the privilege of issuing bills of their own, Wisconsin banking firms had been borrowing currency from Eastern banks at certain seasons of the year, to be repaid as shipments of produce should go forward.

The issues of home banks, it was expected, would supply legitimate needs, and the legalization of such institutions seemed a natural and wholesome departure. As deposits for the guarantee of circulation the law favored first mortgage bonds of railroads in Wisconsin at 80 per cent of their face (which, however, were little availed of for the purpose), and State bonds of all descriptions paying 6 per cent interest on their valuation at par. Naturally there was temptation to use the cheapest bonds meeting legal requirements, and in practice those of North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee and Missouri, which were to be had at the lowest prices, came to be most largely used.

When the people had grown familiar with the new bank issues, speculators began to set up banks at out-of-the-way places. The process was equivalent to converting State bonds worth 80 to 95 cents on the dollar into fractional parts authorized to be circulated at par, the banks collecting interest on these as well as on the bonds deposited as security for such circulation. Banks which had been organized without actual working capital, at remote and inaccessible places, for the purpose of issuing and circulating notes, could carry on unfair competition in the money market with those conducted on strictly safe and conservative principles. A consequence of this was retrenchment of the circulation of the better banks, while a larger and larger proportion of the paper money in circulation came to consist of issues of the class of institutions least likely to weather adverse conditions in time of stress.

In July, 1857, Wisconsin banks numbered sixty, with aggregate capital of $4,205,000, deposits of $3,920,238 and circulation of $2,231,829. Contrast these statistics with those for July, 1860: Number of banks, 104; capital, $6,547,000; deposits, $3,230,252; circulation, $4,075,818. Following the election of Lincoln in the fall of the latter year, came the menace of rebellion, the depreciation of bonds of the Southern States, uneasiness regarding the value of bank issues and continuous demands upon the banks for the redemption of their circulating notes in coin. Weak banks collapsed, increasing popular distrust, which was intensified by news of the firing on Sumter. What would happen to even the stronger banks in the case of enforced sale at panic prices of all the bonds deposited as security for circula-

tion? The gravity of the situation demanded prompt action to avert a crisis. There was not time for amendment of the banking law, which could be accomplished only with the aid of the people voting at a general election. On the 17th of April, 1861, the Legislature passed "an act to protect the holders of circulating notes of the authorized banks of the State of Wisconsin." This measure directed the bank comptroller to suspend action against banks failing to redeem their circulation; prohibited notaries from protesting bills of banks till December 1st, 1861, and gave banks until that date to answer complaints in proceedings to compel specie payment of circulating notes.

Specie payment of bank bills being suspended, there was no longer any plain and practical test for determining which of the issues in circulation were good and which were not. Bankers meeting in convention discussed the situation, used such knowledge as they possessed with reference to the resources of the various banks, and put forth a list of institutions whose issues they considered current and bankable. This was a matter, however, concerning which opinion fluctuated.

The bank riot of June 24, 1861, was the outcome of conditions which Milwaukee bankers had not created and which they were doing their best to amend. At the beginning of April it had been believed that 110 of the banks in Wisconsin were in good condition, but a score or more of these were under suspicion by the 25th of the same month, when the Bankers' Convention met at the Newhall House in Milwaukee. Trade was suffering paralysis—a natural sequence to loss of confidence in the circulating medium. In the hope of promoting the general good, the majority of those present at the meeting decided upon the following announcement:

"The undersigned banks and bankers of the State of Wisconsin, believing the following banks to be sound and well secured, either by State stocks, or individual responsibility, or both, do hereby agree to continue to receive and pay out their issues until the first day of December next, when the amended banking law will go into effect."

This bore date of April 26, 1861, and was subscribed to by fifty-five of the leading banks of the State, including every bank in Milwaukee except the Farmers' and Millers' Bank. The banks

whose stability was thus attested numbered seventy. Another circular, of the same date, signed by President Holton of the Farmers' and Millers' as well as by the fifty-five sponsors of the other document, averred that the signatories would "not assort any of the currency of this State received by us from this date until after the 1st of December next."

Only a few weeks had elapsed, however, when it became evident that country bankers who had signed the agreement were not living up to its terms, but were keeping for themselves the best of the currency that came into their hands and sending the poorest of it to Milwaukee. Railroad companies and large storekeepers in the country towns were doing the same thing; so that Milwaukee banks were made unwilling recipients of everything in the nature of bills on the guaranteed list that was deemed doubtful. Long before December 1st, if matters continued on this basis, the Milwaukee banks would be drained of the cream of the paper money circulating in the State and swamped with bills discredited by the country banks. A new situation had been created by the failure of some of the signers of the circulars of April 26 to live up to their agreement. It was met by the sending out of a statement by seven leading Milwaukee banking firms that the notes of ten banks on the list of seventy named in the circular of April 26 had been thrown out by the railroad companies of the State and by some country bankers, and that "in consequence of this action the undersigned banks and bankers of this city are under the necessity of saying to their dealers that on and after this date, and till further notice, they can only receive the notes of the above list of banks on special deposit."

June 22, 1861, fell on a Saturday. In the afternoon paper, which was the *Daily Wisconsin*, appeared the text of this announcement in full. Appended to the manuscript draft of the announcement were the signatures of Alexander Mitchell, president Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company; M. S. Scott, cashier State Bank of Wisconsin; C. D. Nash, president Bank of Milwaukee; E. D. Holton, president Farmers' and Millers' Bank; S. B. Scott, cashier Juneau Bank; Price, Farmer & Co., and Marshall & Ilsley.

Consternation was created by this announcement, as innumerable citizens found on looking over the money in their pos-

session that much of it was notes of the discredited banks. All day Sunday, especially in the outlying wards, excited citizens discussed the situation. Members of the laboring class, who in some instances found that they had been paid their wages in the now discredited bills, and that these bills would not be received by grocers and butchers in liquidation of accounts for family supplies, gave ready credence to agitators who declared that they had been made victims of a cruel conspiracy of moneyed sharpers. Who originated the plan of gathering in numbers and marching upon the banks to demand redress is a matter shrouded in mystery. Certain it is that on Monday morning, June 24, a crowd of not fewer than 200 men assembled at the corner of Winnebago and Ninth streets. Preceded by a band of music, the crowd marched down Chestnut Street, gaining accessions on its way. At No. 10 Chestnut Street, which was the location of the Second Ward Bank at that time, the parade halted, and was addressed in placatory words by President William H. Jacobs and also by John Pritzlaff. What they said was that the bank would redeem all the bills it had paid out, and this was satisfactory to the people in the procession, who resumed their march, proceeding over the "Red Bridge" and down East Water Street. On the north side of Wisconsin Street, near East Water Street, was the Farmers' and Millers' Bank, whose president, Edward D. Holton, as was well known, had differed from the majority at the time of the Bankers' Convention, and declined to be a party to the original guarantee. Some of the marchers cheered as the parade went by this corner, but no stop was made till Michigan Street was reached.

Here was the financial center of the city. On the southeast corner of Michigan and East Water streets was the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company Bank—in popular parlance, "Mitchell's"—the oldest financial institution in Milwaukee, housed in its own plain but substantial building which had been erected to replace the similar structure destroyed in the great fire of 1854. On the northeast corner was the new and ornate State Bank Building, at that time the finest business edifice in the city, containing not only the offices of the State Bank, but also those of James B. Martin, banker and broker; F. C. Bellinger, broker; McGregor & Allis, insurance agents and expert account-

ants, and the local agency of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. Immediately to the east of the State Bank was the Bank of Milwaukee.

The sound of music, together with rapidly-circulated rumor that unusual proceedings were afoot, had brought people generally into the streets. Many streamed along with the procession, others from near and far hurrying to swell the multitude, which, when the parade came to a halt, was estimated to number fully a thousand, and perhaps more. That the constituents of the assemblage were not all of one mind was evident from the beginning. Some were in an ugly mood, while others were merely curious. Notification that there would be a demonstration and that violent measures would be resorted to unless the discredited bills were redeemed had been given to the mayor and to the leading bankers, but, in advance of the gathering, had not served to excite alarm.

The mayor at the time was James S. Brown, and the sheriff Charles H. Larkin. The police force consisted of twenty-three men. By way of providing for emergency, Mayor Brown had arranged for the members of the Montgomery Guard to gather at their armory for the purpose of assisting the police. Policemen and militiamen were to be summoned if needed.

So menacing was the approach of the mob that the doors of the Mitchell Bank were hastily closed and locked, while clerks scurried in the effort to gather up papers of value and place them in the vault. Very soon stones came hurtling through the windows. Mayor Brown and Sheriff Larkin mounted the steps in the hope of gaining a hearing in the interest of law and order, but realized the futility of their endeavor when a missile thrown by some one in the crowd struck the mayor on the head. Not long after this all the windows in the bank had been wrecked and intruders had forced open the door. They smashed furniture and tossed it into the street, together with all the books and papers that had not been consigned to the vaults. Mr. Mitchell, attempting to reason with the intruders, found himself as little heeded as the mayor, and concluded that the part of prudence was to get away while he could do so in safety. Later, one of the bank employes, mistaken for Mr. Mitchell, because he wore a stovepipe hat, was viciously assaulted by somebody in the street.

Charles H. Larkin, Jr., was another of the bank employes who narrowly escaped violence. Excited by its own extravagances, the mob proceeded from one atrocity to another. Books, papers and furniture from the Mitchell Bank were made into a pile in the street and set on fire. Then the State Bank Building was attacked, and the offices sacked, their contents being heaped upon the bonfire. The windows of the Bank of Milwaukee were shattered by stone-throwers. Attempts were made to set the State Bank Building on fire, but by this time events began to occur which caused a turn in the tide.

Under orders from the mayor to disperse the rioters, the Montgomery Guard appeared upon the scene. There were only thirty-five of them, and they were practically unarmed, for the guns they carried were loaded only with blank cartridges. In some way the latter fact got to the knowledge of the crowd, which at first had shown a disposition to scatter, but soon rallied, taunting the young men in uniform and pelting them with sticks and stones. Another diversion was caused by the arrival of Fire Engine Company No. 1, in charge of its assistant foreman, W. F. Fleming.

When the engine came tearing down the street an opening for it was made by part of the crowd, but another part seemed disposed to halt its progress. Lookers-on became fearful that the more turbulent of the rioters would throw the engine into the river. To one of these belligerents Foreman Fleming addressed the question, "What do you want to do—throw the engine into the river and burn the town?"

"No, we don't want to burn the city—but you will play on the crowd!"

Fleming quieted the man by pointing to the blaze in the street, observing, "Don't you see the fire—we want to put it out."

Without molestation the firemen then ran a suction-hose to the river and soon had a stream playing on the bonfire.

At this point hostilities were resumed, one of the pipemen being struck by a rock hurled by some one in the crowd. There was a movement to cut the hose. The men at the pipes were George C. Staff, John Cromwell, George W. Lee and Fred Trayser. Mayor Brown gave an order to Fleming to turn the hose on the crowd, and Mr. Fleming conveyed the order to his

men, who obeyed it with right good will, the heterogeneous assemblage scattering to escape a drenching. Indicative that by no means all the people in the crowd were in sympathy with rioting was the fact that laughter and raillery were directed by some of the assemblage against others who had been sprinkled.

At this juncture horse-play ceased and a serious turn was given to the situation by the arrival of the Milwaukee Zouaves. Under command of Capt. E. C. Hibbard, these superbly drilled young fellows came marching down Michigan Street, carrying loaded guns with bayonets fixed. Before they reached the outskirts of the assemblage they formed in close array. Then they charged at double-quick—and in the twinkling of an eye the corner was cleared as if by magic.

Meanwhile word reached the Mayor from Governor Randall at Madison that troops from outside had been ordered to the city. During the afternoon Col. Halbert C. Paine came up from Racine with two companies of the Fourth Regiment of Wisconsin Volunteers. Two other companies arrived from Madison early in the evening, and others later. A thousand soldiers and civilians were standing guard in down-town Milwaukee that night, and there was no resumption of disorder. Members of the Montgomery Guard had been detailed to protect the residence of Mr. Mitchell. Subsequently they were relieved by soldiers from outside. Indications of smoldering unrest in outlying sections of the city were discernible later in the week, but there was no resumption of turbulence.

An extra *Sentinel*, issued on the afternoon of the 24th, described the beginning of the disorder after the crowd reached Michigan Street, observing that "Mayor Brown and other city officials, Chief Beck and Alexander Mitchell were on the steps leading to the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company Bank when the crowd tried to force its way up. The Mayor undertook to address them, but in the wild excitement which seemed to sway the mass, and the deafening noises that were emitted, the attempt was folly. In vain Mr. Mitchell, with uncovered head, appealed to them to hear him a moment. The infuriated rabble pushed up the steps, impelled by those behind. As the excitement grew, this position was no longer tenable, especially as the men in the rear and middle of the crowd began to throw stones and billets of wood."

The account goes on to remark that "at this time the excitement throughout East Water Street was intense. The rumor spread everywhere that a mob was tearing down the banks, and dense crowds of people came flocking down the streets. Spectators covered the roofs of the neighboring houses and choked up the avenues of egress in all directions."

"During the whole of the proceedings, the Mayor and Chief of Police Beck were constantly in the midst of the crowd, using all their individual power, both moral and physical, to stop the outrage, but with little effect."

The appearance of the Montgomery Guard, the *Sentinel* remarked, "had no other effect than to drive the mob away from the State Bank to the Newhall House. With the aimless vindictiveness characteristic of mobs in general, some of the rioters threw stones at the Newhall House, breaking several of the ground-glass windows of the billiard room and saloon. Then they returned to the State Bank Building, tearing out the furniture and fixtures of the bank and the office of J. B. Martin, piling them up outside and setting them on fire.

"The proceedings had now reached a pitch at which citizens who were for law and order seemed to rally. At first they had been stunned and were dumb with astonishment and indignation. Up to this time everyone seemed to think it would be nothing more than an outpouring of wrath on the window-panes, and an explosion of bad English at the bankers; but when the fire began to blaze forth under the very walls of the State Bank, a sudden reaction took place. Citizens of every class, merchants, lawyers, clerks and mechanics, offered their services to the Mayor, who at once commenced to swear in special policemen. The fire-bells were rung, and an engine appeared on the ground, simultaneously with the Milwaukee Zouaves, Captain Hibbard. Hose was run out, but taken up almost as quickly by the mob, and it was not until the Zouaves had effectually broken and pushed back the crowd that a stream was got upon the huge bonfire of furniture and bank papers that was blazing under the State Bank. Some fifty special policemen were sworn in, and assisted the regular force in clearing the streets in the immediate vicinity of the banks. General King and about a hundred of the most respectable and responsible of our citizens immediately set to work to

arrest the ringleaders, and in less than an hour thirty-three of the most conspicuous in the disturbance were under arrest."

The *Sentinel's* account concluded: "As we go to press with this edition, the city is comparatively quiet. The arrested rioters have been placed in the jail for safe-keeping, and the military and police have possession of the streets. His Honor, the Mayor, has issued a call for a meeting of citizens tonight at Albany Hall, to take into consideration the events of today and adopt effective measures to prevent their recurrence. Let all good citizens be on hand."

So far as it could be computed in terms of money, the destruction inflicted by the mob was about five thousand dollars. Business in the city suffered for weeks after the outbreak, for the reason that exaggerated reports of the situation kept farmers from coming into town to trade.

While the sober sense of the community recognized the conduct of the mob as senseless and outrageous, widespread opinion favored action by the bankers of the city with a view to minimizing the apprehension of instability in the circulating medium. Responding to this sentiment, bankers and business men held a meeting at which it was decided to take up the bills of the discredited banks which had been paid out in the city prior to the riot. Two temporary redemption offices were opened, one in the Sixth Ward and the other in the Ninth, and the issues that had provoked the outbreak were replaced with others which were available for the purposes of trade. Eventually six of the discredited banks substituted approved securities for those they had originally deposited to secure their bills. The other four banks were closed, but in the end their circulation was redeemed in full.

Aided by the coöperation of the solvent banks and the patriotism of the community, the bankers' committee succeeded in averting a return of the conditions which had led to the disorderly demonstration of the 24th of June. The 1st of December came and went without renewed disaster. Currency under the Wisconsin State banking system gave no further trouble to the people of Milwaukee.

An important feature of the process by which acceptable security was substituted for bonds of other states that had proved unreliable in time of stress was the adoption of a plan credited

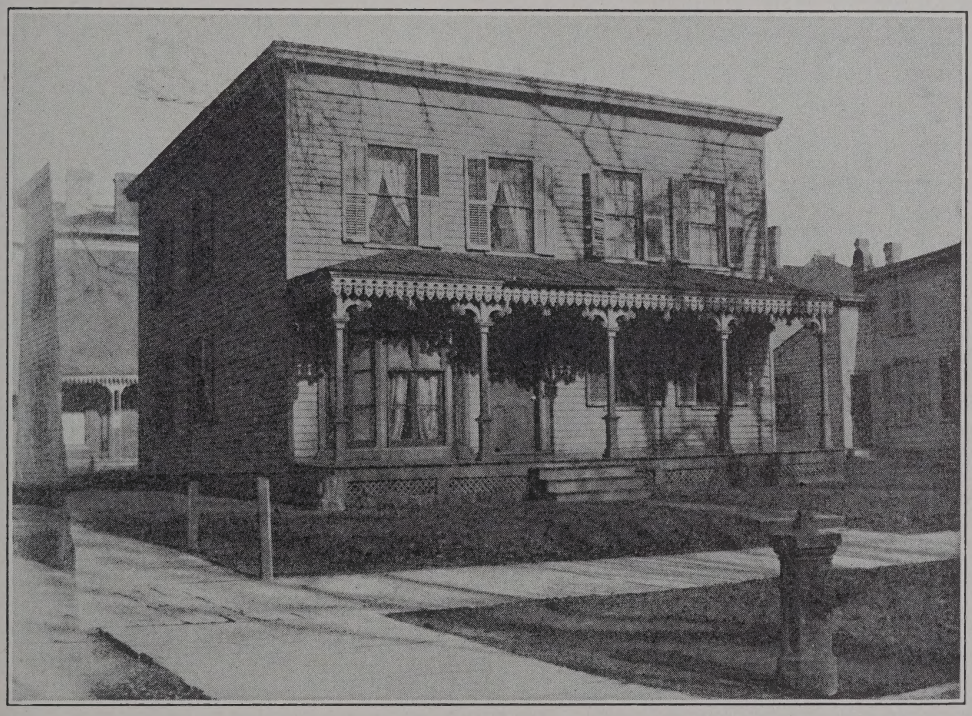
to the financial genius of Alexander Mitchell. By this expedient the State administration in Wisconsin was strengthened for efficient participation in the war at the same time that stability was imparted to State bank guarantees for outstanding bills.

To obtain money for the purpose of properly clothing and equipping its volunteer troops enrolling in response to the call of the nation, the State of Wisconsin had endeavored to float a loan in the East, but failed to find buyers willing to purchase its 6 per cent bonds at par. The project recommended by the bankers' committee was that securities then guaranteeing circulation should be disposed of in the East for what they would bring, and that the banks should purchase Wisconsin State bonds to replace them. To assist the bankers in accomplishing this exchange and maintaining the bankers' guarantee of shaky issues, the merchants of Milwaukee contributed a fund of $100,000. The ingenious device of shifting credits worked to perfection, for the people of Wisconsin believed in the securities of their own State.

As a result of the Civil war, new conditions controlling the issue of paper money came into operation in Milwaukee and throughout the land. In the first place Congress provided for the greenbacks. In the next place it brought into existence the national banks. At the same time it passed a law taxing currency issues other than greenbacks and national bank notes at the rate of 10 per cent per annum, the immediate result of which was the retirement of all such issues, which never have reappeared and never will so long as this law remains in force.

Though their negotiable value fluctuated with the fortunes of the Government in the conduct of the war, greenbacks undoubtedly proved a help to the nation in the emergency of the rebellion. For a long time they were subject to discount of as much as, or more than 50 per cent. After the war they were a constant menace to legitimate business interests and a source of political distractions that kept the country in a tumult till their retirement. The date of the resumption of specie payments—January 1, 1879—is remembered as identical with the beginning of one of the most significant business revivals in the history of the United States. In the experience of the people of Milwaukee, greenbacks, at their worst, were a better currency than the old wildcat bank issues; but infinitely preferable to greenbacks were the national bank

issues. Since the establishment of the national banking system and the abolition of local currency issues the financial history of Milwaukee has been less dependent upon the caprices of lawmakers functioning at Madison than it was in the period prior to the Civil war.



OLD RUFUS KING RESIDENCE
Northeast corner Mason and Van Buren streets. Built by Henry Williams, 1838.

MILWAUKEE IN 1873
From a lithograph by Beck & Pauli

CHAPTER XVIII

EARLY DAY MERCHANTS

EXPANSION OF RETAIL AND JOBBING BUSINESS MARKING THE TRADE REVIVAL AFTER THE PANIC OF 1837—PRIMITIVE CONDITIONS AND MEN WHO MADE THE MOST OF THEM—WORTHY SUCCESSORS OF THE PIONEERS, AND A HASTY GLANCE AT SOME OF THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS.

The brisk and profitable development of mercantile business at Milwaukee which impressed the early speculators in land, attracting them in large numbers and inspiring them with boundless confidence in the future of the settlement, was a phenomenon of brief duration. It sprang into being as if by magic. With the panic of 1837 it subsided as quickly as it had begun. The speculators themselves, with their inflated expectations, had been an important element in the inception of this inherently insubstantial prosperity. Some of them brought money. All of them fancied they were profiting by continually rising land-values, and regarded present gains as only an earnest of greater affluence assured them in the early future. They spent like lords, and their example influenced those about them. News of what was going on spread far and wide, attracting young merchants not merely from Chicago but also from places far to the east.

In 1834 there had been only one business establishment in Milwaukee—Solomon Juneau's store, which was devoted to traffic with the Indians. He bartered his goods for furs. The line of merchandise he dealt in was restricted to the requirements of his swarthy customers. Here is a copy of his advertisement in the *Sentinel* during the initial year of its existence, which was 1837:

> INDIAN GOODS—The subscribed has received from the American Fur Company, and offers for sale on commission, a large and complete assortment of GOODS adapted to the Indian Trade, and now offers for sale cheap, at his residence, in the East Ward,

among which may be found the following articles, viz:

30 pieces blue, fancy, gray and white st Cloth.
4 pieces Stroud, Broad and Narrow Cord.
2 pieces fine Scarlet Cloth.
3 pieces White and Blue Molten.
50 pairs Three point English Blankets.
75 pairs 2½ do do do
15 pairs 2 do do do
20 pairs ½ do do do
25 pairs 1 do do do
10 pairs Large Scarlet do
5 pairs Large Blue do do
100 pieces Prints, various patterns.
4 pieces Black Silk Handkerchiefs.
30 pieces Domestic Stripe and Plain Cotton

Together with Powder, Ribbons, Silver Work, Ornaments, Beads, Vermillion, Wampum, Worsted, Hatchets, Bridles, Saddles, Looking Glasses, Combs, Hawk Bells, Flints, North West Guns, Rifles, Cartouch and Scalping Knives, and all sorts of Indian Fixings, which will be sold for Furs, Skins and cash. Cash paid for Furs of all kinds.

SOLOMON JUNEAU.

Fully four years before he founded the *Sentinel* Mr. Juneau had become committed to other interests than those centering in trade. He was the principal land-owner on the east side of the river, the chief figure in the promotion of settlement at Milwaukee, the man to whom newcomers instinctively looked for leadership in enterprises likely to advance the material prospects of the locality. His generous nature responded to every appeal, and for coöperation in his liberal policy he could rely upon his associates, Morgan L. Martin and Michael Dousman.

In his role of storekeeper Mr. Juneau began to face competition before the end of 1834, when Col. George H. Walker, who had been a peripatetic trader with the Indians, established his trading-post on the south side of the river at what came to be known as Walker's Point. This was outside of the townsite planned by Juneau, but it must have absorbed some of the patronage which would have been Juneau's in the absence of other sources of supply than the Juneau store. However, it was not in his nature to resent legitimate enterprise. He and Walker always were friends. Not long after Walker other storekeepers arrived. Clybourn & Chase established themselves at the mouth of the river, Archibald Clybourn remaining at Chicago, but putting money into the partnership. He also owned property on Kilbourn's side of the river, and at Kilbourn's suggestion he subse-

quently erected a hotel near what was to be the termination of the canal. At their location on the lake shore Clybourn & Chase sold Indian goods and as soon as circumstances permitted began to build up a forwarding business. They equipped themselves with supplies to meet the needs of the incoming settlers. White & Evans set up in a store on solid ground at the edge of the marsh near where Huron (now East Clybourn) and Jackson Street intersect at the present time. White & Evans were unfortunate at the land sale, the tract on which they had located being covered with a "float" in the possession of another bidder. Daniel Wells, Jr., succeeded in bringing rafts from up the lake to unload at this place, and for a time it was the site of his lumber yard.

After Juneau, the first storekeeper in down-town Milwaukee was A. O. T. Breed, who came up with a stock of merchandise from Chicago and rented from Juneau a building in course of construction on East Water Street. Very soon he was followed by numerous others, among them Finch & Winslow, Harrison Reed, L. J. Higby, Bowman & Green, Henry Miller, Jonathan Brown and B. Chapman & Co. Commercial establishments began to try their fortunes on the west side of the river. Buck says: "The firms of B. Chapman & Co., Bowman & Green and Harrison Reed were the three great houses on the East Side in 1836, as appears from the files of the *Advertiser* for that year, and Dr. William Gorham & Co., William R. Longstreet and S. D. Cowles upon the West Side; but they were quickly surpassed by Brown & Miller, M. & J. W. Pixley and others."

Describing in detail the building up of East Water Street in the summer of 1836, Mr. Buck notes that it had become lined with small frame buildings from Huron to Mason Street, a few of these being dwellings, but most of them stores and saloons. From the foot of East Water Street to Huron Street there was but one building, a single-story frame structure owned by George Bowman, which stood near the corner of Buffalo Street. On the northeast corner of Huron and East Water was a small frame building erected by Capt. James Sanderson and occupied by William A. Prentiss, who remained its tenant till 1837. Next above him was the Cottage Inn. Colonel Morton lived near the center of the block. Then came the residence of Solomon Juneau, on Michigan Street—the corner afterward occupied by Mitchell's

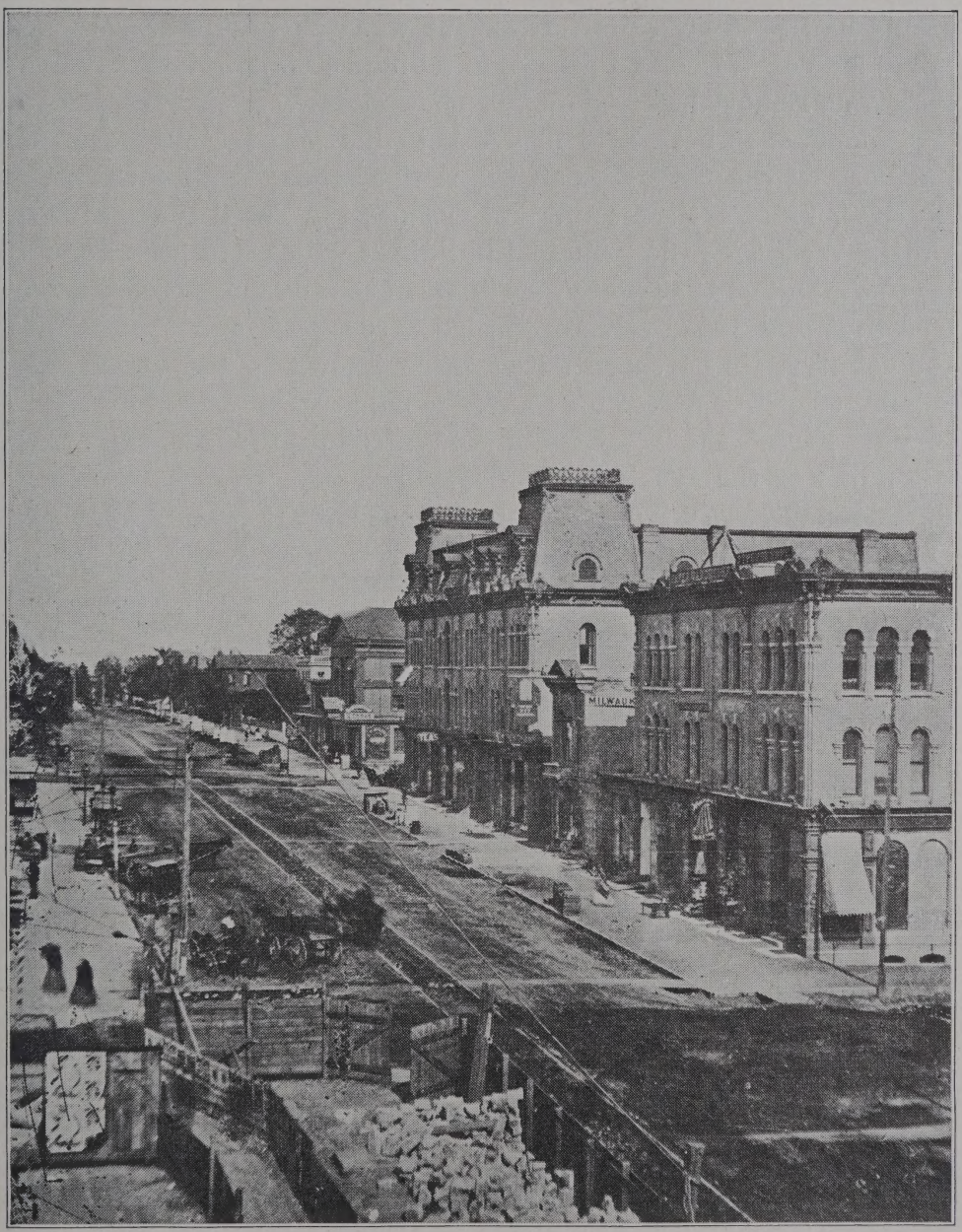
Bank. From Michigan Street north, on the east side of East Water Street, were George Peters' saloon, the dwelling and tailor shop of U. B. Smith—where his daughter, Milwaukee's first girl baby, came into the world in 1835—the residence of Thomas Holmes, the shoe shop of R. H. Benton and Aaron Parmalee, the shop of J. Rowell, the Hayden grocery store, and two two-story frame buildings, in one of which Levi Blossom was carrying on as an auctioneer—the same place in which Caleb Wall figured in the same capacity at a later date. This was at the southeast corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets, which since 1860 has been the site of J. B. Martin's Iron Block. North of Wisconsin Street on East Water Street were C. C. Dewey's harness shop, Harrison Reed's store and the carpenter shop of Lee & Thurston. Then Balser's bakery, the cabinet shop of F. B. Otis and J. & L. Smith's grocery—afterward the site of the City Hotel, Walker House and Kirby House. North of Mason Street on East Water Street—on the Preusser corner of the Market Square Block—was the paint shop of James Murray, this being the end of East Water Street at that time. Stein's gun shop was not erected till the winter of 1837-8. Inventorying buildings on the west side of East Water Street in 1836, when from the future site of Dousman's warehouse northward to Huron Street all was vacant and covered with mud or water, the first entry would be the wagon shop of Hiram Smith, at Huron Street. From this northward were Finch & Winslow's general merchandise store, Higby's drug store, William Payne's clothing store, Bowman & Green, and, at Michigan Street, Brown & Miller. There was a shanty standing in Michigan Street—a low rum-hole, kept by a degraded wretch known as "Old Treadwell." North of Michigan Street were J. Stoddard's grocery; J. C. Schermerhorn's; Richard Hadley's boot and shoe store; John Gale, general merchandise; Webber & Stark's Washington Coffee House; G. Cady's tin shop, and A. O. T. Breed's pioneer establishment referred to above. The southwest corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets at that time was occupied by the office of Albert Fowler, who dealt in real estate and officiated as a justice of the peace. Northward, across the road, where the Wisconsin Trust Company Building, formerly the Pabst Building, is now located, was Solomon Juneau's new store building, occupied at first by B. Chapman & Co., then by

MATTHIAS STEIN'S GUN SHOP

A reminder of the early days that was standing on Market Square till 1875

McDonald & Maliby, who failed in the winter of 1836 and went away, after which Mr. Juneau occupied the store for a time, followed by D. S. Hollister and then by Ludington & Birchard. North of this was Dr. L. W. Weeks' store, and north of that the establishment of the Pixleys, M. W. Cawker's saloon, D. W. Patterson's blacksmith shop and Prentiss & Bird's carpenter shop.

On Main Street (now Broadway) the most southern improvement for several years after the first inrush of settlers was a two-story frame building occupied as a furniture store by C. D. Fitch, who afterward went to St. Louis. From there to Wisconsin Street, on the west side of Main Street, all was vacant. At the southwest corner of Main and Wisconsin was the residence of William M. Gardner. On the first lot south of the southeast corner of Main and Wisconsin was the residence of Albert Fowler. On the northeast corner was the Belleview, the northwest corner being the residence of J. K. Lowry, tailor, which afterward for a time became the office of the Mitchell Bank. The other buildings on the west side of Main Street in this block were the cabinet shop and dwelling of T. Wainwright, the store of Hobart & Pratt and the Government land office. North of Mason Street the west side of Main Street was vacant to Martin Street in 1836 and for some time thereafter, except for the old log house, twenty feet above the present grade, in a clump of burr oaks, which had been built by Baptiste Manor, a French half-breed with an Indian wife and several children, who occupied it before the influx of the whites, remaining till the winter of 1837. On the northwest corner of Broadway and Martin was a two-story frame residence built by Capt. George Barber, the lone house in that direction. Afterward for a time it was owned and occupied by Dr. L. W. Weeks. Back of the Belleview, on the east side of Main Street (at the corner of Main and Mason streets) was the Joshua Hathaway homestead. Near the southeast corner of Main Street and Oneida was a small frame house built by Henry Miller, and on the corner a house built by Dr. S. E. Greves, afterward the Jonathan E. Arnold homestead and in later times the site of the county jail. The northeast corner, which became the site of the central police station in 1884, was occupied by a large white house built in 1837 by Joseph Keyes, whose later occupants included Maurice Pixley and Daniel Wells, Jr.



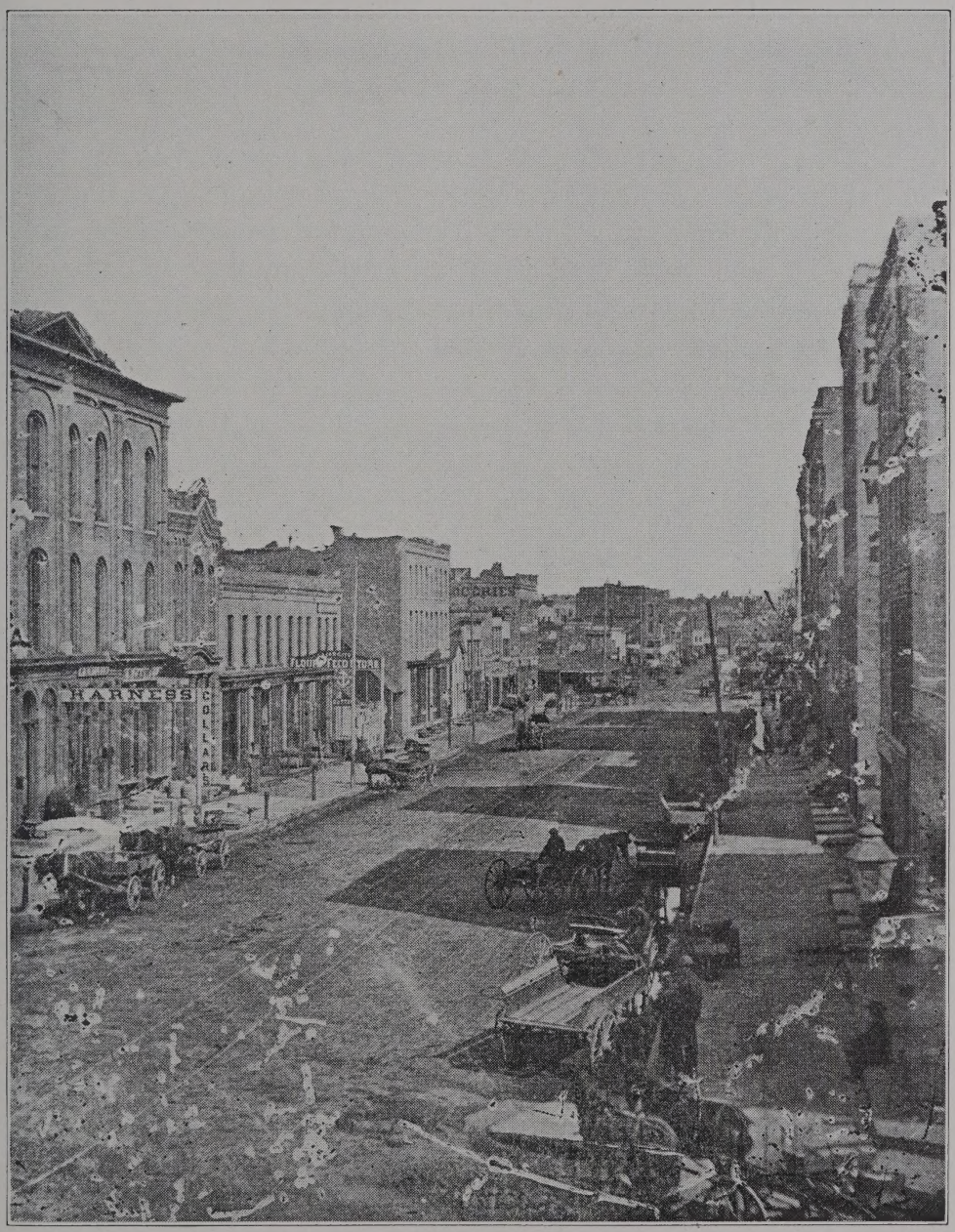
WISCONSIN STREET LOOKING FROM CORNER OF MAIN STREET, NOW BROADWAY, BEFORE CHAPMAN'S FIRST BUILDING WAS ERECTED

The old Insurance Building in course of construction. About 1867.

On the south side of Wisconsin Street, between Broadway and East Water, was the dwelling of Owen Aldrich, in which Robert Davis had a tailor shop. Opposite was the post office, on the north side of Wisconsin Street, in a small frame building, which later was removed.

Enough has been said in detail to indicate the clustering of business on the East Side in the region whose boundary on the north was Mason Street and on the south the Third Ward marsh. On the West Side the principal buildings which had been erected up to the fall of 1836 were nearly all in the immediate vicinity of Chestnut and Third streets. Third Street had been opened into the country, its northern outlet being known as the Green Bay Road. Chestnut Street led to Winnebago Street, and Winnebago to Vliet Street, the latter being the outlet into the interior, under the name of the Western or Madison Road. Byron Kilbourn's first domicile was a two-story frame house at the southwest corner of Chestnut and Third streets, the first floor of which was occupied by S. D. Cowles as a general merchandise store. On the west side of Third Street, just north of Chestnut, was the first residence of I. A. Lapham, his neighbors on the north being George Knapp and William P. Cully, proprietors of restaurants. William R. Longstreet had a warehouse. On the corner of Fourth and Poplar was George Abert. On Third above Cherry was Doctor Proudfit. At Third and Poplar was the grocery store of Chauncey S. Peak, who afterward became a successful business man in New York. Otis and Henry Hubbard were on Third Street south of Chestnut. W. P. Merrill, Paul Burdick, J. R. Messenger, James H. Rogers and others were West Siders at the time, their locations being not far from Chestnut Street. John Furlong built a house between Third Street and the river, some distance north of Chestnut Street.

On the east side of West Water Street, north of Spring Street, was a large frame structure set upon posts to keep it out of the water. This was the West Side establishment of Solomon Juneau, in charge of George P. Delaplaine as his clerk. Northward across the alley was Caleb Harrison's. On the west side of Second Street was the store of Dr. William Gorham and W. R. Longstreet, the largest at that time on the West Side. The Kelloggs—Leverett S. and William A.—lived on West Water Street for a time after



OLD WEST WATER STREET LOOKING NORTH FROM SPRING STREET, LATER WISCONSIN AVENUE AND NOW NORTH PLANKINTON AVE.

The original Caswell store and building to the left

their arrival in the city in the beginning of 1837. The Washington House, at the northeast corner of Third and Vliet, was erected by Archibald Clybourn in 1836. The Lelands at this time were keeping their Shanty Tavern where the Second Ward Bank later came.

The early business establishments were groceries, saloons and general stores. Tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, flour, fish, bacon, mess pork, dry goods, clothing, boots and shoes, crockery, tinware, pails, tubs, stoves and other household supplies, with hardware including tools and farming implements—these were the commodities chiefly dealt in by the merchants. Many of them carried whisky in stock as one of the "necessaries of life." When the panic descended it drove nearly all but the grocers out of business. Harrison Reed, whose specialty had been dry goods, was fain to secure employment as a printer in the office of the *Sentinel*, which put him into line as the successor of its first editor when that unfortunate adventurer fell a victim to consumption within a few months after his arrival. Everybody went to work at whatever he could find to do, a considerable number turning serious attention to the cultivation of the soil, which was an economic benefit to the community. More than half of the inhabitants of 1836 had departed for other scenes before the end of 1837, and the population had shrunk from something like twelve hundred to not more than six or seven hundred souls. City lots had dwindled in value from fabulous amounts to what they would bring.

Even at the darkest period of the depression, however, activities contributing to the progress of Milwaukee were not entirely abandoned. It was in 1837 that Juneau's schooner, named after himself, the first vessel built at Milwaukee, was launched in the river. It was in 1837 that village government was organized. The panic prevented the actual starting of the Bank of Milwaukee, but that abortive enterprise was planned in the panic year. Work was accomplished which improved the condition of some of the streets, though a great deal that had been determined upon in that direction remained unaccomplished for long thereafter. It was in 1837 that Capt. John Crawford undertook to make regular trips with his steamboat, the *Detroit*, between Milwaukee and Chicago and Michigan City, in connection

LOW PRICES INSURES SALES
FAIR DEALING MEETS TRADE MORE THAN FAIR WEATHER
Goods Received Daily FROM EASTERN SALES And RETAILED BELOW THEIR VALUE
THE CHEAPEST OF ALL CHEAP STORES

CALEB HARRISON'S RESIDENCE

This was at 245 West Water Street. Built in the '30s it remained till well along the '80s, and was last known as Milwaukee's First Penny Store.

with a daily line of stages from Toledo and Detroit. The *Detroit* met with early disaster, but not before she had brought to Milwaukee a number of people who helped to build up Wisconsin. Meanwhile in all the region north and west and south of the city actual settlers were laying the foundations of future agricultural prosperity. It was in 1837 and the following year that settlers perfected the organization designed to protect their rights at the land sale of 1839.

George D. Dousman built his warehouse at the foot of East Water Street in the early days of 1838, and was ready for business in the spring. July of this year witnessed the arrival of the Ludingtons—Lewis, Nelson and Harrison—and of Harvey Birchard; also of Joseph and Lyndsey Ward, J. and G. Sercomb, J. Turton, Clark Shepardson, Lotan H. Lane, Caleb Harrison, Jasper Vliet, Charles J. Lynde and a number of others destined to make memorable contributions to the development of Milwaukee.

Harvey Birchard, born in 1800 in the Town of Bridgeport, Conn., which is associated in the minds of most Americans with the memory of the famous showman, Phineas Taylor Barnum, was himself identified with the show business in his early years. He was one of the conductors of a traveling menagerie, in which capacity he made voyages to Europe. He imported the first polar bear and the first gnu that were exhibited alive in the United States. Finding his way to Milwaukee in 1838, in company with Lewis and Harrison Ludington, he became a member of the firm of Ludington, Birchard & Co., which purchased Juneau's old stand at the corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets and carried on as general storekeepers. The Ludingtons remained in the business till 1851, but Mr. Birchard withdrew in 1840. He had accumulated a capital of $20,000, which was a handsome fortune in those days in this part of the United States. During the remainder of his career he was occupied in real estate development and money-lending. In much of the building enterprise that attracted attention to Milwaukee between 1840 and the close of the Civil War Harvey Birchard was a leader. He died in 1864.

The Ludingtons expanded their trade from year to year. After 1851 they concentrated on lumbering, in which they rose to the rank of leaders in the West, with huge interests in Mich-

THE LUDINGTON BLOCK, CORNER WISCONSIN AND EAST WATER STREETS, IN THE EARLY 'SEVENTIES

Site of Pabst Building, later known as First Wisconsin Trust Company Building.

igan and at Chicago as well as here. Harrison Ludington remained a resident of Milwaukee. Taking an interest in politics in his later years, he was elected to the mayoralty of the city and then to the governorship of the State, defeating Governor Taylor for re-election to that office in 1875. At his death, which occurred in June, 1891, he left a fortune of more than a million dollars. James Ludington, a younger brother of Nelson, also remained a resident of Milwaukee. Early in the '50s he made large investments in lands. For many years before his death chronic invalidism confined him to his room, except when his good friend and faithful attendant, Col. Elisha Starr, took him out for an airing in a wheeled chair. He was a guest of the Newhall until its destruction by fire on the 10th of January, 1883, after which his quarters were at the Plankinton House. He died in April, 1891.

During the initial period of flush times in Milwaukee, D. S. Hollister and others were active in the erection of buildings on the South Side. Mr. Hollister was crippled by the panic of 1836 to an extent from which he never recovered. Disposing of his interests here, he sought opportunities in the Southwest and elsewhere. Mr. Hollister never returned to Milwaukee. His death occurred in California in 1859.

The Wards came from Syracuse, N. Y. They embarked in business on a scale which had been unparalleled up to that time and which had the effect of connecting Milwaukee with rural business centers. As the firm of J. & L. Ward they soon were conducting stores here and in several promising interior towns, besides carrying on four flouring mills and twelve furnaces for smelting lead. Their Milwaukee location was the building on East Water Street originally occupied by A. O. T. Breed. Coming into possession of the shot tower at Helena, they manufactured shot for several years. Five hundred ox-teams were employed in hauling lead for them from Dodgeville and its vicinity to Milwaukee for shipment to Eastern markets. In a single year the firm's lead shipments reached the impressive aggregate of 200,000 pigs.

Like other early business men, Lyndsey Ward found time for public duties. In the village period he served on the board of trustees of the East Ward. He was president when the villages

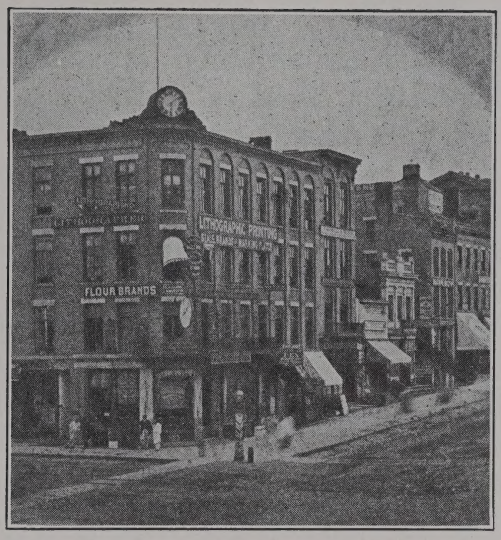
were united, and upon him, acting in this capacity, devolved the honor, when Milwaukee became a city, of swearing in Solomon Juneau as mayor. He was distinguished among other things as the man who built one of the earliest brick residences—the first house in the settlement equipped with a door-bell. This comfortable abode was on the east side of Milwaukee Street, between Mason and Oneida. He lived in it to the time of his death. Later it housed the Milwaukee Cooking School. Mr. Ward and Alexander Mitchell always were firm friends. When business rivals of Mr. Mitchell conspired to embarrass him by gathering up his bills in preparation for a run on his bank, news of the sinister strategy reached friends of the institution in time to put them on their guard. Behind the fastest horse in the city, Mr. Ward was dispatched to report the situation to George Smith at Chicago, from whom Mr. Ward returned with bags of gold and silver that enabled Mr. Mitchell to circumvent his enemies. When he had retired from mercantile business Mr. Ward did not relinquish his interest in affairs. He accepted the responsibilities of receiver of the Milwaukee & Horicon Railroad, which position he occupied till the absorption of the property by the St. Paul. He died at a ripe age in 1883.

Indications of business revival were apparent in 1839. This was the year of Alexander Mitchell's arrival in Milwaukee and of the organization of the city's pioneer banking institution, the Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company, of which he was placed in charge by the president of the company, George Smith. Another of the settlers who came in that year was Leonard J. Farwell, destined to prosper exceedingly in business and be chosen by his fellow-citizens for the high office of governor of Wisconsin. On the Fourth of July, 1839 Byron Kilbourn dug the first spadeful of earth for the Milwaukee & Rock River canal. The year 1839 witnessed the arrival of Milwaukee's first colony of German immigrants, who camped out on the lake shore while awaiting the return of emissaries sent into the country to pick out eligible lands for farming.

Ira E. Goodall was a prominent pioneer settler of Milwaukee, coming from Bath, New Hampshire, in 1841, and entering into partnership with Edward D. Holton, also a New Hampshire man, who had arrived in the preceding year. Their store, containing

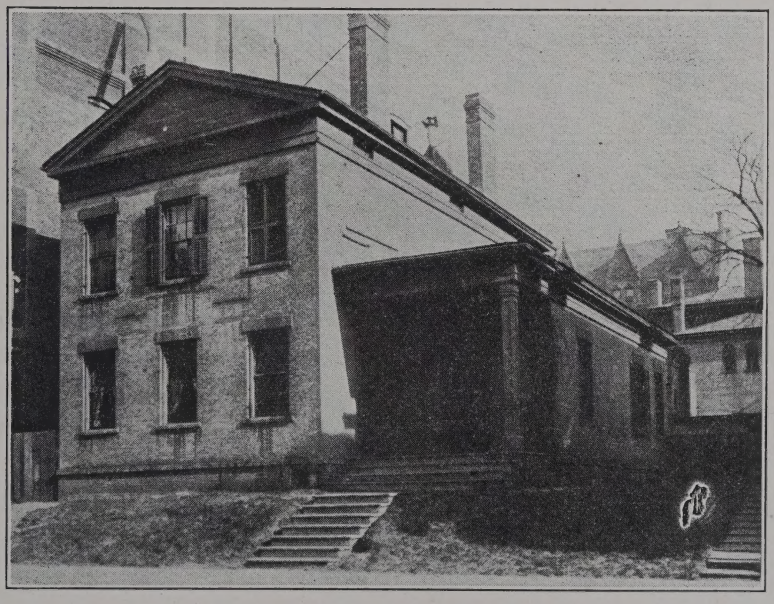
a wide variety of offerings, was at the southeast corner of Spring and West Water streets, in the building which later became the Menomonee Hotel. With Mr. Holton, Mr. Goodall constructed the first bridge at the Wisconsin Avenue crossing of the river. He was the treasurer of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company in course of time, and a member of the Common Council in 1850. Mr. Goodall was concerned with Mr. Holton in the first shipment of wheat from Milwaukee, which was made in 1841. Together with I. A. Lapham he was appointed to establish the boundaries of streets where the early surveys had been faulty. He was one of the incorporators of the old Milwaukee High School, and a leading member of the First Presbyterian Church, afterward Immanuel. The Goodall residence was on the bluff at Sycamore and Sixth streets, having a pillared front which made it a landmark. It was surrounded by a sloping garden adorned with shrubbery. After the withdrawal of Mr. Holton in 1847 Mr. Goodall continued the business till 1852, when he retired. In 1857 he became a resident of Beloit, where he lived till his death in 1906. The mercantile business in Milwaukee tended to be overdone at times in the early days. This was what induced Messrs. Holton & Goodall to experiment with shipments of grain and provisions to the East. Such adventures were side issues undertaken in the hope that they might open new avenues for trade.

James Bonnell, who established one of the first extensive mercantile houses in Milwaukee, was a native of New Jersey, and began his business career at Newton in that State. Hit by the hard times of 1837, he came to the conclusion that there must be a place where financial institutions were on a sounder basis than that on which they rested at that time in the East. Experience at Erie, Pennsylvania, and again at Detroit increased his dissatisfaction. In 1842 he came to Milwaukee because he had heard a Wall Street banker say that Mitchell's bank was the soundest in the United States. The population of Milwaukee was only 2,700 when he arrived, but in his opinion it would grow. Mr. Bonnell was possesesd of only slender means, but brought excellent recommendations which commanded confidence and credit. Alexander Mitchell looked over his credentials and agreed to help him to start. The firm of Shepard & Bonnell, which he organized, prospered from the outset and in a few years was



OLD ABNER KIRBY CORNER

East Water and Wisconsin Streets,
showing the famous clock



HOME OF LYNDSEY WARD

First dwelling house in Milwaukee that had a door-bell. Mr. Ward was the last president of the Village Board. He built this house on Milwaukee Street in 1844. It was demolished in 1911.

selling goods to the value of a million dollars per annum, a magnitude of transactions till then unequaled by any business establishment in Milwaukee. After a time, by mutual agreement, the partners separated, Mr. Shepard taking the hardware portion of the business and Mr. Bonnell concentrating on dry goods. His good fortune continued till the sudden drop of prices which followed the Civil war. In that collapse he was caught with a stock of goods the shrinkage on which amounted to a hundred thousand dollars before he realized that matters were seriously amiss, and his ultimate loss reached half a million. His conduct in the crisis commanded the respect of all who knew him, and though he never regained his wealth he had friends to the end of his days.

A well-remembered wholesale and retail dry goods establishment which originated in the era preceding railroads was that of Bradford Brothers. At its inception the members were John Bradford, who came in 1844, and his brother Joseph. The business grew to large proportions. In 1858 John Bradford withdrew and for several years thereafter was senior member of the carpet house of Bradford & Stark, which later became Stark Brothers. Joseph T. Bradford, with another brother, James, continued under the old name. Soon after coming to Milwaukee he had married Miss Fannie E. Rogers, daughter of James H. Rogers. The death of Joseph T. Bradford occurred in 1879. As exhibiting the evolutions of a business which began in the city's infancy and continued without cessation, though under different personal managements following one another in orderly succession till a time comparatively recent, the career of Charles G. Stark may be cited. Arriving in Milwaukee in 1854, he became an employe of Bradford Brothers, purchasing an interest and entering the firm of Bradford & Stark in 1862. He was one of the founders of the Merchants' Association. Nearly twenty years later he worked for the organization of the Exposition Association. In 1898 Mr. Stark established the manual training school of the Protestant Orphan Asylum as a memorial of his deceased brother, Edwards J. Stark. He was interested in the Wisconsin Telephone Company, the Johnson Service Company and the Northwestern Life Insurance Company.

Abner Kirby was another arrival of 1844. Embarking in the jewelry business, he built the store which long occupied the north-

east corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets. On the roof of this store he set up the first clock which gave time to the people of Milwaukee. Its dial was only three feet in diameter, but it was a public convenience for years—until the construction of the greater and grander tower-clock of St. John's Cathedral. As he felt the responsibility for notifying the whole city regarding the progress of the hours, Mr. Kirby was determined that his time should be correct. With this in view it was his practice to go out upon the lake in a boat, carrying instruments and a calendar, for the purpose of setting his watch by the sun and regulating the clock by his watch. One day Lieutenant Miller, of the United States Engineers, instructed him in the mystery of making an artificial horizon with the aid of a plate of molasses, after which Mr. Kirby was able to use his quadrant without venturing on the lake. He embarked in numerous descriptions of business during the course of his career, with varying degrees of prosperity, retaining to the end a reputation for fair-dealing. One of his successors as a jeweler was Albert B. Van Cott, who attracted renewed attention to the popular corner store by setting in it the first plate-glass show window ever seen in Milwaukee. The pane was four by five feet in size, and was said to have cost $500. Like "old" Kirby's clock, it was for a time a wonder of the town.

More generally in the early days than now it was the fashion for merchants to call attention to their places of business by the display of signs symbolical of the wares in which they dealt. L. J. Farwell, importer and wholesale and retail dealer in hardware, at what according to the numbering then in use was 137 East Water Street, used "the sign of the mill-saw and stove." Bradley & Metcalf's sign was an enormous boot. Shepard & Bonnell, at 193 East Water Street, displayed "the sign of the large tea-kettle." Fowler & Ely, 197 East Water Street, ornamented the front of their establishment with a big red boot. (Bradley & Metcalf's boot was black.) At 138 East Water Street, William Pearce, wholesale and retail boot and shoe manufacturer, and dealer in leather, exhibited "the sign of the box of shoes." William H. Byron, 153 East Water Street, dealt in foreign and domestic hardware and called attention to the fact with "the sign of the anvil." When Williams Lee advertised in the newspapers and directories that he was prepared to beat the world with

leather goods of his own manufacture he never failed to admonish the public to "look for the sign of the horse and trunk." He was at 134 East Water Street, in the United States Block, which was destroyed in the great fire of 1854. Colgate Brothers, 111 East Water Street, dealt in hardware, as was signified by their "sign of the Broadaxe." For years the practice survived of marking tobacconists' shops with the sign of the wooden Indian. Long afterward the more than life-size figure of Brother Jonathan stood in front of one of the stores in the Brodhead Block, now the site of the First Wisconsin National Bank, its purpose being to advertise a toy shop. Long afterward Wisconsin Street across from the old post office was ornamented with the shirt sign of Mrs. Shanks and the golden hoopskirt sign of A. W. Rich. When Sherburn Becker was Mayor, as late as 1909, he made an effort to enforce an ordinance against obstruction of sidewalks by tearing down clocks in front of jewelers' stores which violated its provision, but the undertaking was only a partial success. It may be said for a considerable number of the early symbolical signs that they were not so placed as to encroach upon space belonging to the public. It may also be observed that even if they had been nobody in the old days would have been likely to object, for many people took an interest in them and looked upon them as adding to the attractiveness of the town. There was no public museum in the early days. Parents approved of stuffed bears in front of fur dealers' establishments, because of the delight which they afforded to the children.

Men like Holton and Goodall and Bonnell and Farwell and the Bradfords found business conditions in Milwaukee different from what had been encountered by the projectors of the early establishments that had succumbed after brief careers. The back country was filling up with farmers, who appreciated the market for their produce here and became profitable customers. The stream of immigrants passing through the city to the interior contained many individuals needing outfitting to a greater or less extent, and this swelled the sales of Milwaukee merchants.

A succession of Milwaukeeans made brilliant records in the hardware business. Outstanding houses after the departure of Leonard J. Farwell were those of Clarence Shepard, Haney & De Bow and H. J. Nazro & Co. For many years after the with-

drawal of Henry Nazro, John Nazro was the recognized leader in this line in all the region west of Lake Michigan. Mr. Nazro was energetic not only in his own immediate business concerns, but in various activities conducing to the well-being of the community during the trying period in which patriotic coöperation with the government at Washington and voluntary participation in soldiers' aid work of different descriptions brought business men of the city as a body into favorable notice throughout the North. He was one of the organizers of the Merchants' Association, and a moving spirit in its undertakings for the commercial expansion of Milwaukee. The reverses which finally forced Mr. Nazro out of business were an outcome of the panic of 1873.

Under the headline, "Commerce of Milwaukee," the City Directory of 1851 contained the following:

"The amount of stock in steam and sail vessels owned in and sailing out of this port in 1850, in tonnage was 8,542. There are thirty-nine vessels owned here engaged in freighting produce, merchandise and lumber. The business done at the port of Milwaukee during the season of navigation for 1850 may be seen by the following tables:

"Imports.—Merchandise, tons, 27,681; merchandise, barrels, 90,548; green apples, barrels, 15,110; cider, do., 1,084; salt, do., 11,648; pork, do., 2,310; oysters, do., 1,300; fish, do., 985; dried apples, do., 700; water lime, do., 686; whisky, do., 10,680; building stone, tons, 875; grindstones, tons, 700; coal, tons, 900; butter and cheese, pounds, 448,000; lard and hams, pounds, 230,000; live hogs, number, 1,500; corn, bushels, 5,442; oats, do., 10,472; potatoes, bags, 2,000; salt, sacks, 20,000; hops, bales, 250; reaping machines, 200; locomotives and tenders, 2; railroad iron and spikes, tons, 5,015; carwheels, pairs, 120.

"Exports.—Wheat, bushels, 297,578; barley, do., 15,270; oats, do., 2,100; corn, do., 5,000; flaxseed, do., 1,013; flour, barrels, 100,017; salt, do., 2,300; pork, do., 476; beef, do., 1,426; fish, do., 438; whisky, do., 450; grass seed, do., 42; beer, do, 1,700; linseed oil, do., 75; barrels, bulk, 3,959; ashes tons, 276; saleratus, tons, 129; pig iron, tons, 29; merchandise, tons, 811; lead, pounds, 1,050,000; shot, do., 150,000; copper, do., 50,000; wool, do., 126,595; broom corn, bales, 2,075; rags, do., 313; flax, do., 1,700;

deer hair, do., 10; mill feed, bags, 37,000; hides, number, 12,552; brick, number, 750,000; wooden ware, pieces, 27,000."

The statement went on to say that there were also received and manufactured at the different yards in the city during the season of 1850, 30,004,336 feet of lumber and 17,004,000 shingles. The value of animals slaughtered at Milwaukee for the year ending June 1, 1850, was $156,500. During the fall and winter of 1850 there were slaughtered and packed for shipment 1,935 barrels of beef and 2,927 barrels of pork. Preparations for greatly extending the packing business at Milwaukee were under way at the time. The returns of the United States marshal for the year 1850 contained the following statistics regarding the manufactures of Milwaukee: Capital invested, $546,720; value of raw material used, $894,835; value of products, $1,801,123. The number of passengers landed at the port of Milwaukee during the season of navigation in 1850 reached 54,774, of whom Reed's Line of lake steamers brough 31,343, Ward's Line 18,643, and propellers 4,788.

The Directory of 1851 noted the fact that the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company had built twenty miles of its highway toward the Mississippi, and that a charter had been obtained from the Legislature for a railroad from Milwaukee to Chicago. The principal part of its remarks under the heading "Thoroughfares Leading to This City" was devoted to the plank roads, each of which was described with particularity. These roads were eight in number. The Directory observed "They are progressing with commendable zeal, and some of them towards completion. The tendency of these roads to increase and facilitate the business of the city must be obvious to all, and they should be regarded as the main arteries to send life and health through the heart of the business of this city." The plank roads enumerated were the Milwaukee and Janesville, whole length 69 miles, of which about 19 miles had been planked; Milwaukee and Waukesha, 6 miles completed; Madison, Watertown and Milwaukee, 35 miles finished, and 45 graded, ditched and bridged; Milwaukee and Lisbon and Milwaukee and Fond du Lac. Eight miles of the Milwaukee and Lisbon had been built and 9 miles of the Milwaukee and Fond du Lac put under contract. A list of the offic-

ers of the plank road companies included the names of many of the leading men of Milwaukee:

Milwaukee and Waukesha.—President, Levi Blossom; secretary, S. J. Van Vechten; treasurer, Alanson Sweet.

Milwaukee and Waukesha.—President, Henry Williams; secretary, Charles H. Larkin; directors, Henry Williams, Alexander Mitchell, J. Burnham, Joseph Cary, D. Fishbach, C. C. Dewey, Charles A. Hastings.

Madison, Watertown and Milwaukee.—President, Elisha Eldred; secretary, Joshua Hathaway; treasurer, Alexander Mitchell; directors, Elisha Eldred, Eliphalet Cramer, Hans Crocker, Harvey Birchard, John S. Rockwell, John Richards and Joshua Hathaway.

Milwaukee and Lisbon.—President, Leander Comstock; secretary, E. B. Greenleaf; treasurer, Robert Whitehead; directors, Leander Comstock, J. A. Phelps, R. Hoppin, Jr., Albert Fowler, Clark Brookins, Levi Russell, Lucius Botsford.

Milwaukee and Fond du Lac.—President, Joseph R. Thomas; secretary, J. B. Vliet; directors, Joseph R. Thomas, Garret Vliet, Richardson Houghton, Jacob A. Hoover, Ferdinand Kalckhoff, Robert W. Pierce, John B. Pierce.

Milwaukee and Green Bay.—President, Daniel Richards; secretary, and treasurer, Richard Carlisle.

The plank roads as well as the railroads were a good thing for Milwaukee, whose business interests received material benefit from both.

In the interval between the beginning of railroad building and the completion of lines to the Mississippi the city's commercial interests expanded to a remarkable extent. The territory brought into direct and easy communication included northern Illinois and Iowa as well as western Wisconsin and Minnesota. Milwaukee, it is true, was not without competition from other cities in her own State. Green Bay, Eau Claire and La Crosse, as well as Racine and Kenosha gathered some of the benefits of outfitting immigrants and furnishing supplies to the pineries and the rapidly increasing population locating on the farms, but the lion's share of a large and profitable mercantile traffic was absorbed by Milwaukee, whose prosperous rivalry was felt by Chicago, St. Louis and Dubuque and even by great commercial

centers farther east. There were country merchants who still adhered to the practice of making annual visits to the seaboard for the purpose of laying in their seasons' supplies. Milwaukee jobbers, carrying enormous stocks, were able to offer purchasers from the interior a choice of goods as extensive as could be found elsewhere and to make terms in some instances more satisfactory than those offered by their Eastern competitors.

A sketch of the business history of Milwaukee prefixed to the City Directory for 1857-8 summarizes as follows the fluctuations of prosperity and adversity up to that time:

"Milwaukee early became one of the favorite points of settlement, and from 1835 to 1837 its population rapidly increased. Then came the results consequent upon the commercial disasters and general derangement of business all over the country in that year, and up to 1840 Milwaukee, then numbering some 1,700 inhabitants, remained almost at a standstill. To this era of depression succeeded one of progress and prosperity, the town gaining rapidly both in wealth and population. In 1847 the number of inhabitants had risen to 14,061. Now came a second season of adversity. Wisconsin had three successive years of poor crops. The glittering temptations of California drew away many of her citizens. Sickness and ill fortune disgusted others and drove them back to the Eastern homes whence they had migrated to the West. It required during those two or three gloomy years strong faith and splendid courage to struggle against hard times and discouraging prospects in the hope of brighter days and better fortunes. But these came at last. The seasons and crops improved; many of the California pilgrims returned, the wiser for their journey and better pleased than ever with their Wisconsin homes; the tide of immigration again set in strong and full Wisconsinward; and now the whistle of the locomotive—that 'open sesame' to the treasures of the West—began to be heard in our midst, and Milwaukee took its second start ahead. Business and population increased rapidly; real estate experienced a sudden rise; new buildings began to appear in all parts of the city; the demand for stores and dwellings grew clamorous, and landlords rejoiced in unheard-of and hitherto undreamed-of rents. In the interval between 1853 and 1857, a brief four years, Milwaukee doubled its business, wealth and population, and is now growing

faster in all three particulars than at any previous period of her history."

The "Milwaukee Business Directory for the Year 1858," presented to its readers a list of residents of the city who paid a tax of $100 dollars and upward. The table is reprinted as follows, in the belief that it will be interesting to many Milwaukeeans of today:

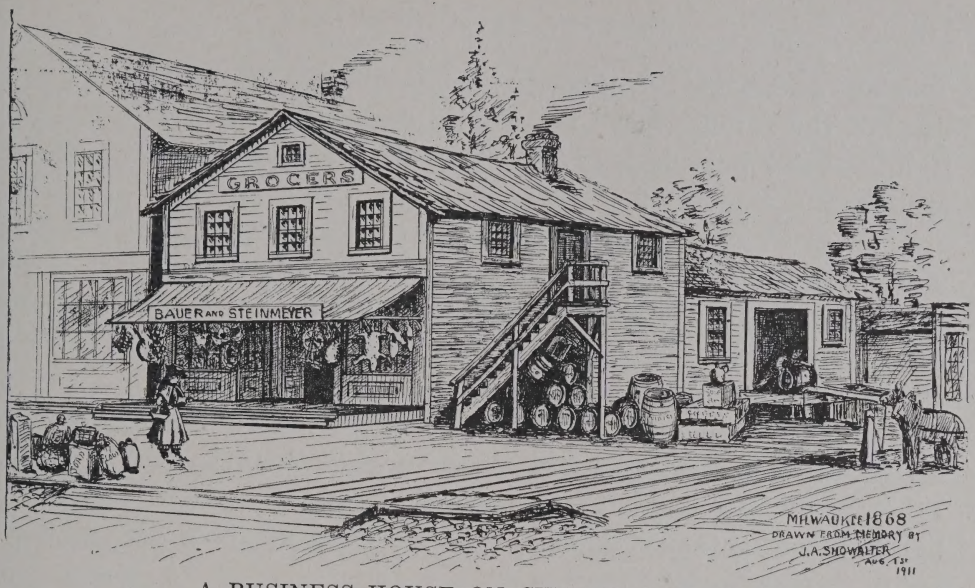
Taxpayers of 1857.

Abert, George	$1,000.44	Lapham, I. A.	$3,012.46
Atkins & Steele	131.25	Ludington & Co.	1,238.48
Adler, S.	144.38	Luscombe & Pierce	187.00
Alexander, O.	------	Lumsden	541.88
Baumbach	906.37	Larkin, C. H.	309.32
Bosworth & Sons	500.45	Lynde, W. P.	563.94
Bosworth, H.	232.30	Lockwood, John	218.85
Bonnell, James	286.42	Ludington, R.	407.53
Baker & Isham	164.04	Miner, G. B.	337.69
Brown & Ogden	3,032.28	Milman, H.	109.51
Bradley & Metcalf	1,427.94	Mitchell, Alexander	8,027.45
Bradford Bros.	1,465.73	Martin, J. B.	1,768.33
Berliner & Bruno	239.07	McDonald, Duncan	636.20
Best, Jacob	676.46	Marshall, S.	------
Bremer, G. & Co.	325.50	McVickar, J. L.	691.61
Brown, J. S.	583.61	Mack Bros.	2,417.60
Beeson, Jacob	456.42	Mahler & Wendt	619.97
Baker, E. T.	208.07	Melms, C. T.	469.03
Brodhead, E.	217.22	Murray, James	547.31
Birchard, H.	393.75	Mallory, J. A.	164.70
Cook, C. D.	593.25	Mallory, G. S.	------
Cross, J. B.	838.90	Merrick, L. J.	2,045.98
Clarke, A. F.	393.85	Miller, A. G.	180.56
Comstock, I.	175.03	Medbury, J. W.	198.89
Comstock, J. W.	149.90	Mabbett & Breed	229.95
Comstock, C.	773.33	Merrick, L. & Co.	1,699.67
Cary, J.	------	Nazro, H. J. & Co.	1,347.82
Cady, R.	109.17	Norris, G. D.	516.16
Conover, S. S.	349.95	Noyes, Flertzheim & Co.	114.43
Cramer, E.	623.92	Noonan, J. A.	102.91
Cordes, J. H.	------	Nichols & Britt	737.23
Crocker, Hans	1,288.16	Niedecken, H. & Co.	311.26
Cole, P. C.	1,437.51	Newhall, Daniel	484.70
Collingwood, T.	202.11	Nunnemacher, J.	214.27
Diedrichs, Edward	802.62	Orton, J.	------
Dousman, G. D.	1,331.71	Pierce, J. L.	1,792.55
Davis, S. B. & J.	255.35	Peckham, G. W.	1,412.21
Davis, C. D.	782.88	Plankinton, J.	583.51
Davis, J.	503.31	Plankinton & Co.	102.73
Dickerman, E. B.	158.09	Pixley, J. W.	1,473.55
Dolan, John	492.37	Preusser, C.	198.48
Dutcher & Sexton	229.67	Pfister, G.	1,114.41
Durand & Lawrence	606.26	Perkins, C. W.	356.70
Emmons & Van Dyke	------	Prentiss, W. A.	689.21
Ehlebracht, A.	116.79	Quentin, Chas.	3,640.40
Eldred, Anson	504.33	Rogers, J. H.	2,741.29
Eldred, E.	5,807.50	Schwarting, H.	------
Furlong, John	1,288.62	Schramm, S.	314.69
Fitzgerald, G.	150.93	Silkman, J. H.	1,473.51
Goll & Frank	174.05	Stimpson, D.	373.81
Green & Button	142.42	Smith, J. B.	385.23

Gunnison, H. W.	174.82	Shoyer, E. M.	602.13
Goodrich & Terry	333.39	Seaman & Wing	147.66
Haverstick & Bennett	196.88	Shepardson, C.	1,273.68
Hathaway, Joshua	2,531.91	Schutte, Victor	189.51
Haney & DeBow	167.75	Sexton Bros.	775.07
Huebschmann, F.	232.80	Selby, J., Jr.	797.99
Hopkins, O. P.	1,065.99	Tweedy, J. H.	560.98
Hibbard, W. B.	446.86	Tesch, J. H.	330.92
Henni, J. M.	292.96	Van Cott, A. B.	131.25
Hoover, J. A.	256.68	Vliet, Garret	449.97
Houghton, R.	373.60	Waldo & Ody	1,757.39
Humphrey, G.	197.83	Walworth, C.	181.86
Haskins, J. W.	919.90	Wall, Caleb	321.04
Ilsley, C. F.	492.22	Wunderly, E.	668.83
Inbush Bros.	863.46	White, John	108.39
Johnson, S., Jr.	535.01	Wilmanns, A. C.	-------
Johnson, James	320.58	Wisconsin Leather Co.	423.23
Jenkins, C. E.	5,385.32	Williams, C. H.	739.28
Kane, A. L.	627.81	Watkins, C. K.	521.17
Kilbourn, Byron	1,842.75	Wells & Brigham	7,962.03
Kellogg & Strong	323.02	Weeks, L. W.	645.52
Kneeland, James	3,000.73	Walker, G. H.	1,134.59
Kneeland, Moses	242.69	Worthington, E.	502.85
Knab, David	831.62	Whittemore, A. & Co.	131.25
Kirby, A.	288.52	Young & Sinclair	1,448.37
Kershaw, C. J.	186.00		

There was much in the business situation at Milwaukee that underwent a change in the period between the panic of 1857 and the close of the Civil war. Vanished conditions under which trade was carried on and fortunes were made or lost in earlier days have been interestingly revealed in personal narratives obtained from the lips of pioneers who survived till comparatively recent times.

Among the young fellows who clerked for Frederick Wardner when the latter was one of the city's most prosperous general storekeepers was Joseph Phillips, afterward mayor of Milwaukee. Phillips was an Alsatian, born in 1825, who came to America with his father in 1834, and reached Milwaukee on the 4th of July, 1842. He was only sixteen when he received his father's permission to come West and seek his fortune, leaving Buffalo with two youthful friends and taking passage on a schooner which consumed ten days in making the voyage. When he entered Wardner's employ the latter's place was on Huron Street near the river. It was long before the time of railroads, and there were few wagon roads. The merchants could not place reliance on farmers to keep them in supplies. When stocks ran low and schooners also failed them the only recourse was to get ahead of competitors in buying from chance "Easterners," as they were called,—people making the journey with ox teams from points in



A BUSINESS HOUSE ON CHESTNUT STREET

Corner of Fourth Street, occupied by Bauer & Steinmeyer until 1877

JOHN POLLWORTH'S HOME RESTAURANT

Located at No. 2 Grand Avenue and established in 1846

Indiana and bringing miscellaneous supplies, including the produce of the farm. Here is a reminiscence in which Mr. Phillips indulged not long before his death at the age of eighty, which occurred September 9, 1906:

"On one occasion Wardner heard of a man from the East who was coming up from Chicago with several well-laden teams. He wanted to buy ahead of the other merchants, without competitive bartering; so he gave me twenty dollars in gold, put me into a sleigh, and told me to hurry out on the road to Chicago and meet the man. When I saw the four loads of merchandise, I reined up and started to make inquiries as to what the man had to sell.

" 'Waal,' he replied, 'I've got ham, poultry, bacon and sich besides other things; but you can't buy the stuff, because you ain't got money enough.'

"I had to show him my money before he would talk business, for he had no time to waste on the road to market talking to a boy. After some dickering I succeeded in buying everything he had at ten cents a pound, and we came on together into the city. We unloaded at the end of what is now the Wisconsin Street bridge, and he went back to Hoosierdom with his hard-earned profits. By 2 o'clock that night hardly any of his goods were left. Nearly everything we had bought of him had been disposed of at an average of twenty-five cents a pound."

When Phillips had saved up money which he earned by clerking for Wardner, he conceived the idea of going into business on his own account, and, in partnership with his brother-in-law, George End, who afterward became a banker and mayor of Sheboygan, started a store at Germantown. After a year or two they concluded Germantown was not a large enough field; so they came into Milwaukee, opening a general store in the Hustis Building, at Third and Chestnut streets, where they prospered greatly. The La Crosse depot was diagonally across the street. Teams from the country came down Chestnut Street and also found ingress from the north on Third Street. For several years there were few more flourishing general establishments in Milwaukee.

After the Civil war Mr. Phillips sold his store and established a tannery, which he sold in 1877 to the Pfister & Vogel Leather Company. During the later years of his life he was engaged with his son-in-law, August Rebhan, in the insurance

business. In 1858 Mr. Phillips was elected alderman from the Sixth Ward, continuing in that office till 1862. From 1866 to 1869 he was city treasurer, and in 1871 was elected mayor. He also served two terms in the Assembly—1867 and 1869. As mayor he tried to enforce a law closing dance halls which held open over Sunday. This caused uproar in the name of personal liberty. The mayor had lost his popularity trying to perform what he conceived to be his duty. He had reached the end of his political career, but his honorable and useful business activities continued till the time of his death.

One of the arrivals from overseas who came to Milwaukee in 1842 was Henry Kroeger, a native of Westphalia, Prussia, born on the 25th of August, 1819. He said that he was congenitally tongue-tied, and unable to speak a word until relieved by a surgical operation when he was sixteen years of age. On account of this infirmity he never went to school. To the age of twenty-three he assisted his father, who gained a livelihood by preparing turf for fuel, and later by making wooden shoes. The young man journeyed to America in the company of a kind friend who paid his passage. After a short stay in Milwaukee young Kroeger went to East Troy, where he made wooden shoes, taking his pay in foodstuffs, as there was no money there at the time. The supply of all kinds of farm produce that year was in excess of the demand, and farmers disposed of it for what it would bring—hay selling at the equivalent of 50 cents to a dollar a ton, potatoes at as low as four cents a bushel, and pork at 90 cents a hundred pounds. Mr. Kroeger cut hay and stored it in anticipation of a time when it might not be a drug on the market. He dug potatoes on shares and stored them through the winter. He traded for pork, and stored this too. The winter of 1842-3, he said, was the coldest he ever knew. Nearly everything froze up, and in the spring produce of all kinds was scarce and high in price. He sold his hay for $25 a ton, his potatoes for $2.25 a bushel, and his pork for $20 a hundred. Then, with $1,800 in his possession, he came to Milwaukee, bought twenty-six cows and engaged in the milk business, in which he prospered, though milk in those days retailed at as low as two and a half cents a quart.

It was in the winter of 1844 that he embarked in the ice business, becoming the first ice-dealer in the city, and gaining the

appellation of "Ice-Bear Kroeger," by which he continued to be known as long as he lived. His ice-house was on the old Kellogg place, on the Kinnickinnic River, and he preserved his stock from melting by storing it in the side of a hill where twelve feet of earth shielded it from the heat of the sun. Ice at that time brought fifty cents to a dollar per hundred pounds, and the business proved remunerative. In the winter of 1844-5 he constructed two additional caches at the corner of National Avenue and Greenbush Street, where he laid in ninety tons. Mr. Kroeger continued to sell ice till 1863, at which time he owned twelve ice houses and twenty-one dwelling houses. He also owned and managed a saloon and boarding house.

Then came evil days. He and some of his boarders fell under suspicion of having killed a man who had been seen about the place and had mysteriously disappeared. Kroeger and his supposed confederates were brought before the grand jury and bound over for trial. But evidence against them was non-existent. A nolle prosequi was entered and the accused men were released. Finally the stranger's disappearance was accounted for by the recovery of his body from the river, into which he had stumbled while trying to make his way in the dark at the unguarded end of a street.

Indefatigable as a worker, Kroeger had an insatiable desire for experimenting in different varieties of business. During 1848 and 1850 he became a contractor for public works, grading a number of streets on the South Side. Contractors in those days often encountered difficulty in getting their money. He always said that after waiting for his pay he received it in city orders which he was obliged to dispose of for 50 cents on the dollar, and that the experience cost him a hundred thousand dollars. During the Civil war he was appointed sutler of the Twenty-Seventh Wisconsin Infantry, which consumed two years of his time and resulted in another heavy loss.

After the war, he opened a saloon on Market Square, where he sometimes disposed of as many as a hundred kegs of beer in a day. But the "Ice-Bear" was no bookkeeper. He had lost the Midas touch, and gradually he became devoid of capital. For a time he gained a scanty subsistence by putting up free lunches, which he carried in a basket on his arm from saloon to saloon, for disposal to the proprietors. He also derived income from the

publication of "Ice-Bear Kroeger's Weather Kalendar," which he peddled among his friends. In 1876 he opened a skating rink on the marsh, near Elevator A. This he carried on with the assistance of his wife and boys till the starting of the rink at Schlitz Park and the rise of the roller-skating craze diminished his patronage and finally absorbed it.

While with the army, Kroeger was a passenger on the steamboat, *Neal*, which caught fire on the Mississippi, and burned to the water's edge, with a loss of 600 lives. The current was very strong. Strapped to an empty beer keg, the "Ice-Bear" was five hours in the water before being rescued. It was this experience, so his friends suggested, which perhaps accounted for a distaste for water and fondness for beer that distinguished him to the end of his life.

Everything about the "Ice-Bear's" humble home in the days while he conducted his skating rink was a model of cleanness and neatness. He had a wide acquaintance in the city, and was accustomed to receive kindly greetings from men, women and children whenever he walked abroad. To a reporter for one of the English newspapers, who asked him how he made the predictions which he published in his almanac, the "Ice-Bear" made this reply: "I commenced to keep de vetter over sixty-two years ago. My fader unt mutter learned me always different stars, different locations, unt everydings, unt I keep note of it all. My grossfader lacked four hours of a hunderdt years, and learned me considerable about vetter predictions. Dis year I haf not missed it since New Year's Day. You can look by my almanac. How I does it I cannot more explain."

In the imposing procession by which the Germans of Milwaukee celebrated in 1871 the victory of their native country in the Franco-Prussian War, "Ice-Bear" Kroeger, working at a bench on a bedecked wagon made a pair of wooden shoes which he afterward sent to Prince Bismarck. In the files of Milwaukee newspapers of the time will be found the text of a letter from Prince Bismarck to Mr. Kroeger cordially acknowledging the receipt of the gift.

Others than Henry Kroeger made money in later years by following the business in which he was the pioneer. The founder of the Kopmeier family in Milwaukee was John Theodore Kop-

meier, who was born in Oldenburg, Germany, in 1813, and after compulsory service in the army, from which he received an honorable discharge in 1841, emigrated to America, making his way to this city, then in the village stage of its career. Having no trade, and being without capital, he was obliged to look for employment where he could find it. The quest took him to Cincinnati, where his earnings sometimes amounted to no more than 25 cents a day. At the end of three years he returned to Milwaukee, and from that time he remained. In 1849, with small savings in money but a large capital in the form of health, energy, ambition and stability of character, he married, and in the same year he entered the employ of "Ice-Bear" Kroeger. Tongs were a convenience not provided at that time, and it was the business of drivers to load ice into their wagons and take it out by hand. Mr. Kopmeier's wife was a good manager, skilled in small economies. Out of the scanty family income she contrived to help her husband in saving money. In two years he had enough to buy a horse and wagon. Now he engaged in business on his own account, teaming and hiring out with his team to assist contractors engaged in grading streets. With increased savings he purchased a few cows and started a milk business. Like Kroeger, he harvested ice on the old Menomonee marsh.

Capt. James Sanderson, who had been Mr. Kopmeier's employer for grading work, found himself short of cash and offered to liquidate indebtedness by deeding a hilly lot at the southwest corner of Reed and Washington streets. Kopmeier took the property, and in the side of the hill, which was some forty feet in height, dug a hole for storing ice, after which he was able to supply that commodity the year around. His wife looked after the milking of the cows, while he made deliveries to customers for milk in the morning and for ice in the afternoon. At length came a time when he concentrated upon the ice business, in which, despite vigorous competition, he prospered.

The same piece of ground that he was utilizing for storage purposes supplied him with a residence site. It was in the Kopmeier home at Reed and Washington streets that John Henry Kopmeier was born on the 16th of February, 1854, second in a family of ten brothers and sisters, eight of whom lived to maturity. He began to help his elder brother at the early age of eight,

and proved so useful that it was only in the spring and winter months he could be spared time for school. What formal education John H. Kopmeier secured was obtained chiefly in the old St. Gall's School, which formed the germ of the present Marquette University, and in the old Spencerian Business College, where he won signal honors. With ornamental branches of learning he formed no acquaintance, but he was quick and accurate at figures and wrote a flowing and legible hand. His mind took a practical turn, which often enabled him to perceive opportunities for the advantageous application of abstract principles to the solution of concrete problems. Alert, energetic, ambitious, he developed a remarkable capacity for organization and executive management. At the age of twenty-four, he bought out his father's partners and became the guiding hand in the business. That was in 1878, when the yearly haulings amounted to 4,000 tons. By the beginning of the present century they had increased to 400,000 tons, and the great corporation which had grown out of the parent Kopmeier's hole in the side of a hill owned more than one hundred model ice-houses, located on the shores of the finest inland lakes in Wisconsin.

Among the noteworthy business careers which had their inception in the Milwaukee of the early days was that of John Pritzlaff. Mr. Pritzlaff was born in Pomerania, in 1820, receiving a good elementary education in his native land, and emigrating to the United States before he had attained the age of twenty. For more than a year after his arrival he worked at rough labor in the western part of New York and the northern part of Pennsylvania. Reaching Milwaukee in October, 1841, he turned his hand to such useful tasks as offered, saving what little he could from scanty earnings, and cherishing the hope of some day being able to engage in business on his own account. The opportunity arrived in 1850, when, with a friend, he set up independently as a hardware dealer. The venture prospered, and eventually he became one of the leading merchants in the Northwest. Shortly before Mr. Pritzlaff's death, which occurred on the 16th of August, 1900, he had celebrated the eightieth anniversary of his birth and the fiftieth anniversary of his establishment in business. The latter observance took the form of a dinner at the Plankinton House to two hundred and fifty of his employes and a few of his friends, at which he made the following interesting address:

"You may expect a speech from me, but do not ask for oratory from an old canal laborer and porter. I shall merely give you an account of my life in America, recalling the conditions under which the John Pritzlaff Hardware Company began business. I landed in New York in the fall of 1839 without a cent in my pockets and owing about ten dollars. After a tedious journey up the Hudson and through the Erie Canal, I arrived in Buffalo sick as well as penniless. I could find no work. With a number of others equally unfortunate I walked with an ax and a shovel on my shoulders sixty miles south from that city, to where the Genesee Canal was under construction. During the greater part of that fall and of the winter which followed my work was in a stone quarry. Next summer I went to Pennsylvania, where they were building a canal along the Susquehanna River. There work ceased in the following spring. In the summer of 1841 I worked on a farm, and in the fall of that year I came to Milwaukee, where I have resided ever since.

"My first job here was for Daniel Richards, on whose farm I worked for wages of $9 a month. Most of my work was cutting wood on the hill where the Thirteenth Ward school now stands. During the summer of 1842 I was employed as cook on a schooner, the *Jesse Smith*. During the winter of 1842-3 I made cordwood for three shillings per cord, taking store pay. The scene of this labor was a little south of Schlitz Park. It was so cold that winter and the snow was so deep that I was not able to earn enough to pay for my board. In the spring of 1843 I started in the iron and hardware business as porter for Clark Shepardson, who had a hardware store on East Water Street. There I received $200 a year and had to board myself. The lodging however did not worry me, as I slept in the store, under the counter. In the spring of 1844 Shepardson sold out to Nazro and King, and I was sold with the business. In 1847 Nazro and King separated, and John Nazro stepped into the place of King, the firm then becoming Henry Nazro & Company. In 1849 A. F. Suelflohn and I decided to start for ourselves in the flour and feed business. However, when everything had been arranged, Nazro & Company made me an offer of $550 per year if I would stay with them another year. This was more than I had ever received. Though I had worked hard for six years in the business, from 5 o'clock

in the morning till after 10 at night, I had previously received at first $320 and for the last two years $420 a year. I told Henry Nazro that $550 was too much, that I could not earn it; nevertheless I accepted the offer.

"On the first day of April, fifty years ago tomorrow, I put up the sign of John Pritzlaff & Co., and opened my store at what is now 299 Third Street. A. F. Suelflohn and Henry J. Nazro & Co. were the 'Co.' Neither Suelflohn nor I had any money, to start with, but we put in our work, and Henry J. Nazro & Company furnished the capital. We paid Nazro & Co. 7½ per cent for the capital they advanced, and bought all our goods from them at an advance of 7 per cent over cost. In 1853 we bought out Suelflohn for $3,300. Our business steadily increased, and I bought the lot and put up the building at what is now 303 Third Street. In 1866 Nazro & Co. stepped out, the firm becoming John Pritzlaff, and such it remained until 1884, when it became incorporated under the present name.

"In 1854 I began building the place the company now occupies and in 1876 moved into the new store. How this first narrow store has grown, how one after another addition has been put to it, until we now occupy almost the entire block I need not tell you. There are men in my employ who worked for me in the old store before 1876 and others whose names can be found on our payrolls for twenty years.

"This dinner is given to you gentlemen in recognition of your services in building up this business. Without faithful employes no firm can succeed. This firm has been particularly blessed in this respect. Gentlemen, we are proud of you. In behalf of the company, I thank you.

"In this connection it is only fair to refer to the relation of the John Pritzlaff Hardware Company to the Second Ward Bank. Since 1855 the firm has banked continuously with this institution, and many are the storms that both have weathered together. It is to a great extent due to assistance given by the bank that the Pritzlaff Hardware Company has attained its present magnitude. On the other hand, it is safe to say that the Second Ward Savings Bank has no cause to regret its dealings with the Pritzlaff Hardware Company."

Attorney E. H. Bottum, who had been the company's legal

advisor for many years, supplemented Mr. Pritzlaff's remarks with the following: "We are honored tonight by a concern that stands third in point of magnitude of its kind in the United States; and, judging from the ability of its president and vice president it is not surprising that it has had little need of a lawyer's aid. John Pritzlaff although poor in purse when he came to this country was rich in character, in integrity, in ambition, in energy. He was potentially what he is today. He seized the opportunity that comes to all young men. He achieved what such qualities as his are bound to produce when rightly applied. His success has not been a selfish one, for his benevolence and kindness have been generously extended, while his efforts in a business line have been untiring."

During his life Mr. Pritzlaff had been a member of the congregation of Trinity Lutheran Church, to which he made liberal gifts of money. By his will he left acceptable bequests to orphan asylums, miscellaneous charities and churches, and a remembrance of $200 to the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, of which he was a member, the bulk of his estate going to his family. The mercantile establishment which he founded is still one of the solid business houses of Milwaukee.

During the depression following the panic of 1857 there was no lack of enterprise on the part of those who possessed credit or ready money which had been saved from the crash. Many fine buildings were erected in 1857 and 1858, among those aside from residences which were of a notable character being the post office, the State Bank edifice, Albany Hall, and the Newhall House, which latter was famous for years as the finest hostelry west of Lake Michigan. The residences erected during that period were numerous and in many instances of quality much superior to what had sufficed before. They included several rows of the English type, such as were much in favor at the East. An enterprising firm of real estate dealers issued a statement that not fewer than 452 buildings had been in course of construction during the year 1858, representing an aggregate cost of $1,113,200. Property valuations for the purpose of taxation told a story of progress, for while the assessments for 1857 were $6,444,000, those for the following year were $11,708,509.

The liberality with which they extended credit had a serious

consequence for many Milwaukee houses in the crisis of 1857. Contemporaneously with the breakdown of the credit system in the country at large came a succession of poor crops. Lumbermen and miners as well as farmers were unable to raise money, and in numerous instances representatives of these classes and the country storekeepers dependent upon their patronage failed to pay their bills. The aftermath of the panic of 1857 affected Wisconsin more seriously than the country at large. While the total liabilities of bankrupts in the North sank from $265,810,000 in 1857 to $73,600,000 in 1858, the corresponding figures for Wisconsin were in 1857 $1,625,000 and in 1858 $2,750,000. There was a partial recovery in Wisconsin in 1859, when the total liabilities of bankrupts receded to $1,665,000, but in 1860 banking difficulties and the menace of the Civil war exerted a depressing influence upon business, and they rose to $2,050,000. By reason of her commercial pre-eminence, Milwaukee was the major sufferer when this calamitous condition descended upon the business and industrial interests of the State. Viewing the situation in perspective it is apparent Milwaukee was a sufferer for sins that were not her own. It was not Milwaukee bankers who had perverted the State banking law of 1853 in such a way as to bring the curse of wildcat currency upon Wisconsin. That was the outcome of nefarious activity elsewhere than in the commercial center and of laxity on the part of State officials entrusted with the administration of the law. Milwaukee banks had redeemed their issues. Milwaukee merchants assisted the Bankers' Association in its efforts to prevent the utter collapse of State bank currency in the crisis of the Civil war.

When the outbreak of the war occurred Milwaukee and Wisconsin weathered the financial stringency of 1861 with comparative immunity while other communities throughout the North were almost as disastrously affected as they had been in 1857. This was due partly to the circumstance that Wisconsin's trade relations were less intimate than those of other Northern communities with the Southern States, so that the repudiation of Confederate debts and the sudden cessation of business intercourse with that section concerned her only indirectly. It was also attributable in part to the fortunate circumstance that the

grain crop of 1860 in Wisconsin was the largest which up to that time had been garnered in the State.

Liabilities of Northern bankrupts in 1861 were three times the aggregate of 1860. In Wisconsin the increase was negligible —the total for 1860 being $2,050,000 and for 1861 $2,675,000. In Milwaukee the aggregate liabilities of bankrupts fell from $753,321 in 1860 to $537,204 in 1861. Milwaukee was getting trade benefits consequent upon the completion of her railroads to the Mississippi River, and the eastward diversion of traffic following the closing of that water route by the Confederacy. The condition of the State currency constituted a serious impediment to Wisconsin's commercial felicity, but even with that handicap business was good. In the autumn of 1861 the *Milwaukee Sentinel* was able to observe: "The heavily laden trains bringing grain to Milwaukee do not return empty, but take goods into the country corresponding to a great extent with the values they bring in."

By the summer of 1862 the North as a whole had rallied from the depression of the preceding year, while business in Milwaukee and Wisconsin flourished beyond example. In its issue of August 7, 1865, the *Sentinel* called attention to the circumstance that between 1863 and 1864 the number of persons in the city whose incomes exceeded $10,000 had risen from forty-four to eighty-three. In 1864 John Plankinton, standing at the head of the successful business men of Milwaukee, paid tax upon an income of $104,100. The largest part of this, the *Sentinel* reported, he had made by a fortunate investment in wool. Some of the great incomes of the period were the outcome of sheer speculation, but not all. A significant evidence of prosperity was the large amount of money invested in the erection of new buildings. Says the report of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce for 1868: "In 1866 Milwaukee erected 1,233 buildings at a cost of $2,467,500; in 1867 1,388 at a cost of $3,034,295; in 1868 1,293 at a cost of $2,583,710."

CHAPTER XIX

WHEN WHEAT WAS KING

MILWAUKEE AS THE WORLD'S GREATEST PRIMARY MARKET FOR THE STAFF OF LIFE—CRUDE BEGINNINGS FOLLOWED BY EXPANSION AND IMPROVEMENTS—RISE OF THE ELEVATOR SYSTEM—THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—NOTABLE CHARACTERS ON 'CHANGE, AND TRANSACTIONS IN WHICH THEY HAD A HAND.

Up to the time of its admission to the Union, Wisconsin raised little more wheat than was required to supply the demands of its own inhabitants for food, while the means of conveying local surpluses to market were in general exceedingly deficient. Plank roads and railroads were yet to be, and the price of the commodity was not always sufficient to compensate for hauling it twenty to seventy miles by wagon over ungraded roads, unbridged streams and undrained sloughs. Many were the instances of farmers essaying the experiment and discovering on returning to their homes that the expenses of the journey had exhausted the money received for their loads. As late as the time when St. John's Cathedral was under construction (1847-1852), a Racine County farmer brought wheat to the city at a moment of scant demand and found himself obliged to choose between hauling it back or disposing of it for the unsatisfactory compensation of 35 cents per bushel.

Great benefit to the agricultural interest in Wisconsin accrued when the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce was organized in 1858, assuring a ready market for wheat at prices bearing logical relation to current quotations in the consuming centers of the world. After that time the grain movement at Milwaukee exhibited steady growth for a number of years. As late as 1853 it never had reached an annual aggregate of a million bushels. Including flour in the calculation, it had expanded to forty million bushels in 1873, one cause of this development being the enter-

prise of merchants engaged in the business, who provided constantly improving facilities for its transaction. A contributory incident was the blockade of the Mississippi during the progress of the Civil war, which diverted a considerable portion of the commerce of the West from its earlier channel. In the era following the war, products intended for export tended to seek their destination by an all-eastward route instead of by way of the great river and the port of New Orleans. However, the main factor in promoting the wheat trade of Milwaukee and hastening the city's general commercial development was the construction and extension of its railroads.

Thomas Whitney, who was president of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce in 1863, and who delivered an address on the occasion of the dedication in that year of the Chamber of Commerce building which preceded the structure devoted to the same purpose and occupying the same site at the present time, said that the first load of wheat which ever arrived in Milwaukee came by wagon from Caldwell's Prairie in 1839, brought in by a farmer, who disposed of it to Ludington & Company for 50 cents a bushel, and was transferred to the loft of their warehouse by Harry Ludington, who took it upon his shoulder, sack by sack, and carried it upstairs, thus acquiring the reputation, which clung to him in after years, of being "the first wheat elevator in Milwaukee." The farmer was disappointed at the price, but the Ludingtons, who had made the purchase as a venture, found themselves obliged to sell the wheat for feed, there being at the time no demand for it for any other use, and it was doubtful whether they netted a profit on the transaction. Often, however, important sequences have followed inauspicious beginnings. Milwaukee was to acquire the distinction of being the greatest primary wheat market in the world.

Three years after this first delivery—the precise date being July 8, 1841,—witnessed the initial shipment of grain from this port, a cargo of 4,000 bushels, collected by the firm of Holton & Goodall, and consigned to a destination in Canada, the carrier being the schooner *Illinois*, whose captain was Jonas Pickering. In 1858 Mr. Holton recalled this as the first eastward movement of grain in the history of Wisconsin, and ventured the observation that up to 1844 the firm of Holton & Goodall, advertising, as they

did, to pay cash for wheat, carried on a larger business in that commodity than all the other grain-buyers in Milwaukee. It took three days to load the *Illinois*. Facilities for expeditious handling were to be a development of the future.

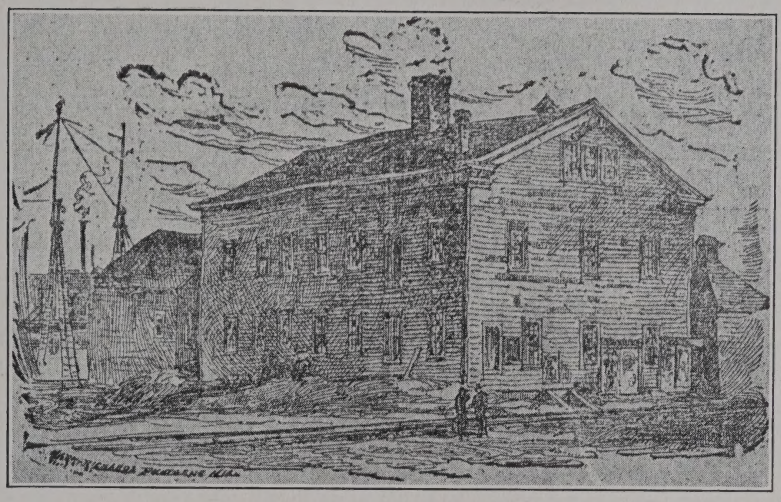
The construction of the Red Warehouse, where horsepower was employed in the work of elevating wheat, marked another important advance. In "Recollections of Early Life in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, September, 1924, Amherst Willoughby Kellogg furnished the following interesting details:

"My first experience as a wage-earner came while still a growing boy, almost sixteen [1845,] when father secured for me a position in Alanson Sweet's then new Red Warehouse at the foot of East Water Street. On its main floor were three large office rooms, and the rest was used for general storage and forwarding goods, while the second and third stories were divided into bins for storing grain, chiefly wheat, and the fourth story was used for hoisting and distributing the grain by spouts into the bins below, the power for hoisting being furnished by a horse attached to a sweep. Alanson's brother, Richard M. Sweet, had charge of the grain department, including the buying from farmers' wagons as they came and stood on the streets with untied bags for the buyer's inspection. After the wheat was bargained for, the farmers drove to the warehouse and emptied their bags into receptacles along the sides, whence the wheat went into the cellar, and thence was elevated to the fourth story and spouted into the bins. Mr. Lane ('Long Lane' he was commonly called on account of his extreme height) had charge of the forwarding and storage, and John Webb was the very competent bookkeeper and cashier. My duties consisted in starting and stopping the horse, in changing the spouts, and in using a big shovel scoop to prevent the clogging of the wheat and giving it right direction. One day the wheat piled up in a great mass on the floor, and I mounted the heap with my scoop, to change it, when suddenly some one opened the spout into the bin below, and I was sucked down into the flowing stream, and would have been drowned in the wheat had not my cries been heard and the flow shut off. As it was, it was a close call and a warning lesson. My memory is that I slept in the warehouse in a room fixed up for the hostler and me, and took my meals at a tavern on Walker's Point located at the northeast

corner of Ferry and Lake streets, where many farmers were wont to put up. My relations with all the persons connected with the warehouse were pleasant, but when the wheat-buying season was over, my occupation was gone." Mr. Sweet's Red Warehouse had marked the beginning of a new era in the grain business at Milwaukee. When the Blue Warehouse was erected further improvement was effected, for here two horses were brought into use at one time.

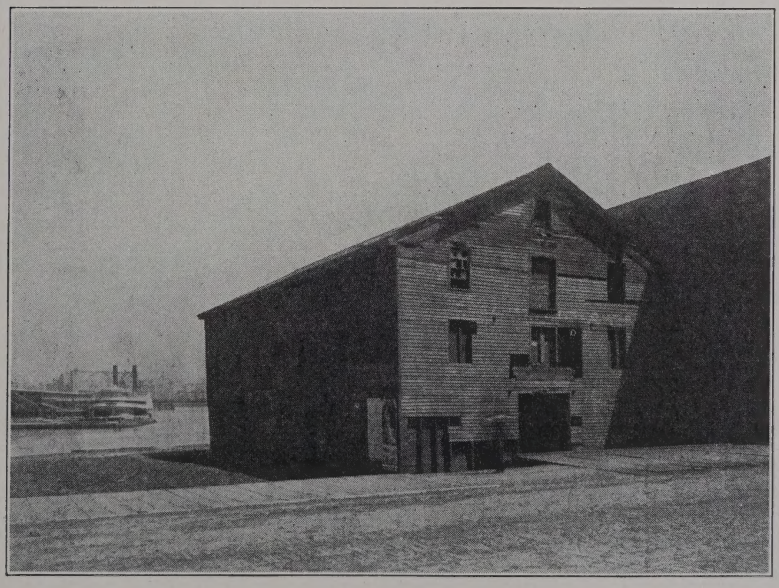
Daniel Newhall, destined to become a commanding figure in the development of the grain trade at Milwaukee, arrived upon the scene in 1844, with a capital of $30, opening a grocery store and handling provisions. Immigrants were among his largest customers. Sometimes at the end of a day's business he found that he had taken in as much as a peck of Prussian thalers, these silver coins being worth sixty-five cents apiece, and constituting at the time the bulk of the specie in circulation in Milwaukee. Born at Conway, Massachusetts, in 1821, Mr. Newhall had removed in 1838 to Lockport, New York, and, after working on a farm and teaching school for two years, had entered business on his own account at the age of twenty, wholesaling and retailing crockery and groceries. Disposing of this business, he had come West, and after two years as a grocer made a venture in wheat and flour that netted a profit with which he devoted himself exclusively to the grain trade. During the season of navigation his cargoes of wheat dotted the great lakes and the Erie canal, moving onward to the seaboard. Having use for a flotilla of sailing vessels, he became a shipbuilder. He also invested large sums in the erection of buildings in Milwaukee. The panic of 1857 caused him heavy losses, but he was not seriously crippled till the sudden drop of grain prices after the unexpected termination of the war between Italy and Austria in 1859. Notwithstanding his greatly diminished capital, he continued in the grain business for ten years thereafter, quitting it in 1874 to go into farming in the region of Waukesha.

At the time of Mr. Newhall's death those familiar with the circumstances recalled that it was the condition of the markets following the potato famine in Ireland which gave him the idea of a chance to make money in bread-stuffs. Borrowing $300 from Alexander Mitchell and investing it when wheat was $1.85



PIONEER FLOUR MILL

The old Eagle Mill on the Canal



DANIEL NEWHALL'S WAREHOUSE

a bushel and flour $9 a barrel, he held on to his purchases till the wheat was wanted at $3 and the flour at $20, when he sold, clearing something like $10,000 on the deal. Then it was that he abandoned the grocery trade and devoted himself entirely to grain, making the largest wheat shipment to Buffalo which up to that time had gone out of Milwaukee. Soon he gained recognition as the largest individual grain dealer in the West. He bought all the wheat that farmers in the vicinity would bring him and practically all he could get elsewhere. At one time he had twenty vessels under charter, by which he dispatched wheat to Buffalo at the rate of 15,000 bushels a day. His largest deal embraced 700,000 bushels, which he purchased in two days, and which was stored in warehouses on both sides of the Mississippi, ready for spring delivery. This cleared him $250,000 in two months. At the age of 35 he was said to have a larger credit than any other man of his age in the West. Notable additions to the fleet of schooners carrying grain from Milwaukee during the years between 1852 and 1855 were the *D. Newhall*, the *D. O. Dickenson*, the *Milwaukee Belle*, the *L. J. Farwell*, the *G. D. Norris* and the *M. S. Scott*, all of which were built by Mr. Newhall. He erected a spacious warehouse and a number of tenement houses, besides which he built the costliest residence in the city, known as "the Marble House," at the corner of Cass and Division streets. The enormous profit which he netted by his record-breaking shipment of wheat to New Orleans was less than the amount he expended in the erection and furnishing of the Newhall House, begun in 1856 and finished in the following year, the largest and finest hotel at that time west of New York City. The success of his gigantic undertakings carried the fame of Milwaukee and of Wisconsin far and wide. He was what in these days would be called a "boomer." To his storage structure, built in 1854, at that time the most commodious in the Northwest, he gave the name of the Badger Warehouse. His fleet of sailing vessels, the largest on the lakes, was known as the Badger Line.

Badly crippled financially by the panic of 1857, Mr. Newhall, unimpaired in courage, carried on. In the first year after its opening his rents from the Newhall House totaled $40,000. In the second year they had shrunk to $6,000, which was less than sufficient to meet the cost of taxes, insurance and repairs. He

was a heavy loser by the decline in the price of wheat. Through a long period of reverses he proved resourceful to an extent that astonished beholders, and in some instances made gains which seemed to presage ultimate recovery of all that he had lost. During the Civil war his transactions were enormous; but in 1867 he found himself without a dollar. Strenuous efforts to gain a fresh start in Milwaukee were unavailing. When he retired to Waukesha he had been separated from all his holdings in the city in which he had played a leading part for thirty years.

The wheat trade of Milwaukee had undergone more than one revolutionary change during the period while Mr. Newhall was one of its foremost representatives. When in 1846 he borrowed from Alexander Mitchell the small amount with which he made his first investment, the business of trading in wheat was in its infancy, and was carried on by methods unavoidably crude and experimental. George D. Dousman, Alanson Sweet and later Dr. Lemuel W. Weeks were conspicuous among the other grain-buyers of the early days. There was no attempt at organization, every individual in the business looking out for himself. The grain was brought into the city in farmers' wagons, and it was usual for dealers to go themselves or send their clerks to watch the approaches from the interior, intercepting farmers on their way to town. Far out on Reed Street, Grove Street, Chestnut Street, Vliet Street, Third Street and Fond du Lac Avenue skirmishers would be posted, the incoming wagons stopped, the bags of grain opened, prices agreed upon and bargains made, the wagons continuing into the city to make deliveries at the warehouses of the respective purchasers.

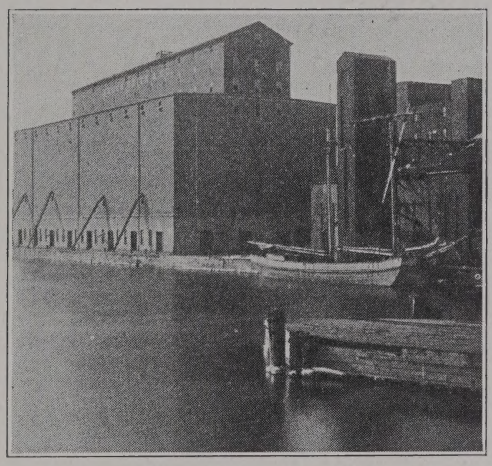
All the wheat in those days reached the city in sacks, and each sack was sampled by itself, the buyer doing the sampling and offering the price at which he considered it would be safe to buy. A year or so after he had set the example of employing horse power to supersede man-power in the elevator business, Alanson Sweet built on the south bank of the river the Brick Warehouse, the first in which grain was elevated by steam. Later this was moved across the street away from the river to make way for Angus Smith's Elevator B. In time the old Brick Warehouse was covered with corrugated iron and known as Elevator C. On the north bank of the river, between Broadway and Milwaukee

Street, J. A. Helfenstein built a grain warehouse equipped with hoppers projecting through its side into which sacks could be emptied from the farmers' wagons, their contents being subsequently elevated by horse power. This structure, when outclassed by more modern elevators, ceased to be used for storage of grain and was employed for general warehouse purposes. In 1884 it was purchased by James A. Bryden, who put a stone foundation under it and utilized it in the commission business. The Black Warrior Warehouse, the Hooker & Nichols structure at the head of Clinton Street, Trueman & Hibbard's Warehouse, and the substantial building on the west side of the river which afterward became the Manegold Mill, were other monuments of the early days. So was the Yellow Warehouse, owned and used by Horatio Hill & Co., which originally stood on South Water Street on the site afterward occupied by Angus Smith's Elevator A, and was remodeled by Alanson Sweet, becoming the first steam elevator in Milwaukee. Removed to East Water Street at a later time, this became the Keenan mill. It was finally destroyed by fire.

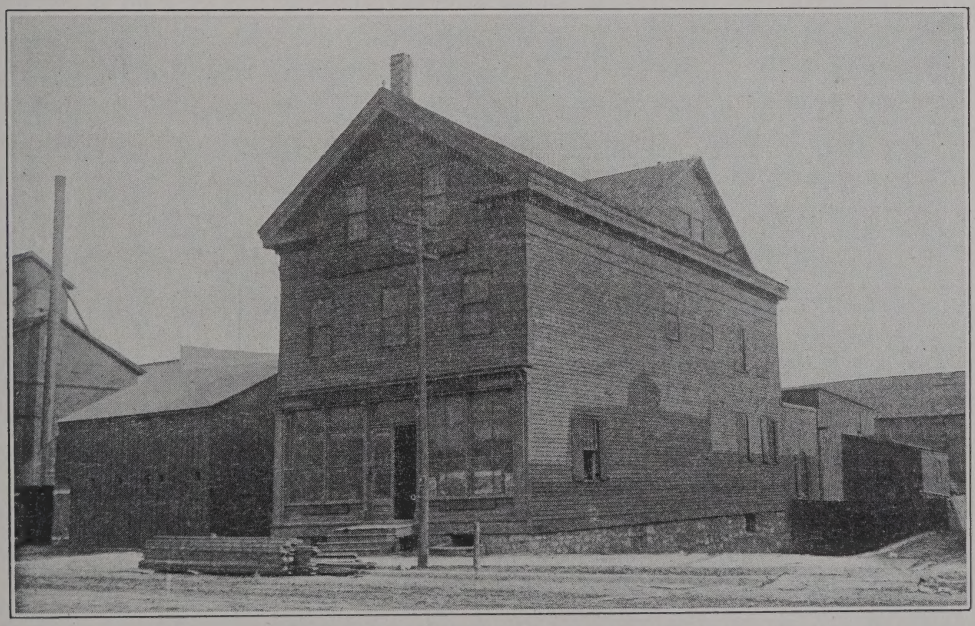
The first of Milwaukee's commercial organizations was the Board of Trade, established, with a membership of thirty-seven, in March, 1849. Its president was Edward D. Holton, Daniel Wells, Jr., being vice president and Samuel Marshall treasurer. Its sessions were held daily from 12 to 1 o'clock. The City Directory for 1856 shows that the officers of the Board of Trade in the latter year were: President, William J. Whaling; vice president, Lester Sexton; secretary, A. J. Aikens; treasurer, M. S. Scott.

The Milwaukee Corn Exchange was another body of men interested in the grain trade, "corn," as used in its title, meaning wheat, as it does in England, and not the distinctly American cereal—maize, or Indian corn—to which in these days the name of corn is exclusively applied in common speech. The Corn Exchange was established in 1852, with Horatio Hill as president and Daniel Newhall as vice president. In 1856 its officers were: President, L. J. Higby; vice president, S. T. Hooker; treasurer, Benjamin Nute, Jr.; secretary, A. J. Aikens.

The Directory of 1856 shows the office of the Board of Trade to have been located at that time in Furlong's Block, and that of the Corn Exchange at the freight depot of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company. Rival organizations at the outset,



ANGUS SMITH ELEVATOR
Southeast of Broadway Bridge, Early '80s.



THE FIRST STEAM FLOUR MILL
Original Site, South Water Street. Now located on Virginia Street.

these bodies seem to have grown together. They had the same secretary in 1856, Andrew J. Aikens. In 1858 they coalesced, under the name of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, which procured a charter from the Legislature in that year.

In the year when the Chamber of Commerce was organized, receipts of wheat at Milwaukee amounted to 4,133,677 bushels, and of flour to 186,141 barrels. The greatest movement in wheat in the history of Milwaukee was noted in 1873, when the receipts of that grain totaled 28,457,973 bushels, and of flour 1,254,821 barrels.

Eighteen fifty-seven was the year in which it was decided to build modern elevators for the reception of wheat in bulk directly from the cars. In the following year L. J. Higby erected his warehouse and elevator at Chestnut Street, Angus Smith beginning to supply modern grain storage facilities at about the same time. Very soon the storage capacity of Milwaukee had risen to 1,750,000 bushels of grain and 150,000 barrels of rolling freight.

The handling of grain in bulk instead of in bags was a revolutionary innovation. It necessitated a system of inspection, weighing and grading, which superseded the older method of dealing in grain by sample. Milwaukee established its grading system in the fall of 1858, and won at the outset a reputation for fair-dealing in the maintenance of quality that proved to be a business asset, for there were seasons when Milwaukee No. 2 spring wheat commanded a premium over other No. 2 spring in the market at Liverpool. Milwaukee's first modern grain elevator was erected in 1857. She had three in 1860 and eight in 1866. The daily capacity for transferring bulk grain at Milwaukee increased from 80,000 bushels in 1858 to 1,100,000 bushels in 1866. Of the 67,000,000 bushels of wheat which moved eastward from and through Wisconsin during the five years of the Civil war period 60,000,000 went out from Milwaukee, the remaining 7,000,000 going from other Wisconsin lake ports, principally from Racine, Green Bay and Sheboygan. Milwaukee's flour shipments during the five war years aggregated 3,000,000 barrels, the product of 13,000,000 bushels of wheat. In 1873 she was the greatest flour market as well as the greatest wheat market on all the upper lakes.

The early meetings of the Chamber of Commerce were held in the basement of the Newhall House. In 1859 the Chamber began to occupy its quarters at No. 1 Spring Street, where it remained until 1863, when it removed to the building which then stood on the site of the present Chamber of Commerce building. The southwest corner of Michigan Street and Broadway has been the location of the Chamber of Commerce since 1863 with the exception of a period of eighteen months during which the present Chamber of Commerce building was in course of construction. During those eighteen months it was lodged in a building owned by Charles Munkwitz, on Broadway, between Wisconsin and Mason streets, afterwards known as A. W. Rich's "White Store."

The transaction of business in the infancy of Milwaukee's career as a wheat market necessitated visits by commission merchants to several different parts of the city in the course of every day. In the morning they assembled at the office of the Higby warehouse on Chestnut Street, investigating the consignment books and trading for half an hour. Then they jumped into their buggies and proceeded to the Angus Smith elevator on the Menomonee, and still later to the Kellogg & Strong warehouse, near the present location of Broadway bridge, at each of which places the programme of the morning was repeated. The hour from twelve to one was devoted to meeting on 'change, and the afternoon to settling up trades and attending to correspondence. This, however, did not end the labors of the day, for the universal practice was to pass the evening from seven to ten in the lobby of the Newhall House, carrying on the operations of buying and selling. Until 1866 there was no Atlantic cable, and the condition of markets abroad was reported only at intervals, as steamships from Europe arrived at New York. Not till after the close of the Civil war was there a shortening of the hours of business and a restriction of trading between members to the precincts of the exchange.

What came to be known as "the pit"—the contrivance in the center of the floor of the exchange room, rising to a height of some two feet above the level, and consisting of steps ascending to and descending from a narrow platform roughly circular in form, enabling a number of traders to be within view of one another and transact their business when trading was active without

treading upon one another's feet or tumbling over one another—was a convenience which originated in Milwaukee. In 1883 Secretary William J. Langson recounted its history as follows: "For a long time it was a puzzle to the floor committee of the Chamber of Commerce and to myself to conceive a means of enabling members to transact their business in comfort during periods of active trading. One of the first expedients resorted to in the old Chamber was a circular table with a hole in the middle. It was thought that by standing around this table all the operators could see one another and carry on transactions in an orderly manner. In practice, however, it was found that the operators were too far apart, and the device failed to give complete satisfaction. The table was sold to the proprietor of the Milwaukee Garden, who used it for a bar. On picnic days a man stood in the middle, with a keg at his elbow, dealing out beer to the thirsty crowd. It was in 1870 that I got up the first trading pit. It differed from the present one in not being circular. The objection to it was that when it was crowded the men at the ends of the steps were in constant danger of being pushed off. The present modification followed in the course of time and brought the device to perfection. The principle of the thing is very old—it is the Roman amphitheater over again, but on a smaller scale. In 1878 a man in Chicago applied for a patent on the device of a trading pit with steps, and had the cheek to serve us with a notice that if we didn't pay him a royalty he'd sue us. Of course we laughed at the preposterous attempt to obtain money. If he should take his case into court we could produce hundreds of witnesses to testify that our pit was in use ten years before he applied for his patent."

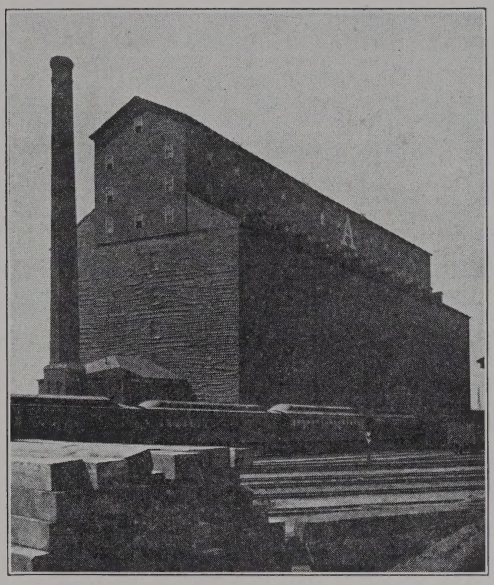
In every description of human activity there is a tendency toward subdivision as it expands, its separate parts being assigned to specialists who develop peculiar ability in the operations committed to their individual charge. This general law affected the grain business at Milwaukee. As years went by large operators ceased to spend their time and energy in the amphitheater where actual trading was effected, but entrusted buying and selling orders to clerks and brokers, the clerks receiving their compensation in the form of salaries and the brokers being paid by commissions on the amounts of wheat they bought and sold. The recognized commission was one-eighth of a cent per bushel.

It was interesting to visitors on 'change to watch the ways in which trading was effected. A man going into the pit without previous schooling in its methods would find it impossible as a rule to trade "at the market." If he wanted to buy he would have to pay one-eighth above the current price; if he wished to sell he would have to dispose of his wheat at one-eighth under the market. The experienced "scalper" on the other hand, was familiar with no end of dodges for inducing his fellows to yield to his desires. It was common for an old campaigner to enter the pit offering to do the opposite of what he really had in mind. For instance, intending to buy, he would say, "I'll sell five at three-eighths." This was apt to provoke from some one the observation, "I'll sell *you* five at three-eighths!" whereupon the first speaker promptly made his purchase. "Pikeing the market" was a trick often played upon an operator when it was known what he wanted to do. A broker having an order to fill would enter the ring and bid three-eighths. The operator planning to "pike" him would force him to raise his bid by offering one-half for a round lot. Charley Cuppel was one of the conspicuous pikemen of the board, and when his victims made their purchases he was frequently heard to mutter, "Let 'em pay up!" One way of "feeling" the market was to rush up, dispatch in hand, as John Crittenden sometimes did, and yell, "Sell five June!" This in all probability would lead some one to think that Chicago was "off," and to respond, "Sell five June at a quarter!" an offer of which the party of the first part might see fit to avail himself. Each man on the board had his characteristic way of buying and selling. Frank Wilson hated to make an offer. When he wanted to sell, he generally asked, "What can I get for wheat?" He thus elicited a buying proposition, and if the price was satisfactory, he sold. Another strategian generally offered to sell at an eighth above the market, as a means of drawing out a proposal to sell at the market. "Pounding the market" was another phase of dealing in the pit. An operator would try to buy at three-eighths, and fail; he then vociferously would offer to sell ten at three-eighths and one-half; to shut him up, some one would propose to sell him ten at three-eighths, and he would take it. Instances were not uncommon of one man shaking the bush and another gathering the fruit, when the trader who had succeeded in elicit-

ing an advantageous offer was not quick enough in taking it up, and some less deliberate bystander snapped at it. The men wanting to buy or sell small lots, as one, two or three thousand bushels, always were obliged to exercise ingenuity to get the benefit of the market price. An operator with only one thousand for sale generally fished for an offer by saying, "Sell June at a quarter!" until some one else cried, "I'll take it!" whereupon the first speaker would respond, "All right—one thousand!"

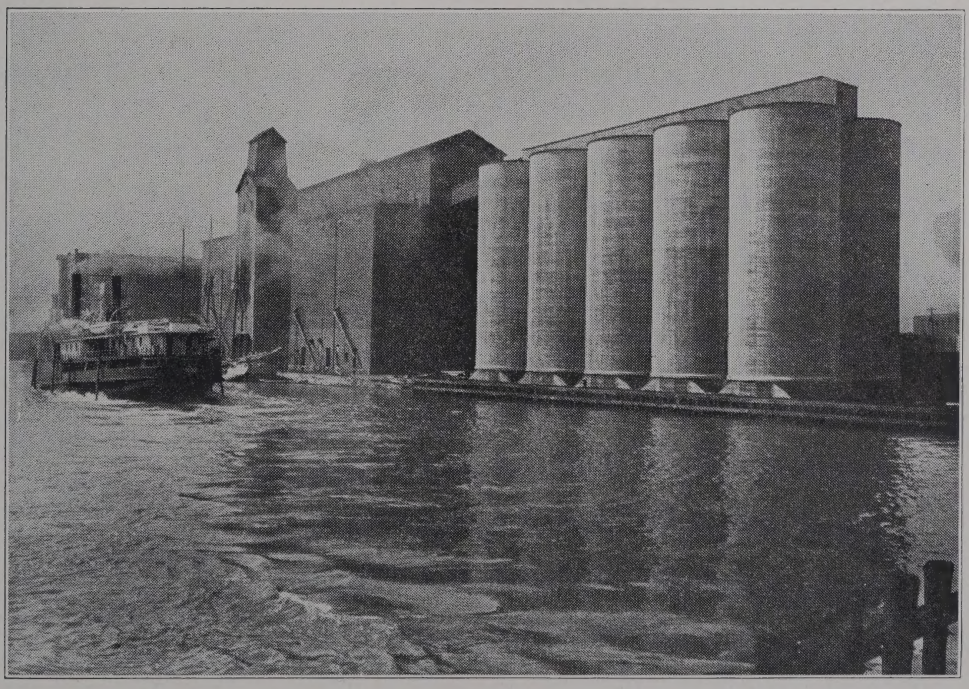
The men who rose to leadership in the Chamber of Commerce were individuals gifted beyond their fellows, and many of them became outstanding figures in the community at large. L. J. Higby, who was the first president of the organization, came to Milwaukee from Cooperstown, N. Y., in the fall of 1836. He had spent three years at Cooperstown in the drug business, with Doctor Pomeroy of that place, and, continuing the partnership, had brought with him to Milwaukee a stock of drugs, paints, oils and stationery, with which he opened the first drug store in Milwaukee. His store was on the west side of East Water Street, south of Wisconsin Street. After three years it was taken over by Fenimore Cooper Pomeroy, who had arrived in 1837, and in 1839 Mr. Higby went into the grocery business with Fred Wardner. It was in 1846 that he embarked in forwarding and shipping, building a warehouse and an 1,800-foot pier at the foot of Detroit Street. In 1858 he erected the first section of what came to be known as Higby's elevator, or the La Crosse & Milwaukee Warehouse, on the bank of the river, south of Chestnut Street bridge. He also bought the Sweet elevator. In 1864 he obtained a ten-year lease of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Elevator A and engaged in milling flour. Between that time and 1868 he was the leading figure in the grain trade of Milwaukee. Then he went to New Orleans, where he met with reverses. In the fall of 1878 his whole family was stricken with yellow fever, but all except his sister recovered. He died in 1879. Mrs. Higby, whom he married in 1836, was one of the earliest settlers of Milwaukee. Her family came from Otsego, N. Y. Mrs. Higby returned to Milwaukee and died here in 1896.

An expensive accident which occurred at Higby's elevator on the night of October 3d, 1859, was thus described in the *Sentinel*: "While the bark *Winslow* was loading, the persons in charge of



CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE & ST. PAUL
RAILWAY COMPANY'S ELEVATOR
A, MENOMINEE RIVER

About 1880



MILWAUKEE RIVER—GRAIN ELEVATORS

her fell asleep, and the vessel careened a little as the hold filled. This displaced the conductor through which the grain was passing from the elevator. Not aware of what had happened, the people in the warehouse continued running out the wheat, and when the mischief was discovered about a thousand bushels had been lost in the river."

Samuel T. Hooker, who died May 31, 1893, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, was one of the most popular members of the Chamber. Mr. Hooker was born February 23, 1816, at Northampton, Mass. His father was largely interested in freight traffic on Lake Ontario, and was one of the owners of the first steamboat built and run on the lakes. Young Hooker often sailed in her. Later he spent two seasons as purser of the steamer *United States*, which at that time ran between Ogdensburg and Lewiston. During his early manhood he was engaged in freighting on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River, his home being at Sackett's Harbor. In 1853 he moved to Cape Vincent, the lake terminus of the Rome & Watertown Railroad, and took charge of the elevator at that point. Two years later he came to Milwaukee, rented the Badger Warehouse, then one of the largest in the city, and entered the grain trade, the firm at first being Hooker, Collamer & Fowler. A few years later Fowler left and was succeeded by Henry A. Nichols. It was the largest and most substantial wheat firm in the city, doing a huge business and having an extensive credit. For many years, up to the time that the bag wheat business went out, it continued to be the leading firm. Mr. Hooker also was interested in several grain-carrying vessels. After 1859 the firm consisted of Mr. Hooker and his old partner Nichols, the style being Hooker & Nichols, continuing for twelve years, when Mr. Nichols retired to his farm. In 1875 the firm of Hooker, Crittenden & Company was organized. Mr. Hooker was the oldest grain merchant in the city when he retired. He was president of the Chamber of Commerce from 1862 to 1863. He was United States marshal from 1865 to 1869 and collector of customs from 1869 to 1871. After the business failure of a son at Duluth he devoted his life to the effort to make good the losses of creditors who had suffered by the collapse.

In the late '40s Charles J. Kershaw came to Milwaukee from Montreal. He was a member of the Chamber of Commerce from

1861 till the time of his death, May 11, 1910. Mr. Kershaw made several fortunes, and at one time was reputed to be worth a million, but eventually was ruined by the Harper grain corner in 1887.

Oren E. Britt, who died March 21, 1901, at Morristown, N. J., of injuries suffered in the Ashtabula disaster of 1877, came from New York State in 1850 and entered into association with Melville S. and Henry A. Nichols in the commission business—Nichols, Britt & Co. They built a steam flour mill at Walker's Point which mysteriously caught fire almost as soon as it began operating, December 29, 1860, and was destroyed, together with the Checkered Warehouse. The latter stood alongside, just east, belonging to Doctor Weeks. For several years afterward Mr. Britt was agent for the Milwaukee road at La Crosse, returning to the city in 1869 as its general freight agent. In 1877 he entered the grain and commission business with E. P. Bacon. Later he was consulting freight agent of the Milwaukee & St. Paul, continuing till the removal of the general offices to Chicago. He was a successful traffic manager. After the war he went South, occupying the plantation of Jefferson Davis near Natchez and raising cotton for a year or two. He was one of the founders of the Milwaukee Boys' Club. Late in life he secured an option on the Cream City Street Railway which he sold to a Pittsburgh syndicate, operating the road till its purchase by the Villard Company.

James B. Martin, who was a native of Baltimore, came to Milwaukee in 1845. Possessed of means, he devoted his attention to real estate investment and improvement, erecting several of the most substantial buildings in the city. Coming into possession of the Reliance Mill, he interested himself in its operation and thus was drawn into the grain business, becoming a leading figure in the wheat market. In 1873 his shipments on his own account exceeded 4,000,000 bushels, and the following year they reached the enormous total of 5,500,000. Mr. Martin died January 18, 1878, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

Lyman F. Hodges was a Vermonter by birth, and his early experience was in the dry goods trade. Coming to Milwaukee in 1857, he engaged in the commission business, with which he continued to be identified during the remainder of his active years.

He became a member of the Chamber of Commerce at its organization, and at different times served on its most important committees. For many years he was in partnership with Calvin E. Lewis.

Robert Eliot long enjoyed the distinction of being the senior member of the oldest grain receiving commission firm in Milwaukee. He never went into speculative ventures in the market, usually confining his investments to real estate, while employing a large capital in his extensive business as a purchaser and forwarder of grain. Quiet and scholarly in his tastes, Mr. Eliot was a forceful speaker. He had served at different times on all the standing committees when he was elected to the presidency of the Chamber in 1883 and 1884.

John J. Tallmadge was a native of Claverack, Columbia County, New York, born in 1818, and came to Milwaukee in 1855, as the agent of the Western Transportation Company, whose steamboats, running in connection with the New York Central Railroad, carried passengers and freight between here and Buffalo. Just before the beginning of the Civil war he engaged in the provision trade. He was elected to the vice presidency of the Chamber of Commerce in 1862 and to its presidency in 1863 and 1864. In 1865 he was elected mayor of Milwaukee. In the patriotic work which glorified the record of the Chamber during the Civil war, Mr. Tallmadge took a leading part, achieving a degree of popularity which was illustrated when as Democratic candidate for governor of Wisconsin in 1867 he came within 4,764 votes of carrying the election.

Levi H. Kellogg was born in Massachusetts. Coming to Milwaukee in 1847, he entered into the business of general storage and forwarding in company with his brother, E. C. Kellogg, occupying the Eldred Warehouse on the West Side. Then he became associated with Robert H. Strong in charge of the pier which served as a steamboat landing on the south line of Huron Street. When the construction of the straight-cut entrance to the harbor afforded steamboats landing-places at the docks along the river, Kellogg & Strong took the Sweet Elevator and conducted a general warehousing business. At one time they owned and controlled more than forty warehouses in this State and Minnesota. After the dissolution of the firm of Kellogg &

Strong, Mr. Kellogg continued the business till his death in 1873. At the city election of that year he received a majority of the votes cast for mayor, but, by reason of membership in the Common Council, was found to be technically ineligible for the higher office.

Charles F. Freeman, who died at eighty-two, April 22, 1915, came to Milwaukee from the East in 1857, entering the employ of C. H. Larkin as foreman in charge of teams used in grading the streets. In 1861 he became a grain buyer, and was active in the commission business for nearly fifty years. As a member of the Chamber of Commerce he served at different times on most of the standing committees and was its president in 1882. He was alderman and school commissioner. As alderman in 1873 he was prominent in deciding upon plans for the sewerage system of Milwaukee introduced in connection with the completion of the waterworks. He served two terms in the State Legislature, elected in 1870 and 1879.

After prominent identification with the commercial life of Milwaukee for forty years, Angus Smith died on the 22d of April, 1898, at the age of seventy-five. He was born at Algonac, Michigan, December 18, 1822, his father, a New Yorker, having been one of the pioneer settlers of Michigan. Mr. Smith's business instincts showed themselves early in life. Beginning in a country store, he became interested in lumbering, and engaged in the business on a large scale, with headquarters at Sandusky, Ohio. At the same time he became concerned in the grain and commission business, which brought him into relations with Jesse Hoyt of New York. In 1858 Mr. Smith came to Milwaukee and in partnership with Mr. Hoyt built the first large modern grain elevator in this city. Its storage capacity of 50,000 bushels seemed so far beyond possible needs at the time that many thought him visionary. When its insufficiency became apparent, he erected two others, with capacities of 900,000 to 1,000,000 bushels each. Largely owing to his efforts Milwaukee wheat gained an enviable reputation throughout the world. When the option business in Milwaukee became subservient to Chicago, and local commission merchants began to execute the bulk of their orders there, Mr. Smith was nothing daunted, maintaining Milwaukee prices on a parity with those prevailing at Chicago,

and sometimes higher. As late as 1897, it was reported, he paid a Milwaukee miller a premium of a cent a bushel over the ruling price at Chicago for a round lot of Milwaukee No. 2 spring.

Besides inaugurating the handling of grain in bulk from the cars to the seaboard, Mr. Smith introduced the system of grain inspection which became necessary by reason of that innovation, and jealously guarded the methods adopted until, in 1858, the Chamber of Commerce assumed the responsibility of supervision and appointed Carlton Holland as inspector. Mr. Smith was an inveterate speculator, and in some of his undertakings of this character a heavy loser, but he always had reasons for his forecasts of the course of the market, and generally they proved correct. He was interested in railway extension projects of large consequence in the development of the Northwest. He was one of the chief promoters of the construction of the Milwaukee & Northern Railroad, which eventually was absorbed by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul. At one time the outlook for the enterprise was dark, but Mr. Smith clung to it with his characteristic tenacity, and eventually reaped no small financial reward. This company was incorporated in 1870, the other charter members being Otis H. Waldo, John H. Tweedy, Edward D. Holton, Robert P. Ober, Guido Pfister, H. C. Hobart, James Vail, Fred W. Horn, H. M. Smith, Joseph Mann and Theodore Conkey. The line at first was built to Menasha and Green Bay. In 1874 it was leased to the Wisconsin Central, furnishing the track on which that company entered Milwaukee. When the Wisconsin Central defaulted on its lease, several years later, the Milwaukee & Northern found itself unable to pay interest on its bonds, in consequence of which a mortgage upon that company was foreclosed and the company reorganized. Up to this time Mr. Smith had been one of the directors. After the reorganization he was vice president, and largely owing to his efforts the road was extended to Champion in Michigan and from Ontonagon on Lake Superior to the Wisconsin State line. Mr. Smith had built the first elevators of the St. Paul Railroad, and operated them for the company till about 1872, when the company assumed their control. Then he engaged in an advisory capacity with the Chicago & North-Western, in undertakings on a large scale competitive with the St. Paul, encouraging the North-Western to extend its

lines from all points to Milwaukee. With Edward Sanderson and David Vance as allies, Mr. Smith conducted a crusade in the Legislature to amend the charter of the St. Paul in such a way as to disfranchise the bondholders, leaving the management to the stockholders alone. This was late in the '70s and early in the '80s. The effort to amend the St. Paul's charter failed. About this time St. Paul stock advanced more rapidly than had been paralleled in its former history. Holders in Milwaukee who had bought at a trifle in many instances took advantage of the opportunity to sell and realize profits, after which they lost interest in the measure to restrict voting to stockholders. It was remarked that while the contest was pending it never seemed to impair friendly relations between the men on opposing sides who were carrying it on. In addition to his business in grain and his railway interests, Mr. Smith was active in mining enterprises. For many years he owned a controlling interest in an iron mine at Norway, Michigan. He also had a large interest in a silver and lead mine in British Columbia. When grain receipts at Milwaukee declined, on account, as many believed and alleged, of discriminatory railroad rates, the Angus Smith elevators, in 1897, were leased to a Chicago firm. Mr. Smith was one of the first members of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, of which he was vice president in 1868 and president in 1870 and 1871. He served uninterruptedly for more than twenty years on important committees.

Edward P. Bacon died at the age of eighty-one, on the 25th of February, 1916, while in Florida, where he had gone in the hope of benefiting his health. Born in New York State, he spent three years, beginning as a lad of thirteen, behind the counter of a retail grocery store, after which he attended a collegiate institution, and later entered the employ of the Erie Railroad as a clerk in the freight office. Three years later found him chief clerk in the general freight office of the Michigan Southern. He came to Milwaukee in 1856, to assume the duties of local freight agent of the Milwaukee & Mississippi, advancing in a short time to the post of general freight agent for that corporation. In 1865 he formed a partnership with L. Everingham in the grain business, with which, under several different firm names, he continued to be identified to the end of his career. He served on important

committees of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, and for two terms was its president. He promoted improvement of methods in the conduct of the grain business, and was a leader in the procurement of legislation for the prevention of discrimination between localities and individuals on the part of the railroads. Demonstrating the existence of inequalities in rates on grain from interior points to Milwaukee which redounded to the unfair advantage of competing markets, he secured remedial legislation. He was one of the movers in the agitation that resulted in the national regulation of railroad rates by enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, giving it authority to substitute a rate for any rate found on a full hearing to be unreasonable or discriminatory. The bill was long a bone of contention, but became a law in 1906.

Edward Sanderson was born on the bank of the Hudson, near Albany. At about the time of attaining his majority, he came west and opened a shoe store at Madison, later coming to Milwaukee and going into milling on the water power just before the outbreak of the Civil war. Starting with two runs of stone, he enlarged his mill till it was second in capacity to only one other in the city. He became a successful operator on 'change, but his milling business always was in the background of his dealings in wheat, and he was generally on the "bear" side of the market. He left a fortune estimated at $800,000. Mr. Sanderson was endowed with a hearty, generous nature, and was very popular. He took an interest in politics, but never as a candidate for office. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Senator Carpenter. In 1872 he was one of the organizers of the Young Men's Republican Club, which was influential in changing Milwaukee from a Democratic to a Republican city. He was a close friend of Henry C. Payne and of Senator Philetus Sawyer. Mr. Sanderson died on May 20, 1889.

John B. A. Kern, born in Bavaria, was brought to this country in infancy by his parents, who settled in Philadelphia, where he went to school, and where he received business training from his father. In 1859, having prospered as a tobacconist and subsequently lost a large part of his gains by investment in a manufacturing establishment which proved a failure, he came to Milwaukee, and at the age of thirty began in a small way the manu-

facture of flour. Two years later, in partnership with Fred Bertschy, he expanded this business, and in 1866 took it over on his own account, increasing the capacity and output of his establishment until he was turning out 3,000 barrels of flour every day and had become one of the foremost millers in the United States. Mr. Kern was a member of the Chamber of Commerce and a large purchaser of wheat for use in his business, but never entered the market in a speculative way. As a producer on a large scale, he was a noteworthy factor in promoting the trade and prosperity of the city. He died in 1893, leaving a family of six children, a reputation for business integrity and efficiency, and the memory of an example of sterling citizenship, devoid of spectacularity, but intrinsically advantageous to the community.

Charles Ray, who was in the grain commission business for many years beginning with 1866, and was president of the Chamber of Commerce in 1877 and 1878, was a native of the State of New York, coming to Wisconsin with his parents in 1838, while he was in his infancy, and entering his business career in 1855 as a clerk in the Farmers' and Millers' Bank. In 1890, following the death of its founder, C. D. Nash, Mr. Ray became president of the National Exchange Bank, in which position he continued till his retirement in 1900. He died in 1925.

Israel H. Lowry, born at Madison, Ohio, and moving thence with his parents first to Erie, Pa., and subsequently to Iowa, came to Milwaukee in 1870, engaging in the grain trade, in which for several years he was one of the largest operators on the floor of the Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Lowry is remembered as a quiet, kindly, energetic man.

The Shepard brothers, A. K. and George W., who came to Milwaukee from the East in 1869, were engaged in the grain business for many years. They did a heavy brokerage business and were popular members of the Chamber.

Alexander Mitchell, Washington Becker, George Knowles, Oscar Mohr, Leman Bartlett, Edward C. Wall, H. Zinkeisen, Oscar Lindman, Samuel Tallmadge, John Foley, A. K. and George W. Shepard, Cassius M. Paine, C. C. Rogers, James A. Bryden, Michael Bodden, William P. McLaren, John Wallis, Ransom Rice, Henry Salentine, C. W. Kassuba, Amos and James Sawyer, Charles J. Helliwell, John Johnston, A. L. Hutchinson, Abner

Kirby, Edward Roddis, H. L. Horton, A. M. Helmer, John B. Merrill, E. H. Chandler, Charles Ray, O. J. Hale, R. P. Fitzgerald, Thomas E. Balding, David Vance, Charles Manegold, F. D. Hinkley, C. J. Cary, Frederick Layton, Fred Pabst, John Plankinton —all these and hosts of others were members of the Chamber of Commerce, sometimes appearing almost daily on the floor, and many of them at one time or another holding offices in the organization. There were many years during which the six hundred or more names on its roll of members constituted an index to the leaders in every line of business in the city.

There was a fascination in the speculative wheat market which held many in its grip who would have done well to keep away. Albert Fiebrantz came to be a representative of this class —a worthy man who had formed the habit of speculating and indulged in it to the end of his days. He was a familiar figure on 'change till his death in October, 1900. At the outset Mr. Fiebrantz conducted a produce business on Vliet Street near the hay market, where he had established himself in 1850. In the '70s he was one of the recognized operators in wheat, entrusting the brokers with orders for large amounts. Heavy losings diminished the scale of his tradings, but not his interest in the market. Long after the center of operations had moved away from Milwaukee, he stuck to his habit of making daily visits to the Chamber, but instead of purchasing a hundred thousand bushels at a time, as had been his earlier custom, he contented himself with little "flyers." After the wild fluctuations of '77 and '78 attending the Russo-Turkish war, he never recovered his fortune. Mr. Fiebrantz was a man of giant stature, standing six feet three inches in his stockings and weighing 300 pounds. Once in a dispute with Louis Rindskopf he lifted his comparatively diminutive antagonist from the floor and shook him as a terrier shakes a rat, after which he set him down with the admonition, "Don't say that to me again, Louis." Louis edged out of the way and showed no disposition to "say it again." Mr. Fiebrantz was accustomed to speak of sellers of wheat as "schlippers" and buyers as "nippers." The words caught the fancy of other operators and frequently were used on the floor. They were carried to Chicago by operators who gravitated to that city with the movement of the speculative market. Becoming a member of the

Chamber in 1867, and holding on to the end, Mr. Fiebrantz retained his interest in the so-called gratuity fund, which in reality was a form of life insurance, and his heirs received $500 from this source after he had passed away.

Popular impressions relating to the ethical and economical status of boards of trade tend to be derived from casual reading of the newspapers during periods of extraordinary speculative excitement rather than from intimate knowledge of what goes on upon the floors of these institutions from day to day. In its essence the Chamber of Commerce is a normal development of business in commodities produced on one continent and partially consumed on another. Contributing in the long run toward the establishment and maintenance of prices on the broad basis of conditions in the world at large, it enables sellers as well as buyers to effect exchanges at a nearer approach to real values than would be possible without its aid. Free interplay between buying and selling interests promised to be generally advantageous to both, and this was promoted by the establishment of chambers of commerce.

Now and then clique manipulation precipitated crises in which price fluctuations responded to local and temporary conditions rather than to the logic of statistics gathered from the world at large. Such manipulations involved enormous risk to their promoters, who frequently became victims of their own rashness. Another class of victims consisted of outsiders in various walks of life who conceived that they could acquire fortunes by speculating on margins. As a class, the outsiders were on a par with travelers who engage in the pastime of trying to beat the bank at Monte Carlo. They played into the hands of inside manipulators, who understood the twists and turns of sheer speculation better than the outsiders did, and who usually pocketed the lion's share of the winnings. There were times when men whose regular occupation was dealing in wheat or pork and whose instincts were conservative found themselves forced into heavy transactions in options for the purpose of protecting purely legitimate interests menaced by reckless devotees of gambling speculation.

Philip Danforth Armour was born at Stockbridge, Madison County, New York, in 1832, and passed his boyhood on his father's farm till he was old enough to be sent to Cazenovia

Academy. At the age of seventeen he left school and with a group of young companions made his way overland to California, where he passed the years between 1850 and 1856, accumulating a snug little capital, with which he returned to the East. It was in 1856 that he came to Milwaukee, buying an interest in a wholesale grocery and commission business established by one of his youthful friends, Frederick S. Miles. This partnership was dissolved in 1863, at which time Mr. Armour purchased a grain elevator and also entered into association with John Plankinton, under the name of Plankinton & Armour. As a member of this firm Mr. Armour resided in Milwaukee till 1875, when he removed to Chicago. As a packer, Mr. Armour was able to calculate more closely than Eastern speculators the cost of making a barrel of pork. One night toward the end of the Civil war, when mess pork was selling at $40 a barrel, and when the firm of Plankinton & Armour held a large stock of that commodity, Mr. Armour thought over the situation and came to the conclusion that the strategy of General Grant had brought matters to a pitch at which the utter collapse of the Southern Confederacy and the restoration of peace would be certain to follow upon the heels of another Union victory. This, he reasoned, would bring about an immediate and dizzy decline in the price of pork. Arising early the next morning, and dispatching a hasty breakfast, he hurried before business hours to the residence of his partner, predicting an approaching break in the market. Mr. Plankinton agreed with him, and it was arranged that Mr. Armour should take the first train for New York, for the purpose of selling all the mess pork in the possession of the firm. The New York agents of Plankinton & Armour at that time were Wallace & Wicks. Big packers generally, all over the country, were bulls on provisions. So were Wallace and Wicks. They endeavored to dissuade Mr. Armour from selling pork. Invited to go into conference for the formation of a pool, he refused to have anything to do with it, and carried out his purpose of selling all the pork he could dispose of at $40. Just before he was ready to start for home, prices had dropped $5. A prominent operator on the bull side of the market expressed a desire to take one more lot.

"I'll sell you a thousand barrels," said Mr. Armour.

"When pork is at $60 you'll want it back."

Mr. Armour's confidence in his own judgment remained unshaken. "I'll deliver you that pork when the market is at $18," he responded. And this was what he did.

Many of the speculators who had been on the wrong side of the market were ruined by the collapse, while Armour became the richest packer in the world. Looking back to the incident in later years, he used to observe, "I was favored by circumstances over which I could exercise no possible control. It was the greatest risk I ever took."

While Mr. Armour was credited by the multitude with being continually immersed in speculative ventures, his intimates were accustomed to declare that this daring transaction on the bear side was the only real gamble on the market in which he ever indulged. But was it in fact a gamble? Was it not rather a sagacious operation by a man whose business was producing pork, and who had on hand a large stock of which he wanted to dispose at the top of the market? He knew that pork at $40 a barrel was preternaturally high, and that the close of the war would bring down the price with a rattle. He found evidence of a combination to bolster the market artificially. Therefore he not only disposed of his holdings, but "sold short." Union victories came in quick succession, and the price of pork dropped from one lower point to another. When the news of Appomattox arrived, he was able to buy at $18 for the making of deliveries on trades into which he had entered when the market was in the neighborhood of $40. Was that sheer speculation? Remembering that Mr. Armour was a packer, was it not merely a good stroke of business? It was reported that the profit cleared in this memorable deal by Plankinton & Armour amounted to $1,800,000.

Mr. Armour removed to Chicago a few years after the war, but the old partners continued to be warm friends. A trip to Europe which they took together in the summer of 1879 was followed by happenings in the provision market that commanded attention on the exchanges for many months succeeding their return. While abroad the partners observed that prices of American pork were declining, notwithstanding conditions which convinced them of the likelihood of the continuance on the other side of the Atlantic of a consumptive demand for which America would be called upon to provide. With all the circumstances in

view, they arrived at the conclusion that the price of pork was too low, and though manufacturing and selling was the business in which they were normally engaged, they quietly essayed the role of buyers, accumulating in this way, besides a quantity of other meats, 150,000 barrels of mess pork for which they paid an average of $8 per barrel. The market advanced to $14, and they disposed of their holdings at a profit of $2,000,000, according to the calculations of "people on the outside."

This, however, was not the end of the story—it was only the opening chapter. Practically without exception operations of a speculative character resulting in brilliant success inspire their conductors with eagerness for further adventures, and this was what took place in the instance under review. Convinced that pork was good property, a sagging market tempted the joint winners into buying again; but this time they were disappointed, the reaction continuing until it had carried the quotation for mess pork to $9.25. By their first operation on the bull side of the pork market they had made nearly two million dollars; the second one, it was calculated, involved a loss of their gains and a million dollars besides.

The blow was a hard one, but instead of accepting defeat they were steeled to renewed endeavor, and set to work to retrieve the heavy loss. Neither of them was a "plunger." Before embarking on their fresh undertaking they made a thorough survey of the situation, which was effected with the assistance of innumerable correspondents and agents whose judgments they felt they could trust. When reports from these sources had been carefully collated, they began once more to load up with pork. However, they were not the only individuals who had been watching the provision market with a view to taking speculative advantage of its probable turns. Soon after starting their new campaign as buyers, they found that others were buying too, the aggregate of purchases in addition to their own being far beyond the possible requirements for consumption. This was not what they wanted. They had invested a large sum in cash pork and intended to go still more deeply into the venture, but while they were buying their interest was to buy as cheaply as they could. They had no relish for paying fancy prices. Mr. Armour's strategy was equal to every exigency. What he did on this occa-

sion was to unload half a million barrels and break the market. While prices were at the bottom after the drop he bought an amount vastly greater than that which he had sold. Large capitalists, as well as the portion of the public which in those days was always dabbling in grain or provisions, became interested in what was going on, and formed the theory that Plankinton and Armour would not be able to carry through their undertaking to control the provision market. Taking this view, these people "sold short." They would better have kept out, for after a memorable struggle Plankinton and Armour won, pocketing a total profit of seven million dollars, which not only returned to them the three millions they had lost in their second speculation, but four millions besides. As for the outsiders who had forced their way into the contest, they retired with less money but more experience than they had possessed when they conceived the notion of trying conclusions in the pork market with men like John Plankinton and P. D. Armour.

Along in the later '50s there was living on his father's farm near Waterloo, Wis., a young man named Peter McGeoch. Born in Scotland, he had been left with a well-to-do uncle in London when the rest of the family emigrated to America, but later had come out to join them in their new home. One of Dr. Samuel Johnson's whimsical remarks, indulged in, no doubt, for the purpose of "getting a rise" out of Boswell, was that "much may be made of a Scotchman, if he is caught young." The junior McGeoch, who was twenty years of age when he arrived in Wisconsin, spoke English with a "burr" that he retained to the end of his life, but possessed a pleasing address and a capacity for affairs which convinced the family his London experience had made him an expert salesman. When products of the farm were ready for disposal, he always was the one deputed to carry them to market. Thus he came to the notice of Nelson Van Kirk, who was buying grain throughout the country, making his headquarters at Madison and shipping his purchases to Milwaukee. For a time young McGeoch added to his financial resources by engaging as a teamster and hauling stone for the construction of the State Capitol. He never was idle. He always was ambitious. Van Kirk made him an offer of partnership, which he promptly accepted, and the firm gained recognition as the largest shippers

of grain in their section of the State. After a time they shifted their base of operations to Milwaukee. The City Directory of 1863 shows that in that year Van Kirk & McGeoch were engaged in the produce and commission business on the north side of Chestnut Street, east of Third. Subsequently they became packers, and in 1869 purchased from Edward Roddis the extensive establishment at the west side of Thirteenth Street on the Menomonee marsh, where for many years they carried on the second largest pork packing business in the city. All went well with them till 1875, when they became involved in an undertaking to "corner" the wheat market which proved disastrous to all concerned.

Cornering a market is risky. Circumstances indicate that Van Kirk & McGeoch were prodded into this undertaking by the pressure of events. The firm of Schroeder & Lindblom was doing a prosperous commission business and also earning a good deal of money by carrying wheat. Van Kirk and McGeoch had been trading heavily in the cereal, transacting much of their business through Schroeder & Lindblom. The two packers and the commission house found themselves perilously "long" on the market and confronted with the necessity of taking a loss or manipulating the price to a higher level, in which latter undertaking they might have succeeded, but for the entry into the situation of an element neither they nor anybody else had taken into calculation in advance. The St. Paul Railway had its own elevators in Milwaukee and issued its own elevator receipts. The crop that year was excellent and receipts were enormous—a state of affairs that of itself was prejudicial to the success of the corner. But this was not all. Sherburn S. Merrill, general manager of the St. Paul, adopted at this time the policy of issuing receipts not only for wheat which was in the elevators of the company, but also for wheat which had been placed aboard the company's cars for shipment and was on its way. For the purpose of making deliveries on the Chamber of Commerce, wheat certificates were as good as the wheat itself. From the point of view of individuals not concerned in the success of the corner it could not be called a strained construction to rule that wheat even as far as 250 miles away, but on the cars and en route to Milwaukee, was as much in the company's possession as if it were lodged in the elevators. Con-

fronted with this ruling, the associates abandoned their effort to corner the market and disposed of their holdings at prices which left Mr. McGeoch $100,000 in debt. But he held on to his packing business, enabled to do so, it was generally understood by financial backing received from Alexander Mitchell.

In 1878 he again became a large purchaser of wheat, paying $1.10 at the start and less as the market declined. John Plankinton had followed the same course, and when the price dropped to 90 cents a bushel, leaving them both apparently in a serious predicament, they joined forces. The "short" interest had begun to gloat over an expected triumph when a sudden spell of hot weather blighted the growing crop and made McGeoch and Plankinton masters of the situation. After reaction in prices had set in, the "shorts" were invited to cover at a dollar, but declined. They were offered another opportunity when the market had advanced to $1.10, but continued to hold out. When the period of their options expired some of them were obliged to settle at as high as $1.37½. The outcome of the struggle established McGeoch's reputation as a wizard in speculation. Seeking a wider field, he removed to Chicago, though still retaining interests in Milwaukee.

In a pork deal entered upon in 1880 Mr. McGeoch had Daniel Wells, Jr., as an associate and P. D. Armour as an opponent. Mr. McGeoch on this occasion was on the "bull" side. The Chicago Board of Trade applied a rule concerning trading in margins that greatly surprised and discomfited the planners of the corner. Eventually, however, Mr. Armour, instead of "turning the screws" on McGeoch, receded from the determination to take that course when informed that Alexander Mitchell had promised McGeoch to "see him through." Settling with McGeoch cost Armour considerable money, but this was repaid in large part by increased profits on his sales of cash pork. The outcome put a new feather in the cap of McGeoch.

The lard deal of 1882-3 also was a "Tale of Two Cities," part of the action taking place in Chicago and part in Milwaukee. Titans were engaged in the fray, which began with an undertaking to corner lard for delivery in July, 1883. In this speculation McGeoch, Everingham & Co. bought large quantities of lard at twelve cents, when a falling-off in the foreign demand defeated

their expectations of a rise. An anomaly of the situation was that refined lard could be purchased on the Chicago market for a cent below the price of "prime steam lard," which, while inferior in quality, happened to be the grade involved in the speculation. The largest "shorts" were Fowler Brothers, a Chicago firm, who were bitterly hostile to McGeoch. Quietly interested with him on the bull side of the market was Daniel Wells, Jr., of Milwaukee. As the struggle proceeded, "Mac" threw out a large part of Fowler Brothers' June deliveries, declaring that they were below the established grade. In the sensitive condition of the international market for American pork products at that time, this had the effect of casting discredit on American packing interests to an extent that injured the export trade, which reduced the chances of success for the lard corner more than it helped Mr. McGeoch in his dealings with the Fowlers. The crisis was reached on July 16th, when there was a drop of $3 a tierce in the price of lard, and McGeoch went to the wall, effecting a settlement with his creditors on the basis of fifty cents on the dollar, and being obliged, it was declared, to borrow a huge sum in order to make this partial payment. However, he was able to pledge stock in his valuable street railway property in Milwaukee as security for the loan, and within a few months redeemed this stock with winnings from a fortunate plunge on the New York Stock Exchange.

A lawsuit which was in part the outcome of the lard deal was long remembered in legal circles as one of the most celebrated Board of Trade cases in the history of the West. The suit originated in a misunderstanding between Mr. Wells and Mr. McGeoch as to whether or not the former was entitled to a credit of $139,352 which he claimed and sought to recover. Judge Mann's decision in the County Court was substantially in favor of the defendant, but on appeal to the Wisconsin Supreme Court this decision was reversed.

Devoting himself to the development of his street railway property, Mr. McGeoch showed administrative and executive ability for which he was financially rewarded when the time arrived for the consolidation and electrification of all the street railways in the city, and when he died he left a handsome estate.

William Young, universally spoken of as "Governor" Young

because of his ascendancy in the wheat trade when Milwaukee was the greatest primary wheat market in the world, died April 15, 1895, at the age of sixty-five. No man in the grain commission business of the Northwest was better known. He had been active for more than thirty years. Mr. Young was born at Coburg, Canada, in 1830, and began at Toronto as a wholesale grocer, continuing in that business at Ottawa and Montreal, and after a time entering the grain and provision house of John Young & Co. He came to Milwaukee in 1855, developing a large trade with Montreal and other Canadian cities, and also carrying on a heavy export trade. In 1863 the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty with Canada necessitated a rearrangement of his business. A charter member of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, he was always popular among its members, who naturally were pleased by his enthusiastic espousal of the cause of the North during the Civil war, at the outbreak of which he presented a large American flag to the Chamber and made an address ringing with devotion to the principles of freedom and union. Mr. Young always was a bull on wheat, often asserting that when it was under a dollar it was below its normal price. His operations on 'Change were generally successful till the failure of the Young wheat corner of 1883-4. On that occasion he and his brother, Alexander McD. Young, made huge purchases in expectation of rising prices, but prices sagged, notwithstanding which the Youngs continued buying, aided, it was said, by Alexander Mitchell. A bountiful harvest in 1884 brought the market down with a crash, and crippled the Youngs so seriously that they never recovered. Four years before his death the "Governor" transferred his business to Chicago, retaining his residence in Milwaukee.

Very few were the instances of great fortunes made and kept by men who devoted themselves to the spectacular side of business on 'Change. There was a story of an outsider who at a time when the market was attracting general attention went to Edward Sanderson with the remark, "Mr. Sanderson, I have a thousand dollars to invest. What would you advise me to do?" Mr. Sanderson replied, "Stick your money under the door and go home and attend to your business." He was not the only prominent

member of the Chamber who discountenanced outsiders' dabbling in wheat.

It was a characteristic of men on 'Change to be liberal when they had the means, and generous even when the market was going against them, on the assumption that there would be better times ahead. Archie McFadyen, who was doorkeeper of the Chamber of Commerce for more years than are included in an average life-time, responded as follows when asked what he remembered about Daniel Newhall: "I remember seeing him buy half the stock of molasses candy carried by a girl who timidly sought customers in the hall of the old Chamber of Commerce. The first thing that comes to me whenever I think of Mr. Newhall is his kindness. He was always friendly. He was always liberal. Nothing seemed to afford him so much satisfaction as giving something away. Once he returned from a visit to New York. A new silver coin had been issued by the government, and Mr. Newhall had bought fifty dollars' worth of specimens fresh from the mint. He passed the shining pieces about to all who would take them. He could always be depended upon by solicitors for charitable institutions. When Doctor Passavant came to this city to set on foot the establishment of Milwaukee Hospital, Mr. Newhall not only put down his name for a liberal subscription, but made out a list of people who would be likely to give. Doctor Passavant took the list and saw the people, and they all gave. One day, when wheat used to be hauled to Milwaukee from the farms on wagons, a poor boy came in from Pewaukee with a load that had smut in it, on account of which a buyer said he would have to stand a reduction amounting to ten cents a bushel. At this the boy shed tears of disappointment, and some one referred him to Mr. Newhall, who looked him over and then wrote a card to his cashier, 'Pay this boy in full.' For a long time after that Mr. Newhall had more friends among the farmers than any other man on 'Change."

William J. Langson, secretary and treasurer of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce for forty-four years, died February 18, 1909. He was familiar with every detail of the commercial development of the city, having watched and chronicled its growth almost from the beginning. He had seen the population rise from something near 30,000 to the neighborhood of 375,000. He had

noted the increase of grain receipts from 11,000,000 to more than 47,000,000 bushels a year. He was secretary of the Chamber of Commerce when Milwaukee was the greatest primary wheat market in the world. He witnessed the relative dwindling of the grain trade and the steady rise of manufactures. The history of these things he accurately recorded in his long file of annual reports of the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce. Many a day of wild excitement had he gone through in the theater of his daily duties, when wheat went "up into the sky" or "down into the mud" and speculators big and little sought to grow rich in a hurry by the rise or fall of prices. There were years when a very large proportion of the population of Milwaukee was affected by the gambling craze. But Mr. Langson went about his business methodically and faithfully, marking quotations on the blackboard, keeping his books of records, and hunting up information which it was in the line of the secretary's duties to procure. He had seen many a man come upon the board as a dealer in a small way, wax wealthy "beyond the dreams of avarice," and eventually lose all in a sudden crash that seemed to shake the pillars of the world. He had seen a few make money in speculation and keep it; but the fever of gambling was not in his veins. Mr. Langson was a native of Ireland, born in 1837, and was in his seventy-second year at the time of his death. He had lived in Wisconsin since 1851 and in Milwaukee since 1855.

When the early settlers of Wisconsin began growing wheat the virgin soil rewarded their efforts with enormous crops, sometimes as high as forty or fifty bushels to the acre. Winter varieties were raised at that time, spring wheat being hardly known. Farmers began to plant spring wheat about 1848. At first they found difficulty in disposing of it to the millers. It was of the "hedge-row" variety, of a dark color, and too hard for grinding with the facilities then in vogue. Eventually this description of spring wheat was driven out of the market. In 1858 Helliwell Brothers, who were then in business in Milwaukee, imported a cargo of Canadian club wheat which afforded Wisconsin farmers pure seed. Later, improved machinery enabled millers to grind the hard variety known as "Scotch fyfe," from which the choicest spring patent flour was made, and the raising of winter wheat in Wisconsin, always hazardous because of the liability of damage

from frost, was gradually abandoned. Still later, however, troubles were encountered with spring wheat, and these led to the paying of renewed attention to winter wheat. Eventually Wisconsin agriculturists learned the disadvantage of dependence on a single crop. The campaign for diversified farming inaugurated in the '70s proved an unmixed blessing. One of the important factors in the decline of Milwaukee's wheat and flour business was the movement of the wheat fields to the west and north.

HIBBARD'S WAREHOUSE AND SHIPPING

Milwaukee Harbor in the '60s.

CHAPTER XX

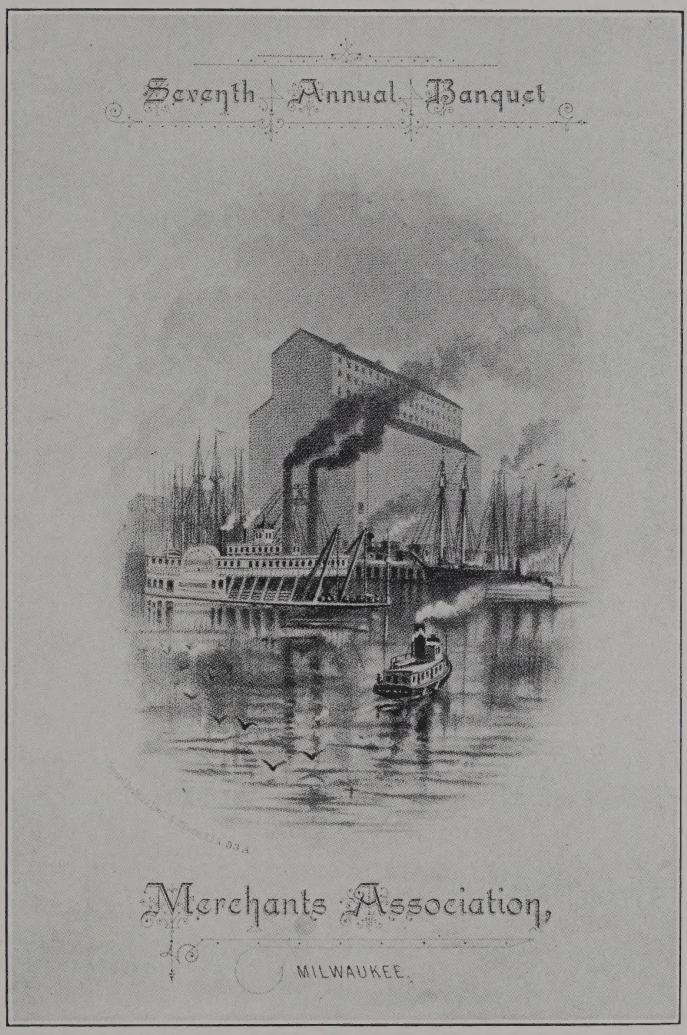
TEAM-WORK THAT HELPED

THE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION, AND HOW IT WROUGHT FOR THE GENERAL GOOD—ITS ULTIMATE EXPANSION—THE INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION—THE MILWAUKEE ADVANCEMENT ASSOCIATION, THE CITIZEN'S BUSINESS LEAGUE—OTHER ENERGETIC AND USEFUL GROUPS—CONSOLIDATION AND COOPERATION PROMOTIVE OF CONSERVATION AND INCREASED EFFICIENCY—THE MILWAUKEE ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE.

The public spirit of Milwaukee business men, and their readiness to coöperate for the general good, had been exemplified on various occasions from the earliest period of the settlement, an outstanding manifestation of its sincerity and practicality being the volunteer fire department, founded in 1837 and continuing to function for more than twenty years. The Chamber of Commerce in numerous instances became the nucleus of purposeful undertakings for the furtherance of community interests in general. In January, 1861, a group of Milwaukee merchants who had been fellow travelers in an excursion to Philadelphia, conceived the idea that there were many directions in which the city's advantage could be promoted by systematic procedure holding that object in view. To test the sentiment on the subject, they called a meeting, which was held at the office of John Nazro & Company on the 5th of March, 1861, and which resulted in the organization of the Milwaukee Merchants' Association. Besides Mr. Nazro, those in attendance at this gathering were Lester Sexton, of Sexton Brothers & Company; W. P. Young, of Young & French; F. J. Bosworth, of H. Bosworth & Sons; W. S. Candee, of Candee, Dibble & Company; J. T. Bradford, of Bradford Brothers; A. H. Atkins, of Atkins, Steele & White; George J. Sivyer, J. A. Benedict & Company; E. Terry, of Terry & Cleaver; John De Bow, of Haney & De Bow; Edward O'Neill, of John Dahlman & Com-

pany; E. H. Terry, of Goodrich & Terry; Thomas A. Greene, of Greene & Button; J. S. Ricker, Jewell, Davis & Company; George Tracy, W. M. Sinclair, Henry Fess, Jr., Edward Truslow, George Bremer, George Williamson, J. A. Dutcher, G. P. Hewitt and Clarence Shepard. The first officers of the Merchants' Association were: President, John Nazro; vice president, G. P. Hewitt; secretary, J. A. Dutcher; treasurer, F. H. Terry; directors, J. T. Bradford, George Bremer, Lester Sexton, F. J. Bosworth and W. M. Sinclair.

In the second year of its existence the Merchants' Association engaged in two undertakings illustrative of the enterprise and spirit of the men of whom it was composed. One had for its object the making of propaganda for Milwaukee. The other was patriotic. To effect the former purpose it engaged the services of Capt. D. P. Mapes, of Ripon, to act as a traveling representative visiting places in the territory commercially tributary to the city, calling the attention of their denizens to benefits which would accrue from increasing the intimacy of their trade relations with the merchants and manufacturers of Milwaukee. Captain Mapes was "a good mixer" and a fluent speaker. Not an orator of the Demosthenean type, he was well equipped with general information and able to hold forth to popular admiration on all the topics of the day. No mere adventurer, ready to hire out indiscriminately in any cause, he was an independent soul, convinced of the worthiness of the message which he had undertaken to convey—a believer in Wisconsin, and in Milwaukee as the metropolis of Wisconsin. He went into Southwestern Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, arousing friendly interest in Milwaukee. He also had interests of his own, being the founder of the flourishing little city of Ripon. When he returned from his tour there were rumors that he had not always confined himself to talking up Milwaukee, but had talked up Ripon as well. The inuendo failed to prejudice him with his Milwaukee friends, who observed that they had not expected him to keep silence on a subject near his heart. His engagement had been experimental, but was followed by indications that it had not been futile. The patriotic undertaking of the Merchants' Association in 1862 was its participation with the Chamber of Commerce in the raising of a company of soldiers for the volunteer army of the Union. From



COVER DESIGN FOR DINNER PROGRAM AT THE PLANKINTON HOUSE, JUNE 5, 1884

Given by the Merchants' Association (now Milwaukee Association of Commerce)

this time until its close the Civil war absorbed all the attention and energy that citizens of Milwaukee could devote to matters beyond the range of daily routine.

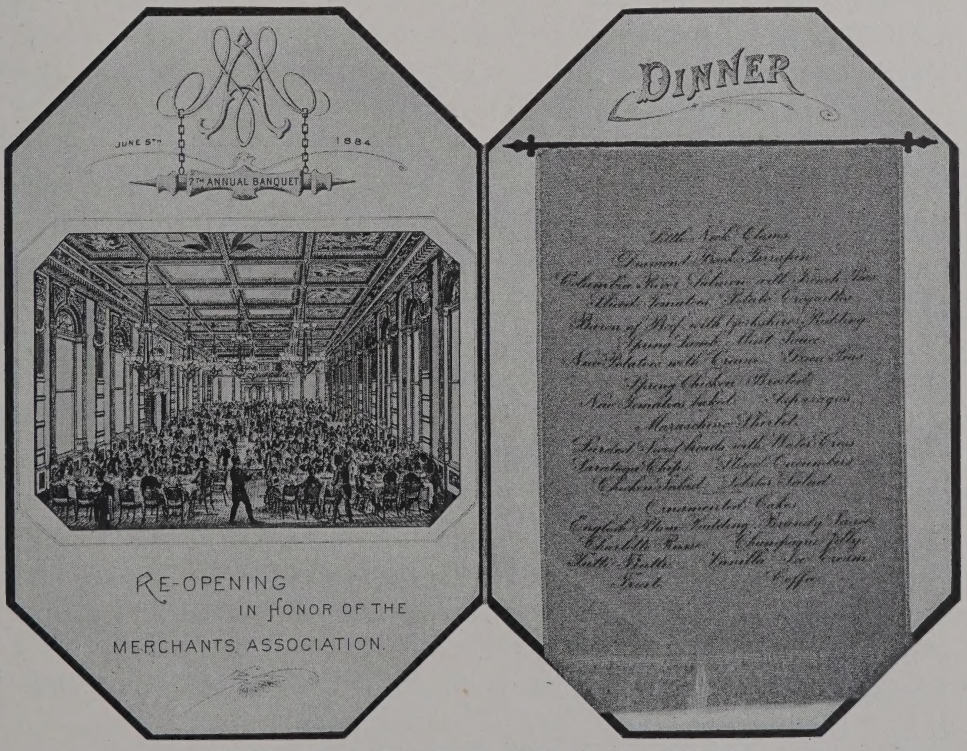
In 1865, at the instance of George W. Allen, the Merchants' Association appointed a committee to investigate the charge that fire insurance companies were exploiting Milwaukee by exacting premium rates four times as high as those prevailing in Chicago. The efficiency with which the committee performed the duty assigned to it may be deduced from the fact that its report was followed by the provision of improved protection against fire and also by the lowering of insurance rates in Milwaukee.

In various other ways the Association showed itself alert for the betterment of business conditions, performing services which would have been beyond the powers of its members acting as individuals. In 1875 it raised funds to induce the selection of this city as the place for holding the State Fair, and when this was effected promoted the closing of business establishments for a day, that their employes might attend the exhibition. Another Association enterprise was the sending to New York of a committee consisting of Charles T. Bradley, E. H. Ball and Elias Friend for the purpose of suggesting the investment of Eastern capital in Milwaukee. The activities thus cited at random are typical of innumerable others in which the Association engaged from time to time to the benefit of the community at large. Meanwhile its meetings brought members together in friendly conference at stated intervals, tending to the maintenance of alert oversight of numerous public interests.

In 1878 one hundred and eight leading Milwaukee business houses were represented in the membership of an excursion party which spent a week in visiting Wisconsin and Minnesota cities, meeting hospitable reception wherever they went and spreading the prestige of Milwaukee. Prominent participants in the excursion party drawn from the membership of the Association included T. A. Chapman, S. S. Merrill, Edward P. Allis, Henry L. Palmer, Charles G. Stark, Benjamin M. Weil, H. N. Hempstead, Edward Ascherman, Bernard Goldsmith, W. S. Candee and Henry Niedecken. The liberal professions were represented by Gen. E. W. Hincks, Judge James G. Jenkins, Judge James A. Mallory, and the Rev. Dr. John Fulton, who were invited guests,

COVER DESIGN OF MENU FOR BANQUET AT THE PLANKINTON HOUSE

June 5, 1884, Under the Auspices of the Merchants' Association.



MENU FOR SEVENTH ANNUAL BANQUET

Of the Merchants' Association, at the Plankinton House, 1884.

as also were the Mayor of Milwaukee at the time, John Black, the postmaster, Henry C. Payne, and Gen. C. S. Hamilton. Feasting and oratory were on the programme at every stop which was made during the progress of the tour. Many were the witty observations recorded by the newspaper chroniclers who accompanied the expedition, transmitting daily accounts of its adventures and experiences to their respective journals. The good things that were said about Milwaukee by spokesmen for the communities on the route would fill a book. A valuable concomitance was the opportunity afforded for extending and strengthening personal relations between representative business men of Milwaukee and representative business men of the cities and towns at which they were entertained.

The Merchants' Association had been the outcome of an expedition combining business and pleasure. So obvious was the success of the jaunt of 1878 that similar excursions were undertaken at recurrent intervals, as long as the Association maintained its separate existence, and were continued by its successors, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association and the Association of Commerce. They have carried Milwaukee business men to more than five hundred cities and towns of the great Northwest. Directly and indirectly they have been beneficial in innumerable ways to visitors and visited alike.

Presidents of the Milwaukee Merchants' Association, and their respective years of service, were: 1861-3, John Nazro; 1864-7, John A. Dutcher; 1868-70, H. H. Button; 1871-4, F. J. Blair; 1875-6, Clarence Shepard; 1877-1882, John R. Goodrich; 1883-4, George W. Allen; 1885-6, B. B. Hopkins; 1887-9, C. E. Andrews; 1890-92, Charles M. Cottrill; 1893-5, John E. Hansen; 1896-8, John C. Spencer; 1899-1900, Fred T. Goll; 1900-1901, Ira B. Smith; 1901-3, E. A. Wadhams; 1904-5, Fred W. Sivyer; 1906-8, William N. Fitzgerald; 1909-10, John H. Moss; 1911-12, Gen. Otto H. Falk; 1912-14, Fred W. Rogers; 1915-16, Franklin P. Blumenfeld; 1916-18, John L. Klingler; 1918-20, A. T. VanScoy; 1920-21, Walter C. Carlson; 1921-2, J. G. Kissinger; 1923-4, Governor Emanuel L. Philipp; 1925, Charles R. Decker; 1926-7, Philip A. Koehring; 1928-9, Oscar F. Stotzer; 1930, William F. Eichfeld. Mr. Eichfeld is the thirtieth president of the organization.

Organized as the Merchants' Association on the 5th of March, 1861, a change of name took place on the 8th of May, 1894, consolidation with the Manufacturers' Club being effected at that time, and the official designation of the united bodies becoming the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, which was exchanged for the Milwaukee Association of Commerce on the 10th of December, 1917.

For many years members of the Association gave their time to the performance of secretarial duties, but after 1900 these became so engrossing as to lead to the employment of a full-time secretary on a salary.

Early in the Association's history its banquets took place among the city's outstanding prandial events, affording favorable opportunity for the discussion of important matters of business and civic policy. On many occasions when noted personages visited Milwaukee the Association performed the part of host on behalf of the community. President Cleveland was so entertained in October, 1887; President McKinley in October, 1899; President Roosevelt in April, 1903, and President Taft in June, 1907.

Demonstrating the efficiency of team-work devoted to the promotion of objects conducive to the general good, the example of the Merchants' Association and its lineal descendants has inspired the organization of numerous other organizations of Milwaukee business men for the attainment of specific ends redounding to the benefit of Milwaukee.

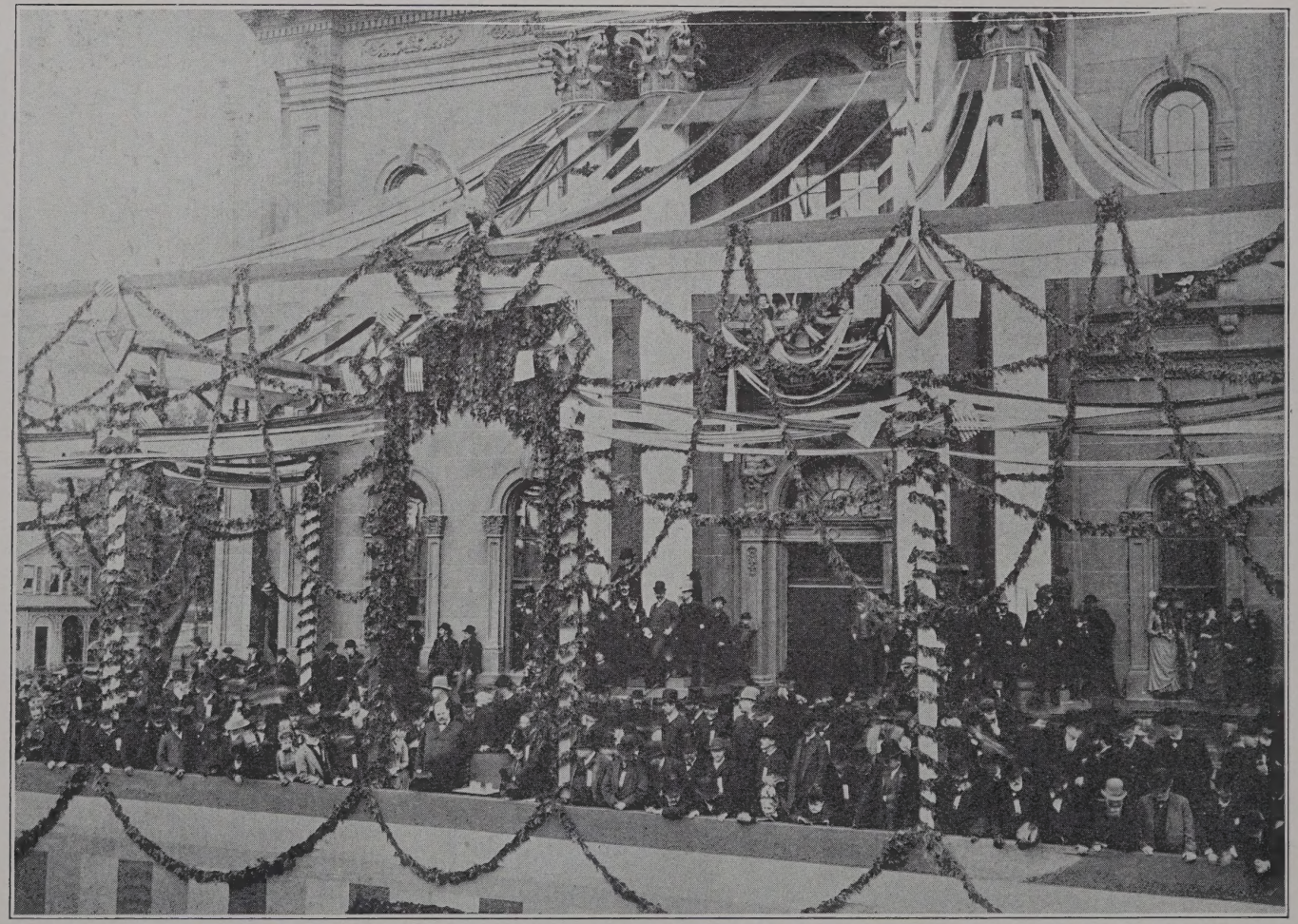
Early in 1881 a group of leading Milwaukeeans organized the Milwaukee Industrial Exposition Association, which erected a spacious and beautiful building, and for twenty-one years thereafter held annual exhibitions of manufactures and art that attracted visitors from far and wide, achieved educational and social objects of large importance, and greatly advanced the material interests of the community.

The capital stock of the corporation was $150,000 at the outset, divided into fifteen thousand shares of $10 each, and later increased to $350,000. Incorporation was effected on the 11th of February, 1881, the signers of the articles being H. M. Benjamin, John Plankinton, Henry M. Mendel, J. A. Roundy, Benjamin Weil, William P. McLaren, E. P. Matthews, A. W. Rich, J. C. Iversen and Charles G. Stark. The officers for 1881 were: Presi-

dent, John Plankinton; first vice president, Fred. Pabst; second vice president, John R. Goodrich; treasurer, Charles G. Stark; general manager, Edward W. Hincks; secretary, Charles L. Pierce. Among the members of the Board of Directors were August Uihlein, August Stirn, John Johnston, William Frankfurth, Isaac Ellsworth and Sebastian Brand. The counselor was Gen. Frederick C. Winkler.

The location chosen for the Exposition building was the square bounded by Cedar, State, Fifth and Sixth streets, half of which, with the stipulation that it should be used for a market, had been dedicated for public purposes by Byron Kilbourn, Solomon Juneau, Archibald Clybourn, Albert Fowler, John McCarty and others when they laid out the plat for the Town of Milwaukee on the 8th of October, 1835. This ground was owned by the city, which leased it to the Exposition Association for fifty years at the rental of one dollar a year. Sectional rivalry which had attended the selection of the site subsided when citizens of the Second Ward bought the old skating rink and adjoining property on Fifth Street, tendering it as a gift to the Exposition Association, this, with the city market property, supplying a full square for the Exposition building.

The skating rink was a frame structure, erected by William Bechtner in 1867, which had been turned to various uses. At its inception the sport of skating was in high favor with the young people of the city, and on winter evenings the rink was their popular place of assemblage. After four years enthusiasm waned, and attempts to lure attendance by exhibitions of skating champions were made with some success; but skating as a spectacle soon lost interest. The building was utilized to some extent for musical and theatrical entertainments in the summer months. When the Wisconsin Teachers' Association met in Milwaukee, the skating rink was its place of assemblage. Political gatherings were held there, Thomas A. Hendricks being one of the notabilities who addressed an assemblage under its roof. It housed delighted audiences during a festival of the Northwestern Saengerbund. To the original cost of his investment, which was said to be $10,000, Manager Bechtner added nearly as much more by building a stage and providing seating accommodations, etc.; but for several years the place had been a white elephant. The idea



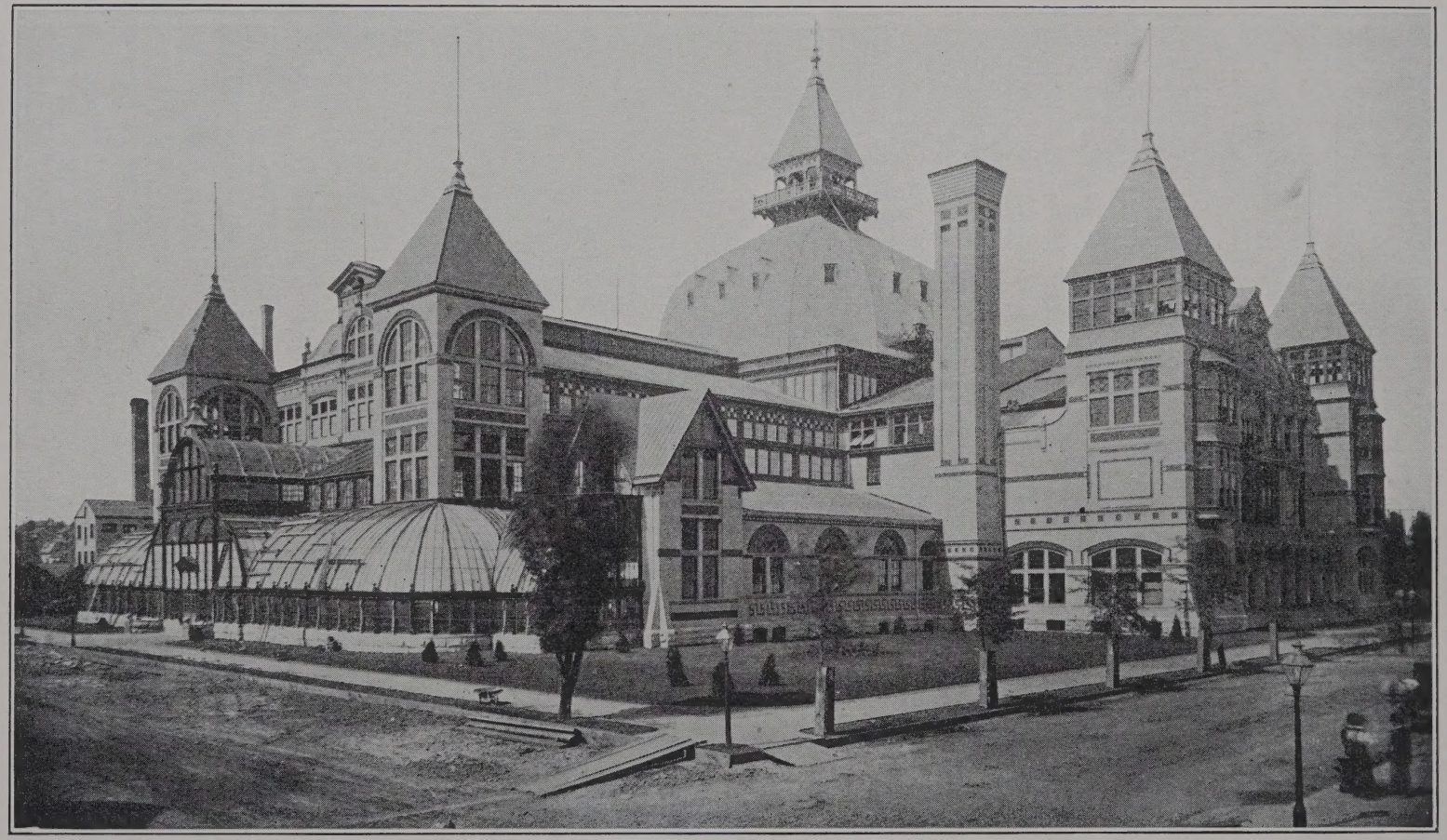
PRESIDENT CLEVELAND AT MILWAUKEE, OCTOBER 6, 1887
Reviewing stand, west front of Courthouse

of an industrial exposition intrigued the imagination of the public.

When the site of the rink was selected for the Exposition building there was some delay in obtaining possession on account of a temporary tenant and the West Side Market Association, but while litigation was pending, on the evening of the 15th of September, 1880, impatient residents of the neighborhood, to the number of several hundred, armed with axes, picks and crowbars, gathered, evidently by preconcerted arrangement, and brought the place to the ground. Boys who had accompanied their fathers set fire to the debris, and somebody turned in a call for the fire department. No one had thought fit to summon the police. When officers finally arrived on the ground, youngsters were carrying off wood for use as fuel, and policemen saw no reason for interfering, as everybody seemed satisfied with what had been done.

The corner stone of the Exposition building was laid on the afternoon of the 14th of May. Rain interfered with the procession which had been planned to precede the event, but the Light Horse Squadron acted as escort for a line of carriages containing the guests, speakers, officers of the Association and prominent citizens, which moved from the corner of Broadway and Wisconsin Street to the scene of the ceremony, where a crowd had assembled which was greatly augmented when the shower ceased and the sun broke through the clouds. There were opening remarks by General Hincks and an oration by Congressman Charles G. Williams of Janesville, in the course of which he said:

"These annual expositions are becoming the great industrial colleges of our country. They fitly supplement the higher institutions of learning, for in them theory stands face to face with fact and all ideas are subjected to the crucial tests of practical life. Here the student is met not only by the question, What do you know? but also by the question, What can you do? Have you trained and disciplined yourself to think, or are you simply trying to remember? Into these schools the many as well as the few are matriculated, and by one of the grandest systems of object teaching yet devised the highest results are attained. The cruder tastes of the many catch a hint from the finer culture of the few, while the merely esthetic, tending to effeminacy in its narrow groove, is toned up and strengthened by the sturdy breezes of honest com-



THE MILWAUKEE INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION BUILDING

Destroyed by fire Sunday afternoon, June 4, 1905

mon sense. Here come not only the methods of trade, but the domestic economies as well. Both the homes of luxury and the homes of humbler pretensions here open their doors in miniature and let the people see how they live. And thus by the force and knack of suggestion a hundred things are made to contribute to human comfort which otherwise would pass unbidden and unseen."

After the laying of the corner stone by John Plankinton, president of the Exposition Association, there were addresses by Gerry W. Hazelton, State Treasurer Richard Guenther of Oshkosh and Herman Sigel, editor of the *Freie Presse*, who delivered his remarks in the German language. Bach's and Clauder's bands contributed inspiring music, including "The Star Spangled Banner," and the impressive exercises were ended.

Designed by E. Townsend Mix, the sightly edifice cost $300,000. It was 400 feet in length, 290 in width and three stories in height, the main roof having an altitude of 89 feet and being surmounted by a dome rising 150 feet from the ground. The building was equipped with convenient society rooms and spacious halls. Altogether it was one of the most attractive structures of its character in any part of the United States. Pushed to completion, it was in readiness for the opening of the First Annual Industrial Exposition on the first Tuesday in September, 1881.

The Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' Association, the city government, and citizens generally, including generous John Plankinton, whose subscription was $75,000, had given spirited support to the exposition project from the first, and people from all parts of the State assisted in making it a success, excursion rates granted by the railroads helping not a little to increase attendance from outside. Competent and disinterested visitors pronounced the Milwaukee Exposition of 1881 the best which had been held anywhere in the United States since the Centennial at Philadelphia. The variety and quality as well as the number of industrial displays was far beyond what had been anticipated, while the artistic and educational features were pleasing to a degree difficult to be appreciated in a generation accustomed to the privilege of easy access to works of art.

Providing adequate accommodation for great public assem-

blages of various descriptions, the Exposition building proved an asset to the city in many ways. Indeed, the date of its erection may be said to mark the beginning of Milwaukee's rapid rise as a convention city. Hardly a year had elapsed from the holding of the first Exposition when the spacious edifice erected for its home became the scene of the Grand Union Dairy Fair, remembered to this day by the farmers of Wisconsin for the part it played in turning attention to the benefits derivable from diversified agriculture and modern methods in dairying. The Dairy Fair was held during the week of December 4th to 9th, 1882, under the auspices of the National Butter, Cheese and Egg Association, the Northwestern Dairy Association, and the Wisconsin State Dairy Association. Delegates were in attendance from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Pittsburg and New Orleans. Canada, England, Scotland, Ireland, and even Russia, were represented among the visitors. Participants from as far west as Colorado, as far east as Maine, and as far south as Louisiana, responded to the roll-call of States, twenty-one of which were represented by delegates. R. D. Torrey had charge of the arrangements. Mayor John M. Stowell made an address of welcome on behalf of the city, Ex-Gov. William E. Smith on behalf of the State, and John R. Goodrich on behalf of the Exposition management and the merchants and manufacturers of Milwaukee, Austin Belknap, of Boston, president of the convention, responding. A notable oratorical feature was the speech of Hiram Smith, president of the Wisconsin Dairymen's Association, who, with William D. Hoard, shares credit for earliest leadership in the development of modern dairying in Wisconsin.

Wonderful was the ingenuity which had been expended in giving the setting of the gathering impressive spectacular effect. There were cottages and log cabins built of cheese. One of the latter, with an outside chimney, two doors and two windows, was constructed of more than eight hundred cheeses, worth $8,000, though cheese was cheaper then than it is today. There were pyramids and obelisks of cheese, and equally ingenious architectural effects contrived with jars and firkins of butter. A huge arch was composed of bags of salt. The showing of cattle was interesting, though not remarkable for magnitude, for breeders had learned by experience of the risk attendant upon sending

valuable blooded stock on long journeys in the dead of winter. The machinery exhibits attracted admiring attention. The era of machinery in the dairy business was just about to arrive.

Incidentally the possession of the Exposition building contributed enormously to objects associated with social and cultural development. Many and diversified were the functions on a grand scale for which it provided suitable setting. Mention of the Kermis, May Carnivals and charity balls, the horse shows and the Bazaar of All Nations conducted by Mrs. Lydia Ely for the benefit of the Soldiers' Monument Fund will recall glowing memories of noteworthy recreational events. Apart from its primary object, however, nothing in connection with the history of the building contributed so much to Milwaukee's metropolitan prestige as the provision it afforded for the presentation of musical programmes of major significance from the standpoint of connoisseurs of that uplifting art. The Saengerfest of 1886, which brought Wagnerian singers from Europe to enchant the people of the Northwest holds a high place in the cultural history of Milwaukee. Without the Exposition Building it could not have been adequately housed. The Milwaukee Musical Society and the Arion Club, as well as various other musical organizations, constituted factors in the success of this and other saengerfests in Milwaukee, but to do justice to them here would involve digression.

Not only were choice and representative specimen products assembled and displayed in the exhibits at the Industrial Exposition, but in numerous instances manufacturing processes were illustrated by model plants in actual operation. The skill of artisans and the marvels of machinery thus portrayed proved of fascinating interest to spectators, often affording practical suggestions applicable to technical problems of their own. Beneficial results flowing from the influx to the city of visitors annually attracted by the Exposition extended in various directions. Besides bringing patronage to hotelkeepers and retailers, the institution promoted personal acquaintanceship between representative men of places in the interior and Milwaukee manufacturers and jobbers, leading to the placing here of important orders which formerly had gone elsewhere.

John Plankinton resigned from the Board of Directors in

1886, and retired from the presidency at the conclusion of his term for that year. His successor in the presidency was J. G. J. Campbell, who was re-elected for 1888. E. P. Matthews was president for 1889, J. G. J. Campbell for 1890 and John E. Hansen for 1891. John C. Koch, elected to the presidency in 1892, was re-elected ten times in succession, holding the office for eleven years and retiring at the end of 1902. The last president of the Association was Calvin B. Lewis. Gentlemen in addition to those referred to above who at different times served on the Board of Directors were C. M. Cottrill, J. B. Oliver, Francis Boyd, B. B. Hopkins, T. L. Kelly, William Plankinton, A. Meinecke, Sr., William Willer, E. J. Lindsay, Emil Durr, Gustav G. Pabst, John C. Koch, William Geuder, John Black, C. Manegold, Jr., A. C. Clas, J. F. Kern, C. E. Lewis, John Joys and Julius Frank. Incumbents of the office of secretary after General Hincks were: 1882-3, R. P. Jennings; 1884-5, Thomas R. Mercein; 1886-9, E. J. Becker; 1890 and all the following years of the Association's existence, A. Trumpff. During most of the time the general management of the Exposition was in the hands of the secretary, though R. D. Torrey assisted in this work in 1881 and the title as well as the duties of the office devolved upon him in 1882. In 1886 John Plankinton was general manager as well as president; so was J. G. J. Campbell in 1887 and 1888.

It was inevitable that as years rolled on the glamour and novelty surrounding Expositions at their outset should wear away, notwithstanding alertness on the part of the management to introduce variety and supplement the instructional features with legitimate entertainment. One of the experiments in providing subsidiary attractions gave Milwaukee its first panorama, "The Battle of Lookout Mountain," which was sold after being shown in connection with the Expositions of 1884 and 1885. Inviting brass bands from towns in the interior to compete for prizes was another expedient, local enthusiasm in the home towns causing each band to be accompanied to the contest by a train of admirers. Meanwhile the primary objects of the enterprise were not lost sight of, and long after expositions in other cities had closed for lack of patronage, the Milwaukee enterprise continued to pay expenses.

The total attendance at the first Exposition, which covered a

period of forty days, was 146,000; in 1882, forty-one days, it was 118,745; in 1883, thirty-nine days, 101,733. In 1884, the Exposition was open thirty-one days and the paid admissions numbered 94,225. That year, however, 520 complimentary season tickets were issued to exhibitors and public school children with their teachers were admitted free on Saturday mornings. From 1885 to 1892 the attendance at the annual Expositions, during open periods of forty days, was as follows: 1885, 77,296; 1886, 74,642; 1887, 90,000; 1888, 81,561; 1889, 88,743; 1890, 86,894; 1891, 124,463; 1892, 125,370. In 1893, that being the year of the Columbian World's Fair at Chicago, there was no Exposition at Milwaukee. In 1894, the Exposition was held for a shorter period than before—twenty-nine days—and the attendance was 92,717. From 1895 to 1901 the open periods were of thirty-one days each, and the attendance was as follows: 1895, 102,342; 1896, 80,029; 1897, 93,066; 1898, 80,951; 1899, 74,161; 1900, 65,013. The secretary and general manager at this time was A. Trumpff. In his report to the directors in January, 1899, he said: "This decrease is largely due to the inclemency of the weather, for it rained ten days during the season of the late Exposition. Further, I believe that a great many people throughout the State did not come to Milwaukee last fall for the reason that they had visited our city during the Carnival held here last June, and that our exhibition and the State Fair followed too soon thereafter. Should the citizens of Milwaukee contemplate holding another Carnival this year I beg to suggest that the directors and business men interested in the welfare and financial success of the Carnival, State Fair and Exposition endeavor to arrange the dates so that the three events will immediately follow each other or take place during the same period. By such an arrangement more people could be induced to visit our city, and the visitors could be offered more diversified attractions and amusements."

The experiment of opening the Exposition on Sundays had been made without success. It began in 1891, with what looked like a favorable attitude on the part of the public, the attendance on the open Sunday in that year being 12,884. In 1892 there were two open Sundays, with 5,184 paying visitors on the first and 3,332 on the second. In three succeeding years Sunday

Sixty-Eighth Anniversary of

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

CELEBRATION AT MILWAUKIE,
JULY 4, 1844.

OFFICERS OF THE DAY.

BYRON KILBOURN.....*President of the Day*
SOLOMON JUNEAU.....
JOHN HUSTIS.....
GEORGE H. WALKER.....
HENRY WILLIAMS.....
JOHN WHITE.....
GEORGE E. GRAVES.....
DAVID GEORGE.....
WILLIAM BROWN, Jr.....
Vice-Presidents

Colonel E. B. WOLCOTT.....*Marshal*
" DAVID M. KEELER.....
Major JOHN H. MEIGS.....
Messrs. GEORGE W. LOSS.....
JOHN THOMSSEN.....
GARRET M FITZGERALD.
Assistant Marshals

ALEXANDER W. STOW.....*Orator*
LEONARD P. CRARY.....*Reader of the Declaration*

Committee of Arrangements.

JAMES KNEELAND
JAMES S. BAKER,
PETER YATES,
DANIEL H. RICHARDS,
JOHN WHITE,
GEO. W. LOSS,
JOHN HUSTIS,
DOCT. HUEBSCHMANN
RICHARD MURPHY
D. UPMANN,
SILAS GRIFFITH,
MARTZ SHOEFFLER,
JOHN H. TWEEDY,
JAMES S. BROWN,
ALEX. MATHIESON,
BYRON KILBOURN,
E. D. HOLTON
DAVID M. KEELER,
C. L. MAC ARTHUR
P. J. GEORGE,
DOCT. SHUMWAY.
LINUS R. CADY,
LEONARD P. CRARY,
DAVID VAN DEREN,
HERMANN HEARTELL,
D. A. J. UPHAM
CLINTON WALWORTH,
GEO. H. WALKER,

ORDER OF THE DAY.

1—One Gun at day-break,

2—Federal Salute of 13 guns at sunrise, accompanied by the ringing of the bells.

3—At the firing of the signal gun at 10 o'clock, the Procession, (with its right wing in line, extending down East Water Street,) will form in front of the "COTTAGE INN," in the following order:—

1—MARSHAL,
2—Music,
3—President and Vice-Presidents,
4—Reader and Orator,
5—The Clergy,
6—Invited Guests,
7—Field Piece and Colors,
8—Committee of Arrangements,
9—Officers of Milwaukie County,
10—President and Board of Trustees of Milwaukie,
11—Masonic Society,
12—Odd Fellows' Society,
13—Young Men's Association,
14—Wisconsin Repeal Association,
15—Engine Company, No. 1.
16—Hook and Ladder Company, No. 1.
17—Sabbath School Societies,
18—Citizens generally.

GERMAN DIVISION.

1—Two men on horseback,
2—German Brass Band,
3—Colonel D. UPMANN, Chief Officer, with Adjutants.
4—Captain SCHULTE, of the Rifle Company, with Adjutants,
5—Rifle Company, with banner,
6—Head Officers of the train of citizens, with Adjutants.
7—Citizens, with the Hermann's banner,
8—Captain D. GEORGE, of the Lancers, with Adjutants,
9—Escadron of Lancers, with standards.

The PROCESSION will then proceed up East-Water to Wisconsin street; up Wisconsin to Jackson street; up Jackson to Oneida street; down Oneida to Wells street; up Wells to West-Water street; up West-Water to Chesnut street; down West-Water to Second street; down Second to the Congregational Church, where the following will be the

ORDER OF THE EXERCISES.

1—Music,
2—Prayer,
3—Reading the Declaration,
4—Music,
5—Oration,
6—Music,
7—Benediction.

The Procession will then re-form and proceed down Spring to Wisconsin street; up Wisconsin to East-Water street; up East Water to Mason street; up Mason to Jefferson street; down Jefferson to Huron street; up Huron to East-Water street; and up East Water to the "Cottage Inn," where a sumptuous DINNER will be served up by Messrs. TAFT & SPURR, for all who may wish to partake.

During the march of the Procession to the Dinner Table, a National Salute of 26 guns, and an additional one for each territory, will be fired on the Public Square.

The inhabitants of the adjacent country and neighboring towns, are respectfully invited to participate in the festivities of the day.

The Marshal particularly requests the members of the Committee of Arrangements, and all the Societies and Companies who intend to be present, to rendezvous at nine o'clock—to form in their distinctive bodies, and be in readiness to march to the position assigned them in the line of the Procession, at the firing of the signal gun at 10 o'oclock.

It is, perhaps, proper to state, that although a perfect understanding has not been effected with all the various Societies enumerated in this Order, the Marshal has conceived it his duty to assign them a place in the Procession, with the earnest hope that they may each and all be in attendance.

The Marshal's Staff, and the mounted Officers of the German Corps, are required to rendezvous at half-past eight, for farther orders.

Sentinel Press.....Milwaukie

FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION, 1844

attendance dwindled, being 3,755 in 1894, 2,295 in 1895 and 1,882 in 1896, after which there were no more "open Sundays."

Regarding unsatisfactory attendance statistics in 1899, Secretary Trumpff observed: "The falling off cannot be attributed to the weather, although the first two weeks were exceedingly hot. I believe, however, as I stated last year, that a great many of the persons who come to Milwaukee in June, to attend the Carnival, do not again come to our city two months later, even though there are reduced railroad rates." Reverting to the subject after the Exposition of 1900, Mr. Trumpff said: "The greatest part of the loss of attendance was sustained during Fair week. It can be attributed to the Yahr Markt held on the South Side of the city during that week, which tended to draw to that affair not only the people of our city, but also the majority of the country visitors who came to Milwaukee to see the Fair."

In 1901 the Exposition was open for twenty-four days, and the attendance mounted to 78,792. In 1902 the length of the Exposition was twenty days, and the number of people who attended was 47,472. This was the final Industrial Exposition under the auspices of the Milwaukee Exposition Association.

In September, 1903, at the suggestion of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, the Exposition Association Directors obtained advice of counsel as to whether or not their ground lease from the city could be transferred to a contemplated organization which might want to replace the Exposition Building with a modern convention hall, and attorneys replied that such transfer might be legally effected if it were deemed advisable.

The secretary's report to the directors, under date of January 15, 1905, contained the following: "The managers of the English theaters of Milwaukee and the owner of the Palm Garden, on July 28, 1904, secured possession of fifty shares of the Exposition stock, which was divided among them obviously for the purpose of uniting in a lawsuit against the Exposition Association to compel the use of the Exposition building for exposition purposes only. This case is now pending before the Circuit Court of Milwaukee County, and if this Association should lose this suit it will be utterly impossible to maintain the property of this Association, for the reason that the repairs, fire insurance premiums and

other expenses would far exceed the revenues that might be derived from the profits of such Industrial Expositions."

In the spring and fall of 1904 the Directors themselves arranged for two series of high-class popular concerts, one of them by Ellery's Band. Both were successful, especially the Ellery concerts, which attracted one hundred thousand auditors and netted a profit of $6,000.

The use of the building was granted for the sum of $200 to the Nord Amerikanischer Skat Verband Congress, to be held on the 3d and 4th of June, 1905, with the stipulation that the players should vacate the premises on or before 5:30 o'clock p. m. of the latter day. While they were sitting at their tables engaged in the absorbing game, the building was discovered to be on fire. So quick was the progress of the flames that some of them barely escaped. Soon the great dome fell with a tremendous crash. By 5:30 o'clock all that remained of the Milwaukee Industrial Exposition Building was a heap of bricks and ashes.

The Milwaukee Advancement Association owed its origin to a suggestion made by the Advisory Committee of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association in the spring of 1888. Pursuant to a call issued a week in advance, a public meeting was held on the 27th of March to arrange preliminaries for incorporation, which was effected without delay. The officers provided for in the constitution were a president, ten vice presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, and a board of fifty directors. Whatever would benefit the city in a material way was assumed to be within the field of the Advancement Association's work, and it labored especially in the promulgation of information which would induce manufacturers to locate their plants in Milwaukee. The propaganda thus set on foot brought appreciated results. It also served to influence the selection of Milwaukee for the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic which was held in 1889. After several years of useful labor, the Advancement Association as a separate organization retired from the field, its function being fulfilled thereafter by one of the departments of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association.

In response to a sentiment favoring organized work with the object of attracting conventions to Milwaukee, the Citizens' Business League came into existence in the fall of 1897, continuing to

operate effectively during the following eleven years, when its function was taken over by the Association of Commerce. The League was credited with bringing nearly a thousand conventions to the city—gatherings of numerous bodies large and small, representing every description of social activity. It also performed valuable service by calling wide attention to the advantages of Milwaukee as a summer resort. The first president of the Citizens' Business League was W. G. King, his successors in that office being Wilmer Sieg, Alvin P. Kletzsch, Edward A. Uhrig and John H. Kopmeier. One and all they wrought with ability and public spirit, inspiring their associates with zeal and securing results highly advantageous to Milwaukee. All lines of business were represented in the membership of the League, and its affairs were conducted with the aid of a board of directors consisting of the officers and twenty-two members holding regular meetings once a month.

The outgrowth of these earlier institutions, combining their functions and performing others of importance which are a development of the time, inheriting their splendid traditions, and working with zeal and energy for the interests of a greater Milwaukee, is the powerful and efficient Twentieth Century organization operating under the name of the Milwaukee Association of Commerce.

CHAPTER XXI

A CENTER OF INDUSTRIES

MILWAUKEE'S RISE FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS TO A POSITION OF COMMANDING IMPORTANCE IN THE MANUFACTURING WORLD —HOW SOME OF ITS VAST INSTITUTIONS STARTED—TRUE STORIES THAT ARE AS INTERESTING AS FICTION.

The general condition of business in Milwaukee immediately after its start may be inferred from the statement that while imports during the city's first seven years following 1835 were reported as aggregating $5,835,643, exports totaled only $405,753, what was brought in representing a valuation fourteen times in excess of what went out. However, appraisals in the early years, especially in the case of exports, probably were very carelessly made. The change to a self-supporting basis and beyond became apparent very soon. It was in 1841 that the first shipment of wheat was made from Milwaukee. That was the year in which the neighboring village of Southport, later to become Kenosha, ventured the successful experiment of building a pier into the lake. With Southport, as well as with Racine and Chicago, Milwaukee was in active competition. At these rival places there were harbor facilities, not as good potentially as those at Milwaukee, but equally available for the shipping then afloat. Quickly following Southport's example, Milwaukee, whose sandbar prevented all but small craft from entering the river, came to be provided with lake piers at which steamboats could tie up to unload and take cargoes except in extremely heavy weather. Supplementing this convenience for the transaction of business, Milwaukeeans adopted energetic measures for the improvement of wagon roads reaching into the interior. At the earliest practicable moment they engaged in the construction of railroads which insured this city precedency for the future over all its rivals but Chicago.

The background of Milwaukee's rise to manufacturing importance was in preparation for many years, various factors combining in its production. Some of these attracted little attention till they had contributed in combination with one another and with developments of subsequent origin to produce significant results. There was manufacturing activity from the beginning, on a modest scale, affording occupation for settlers who had brought with them varying degrees of technical skill which sometimes they imparted to younger co-workers. Immigration made valuable additions to the number of artisans, who in some instances proved themselves possessed of capacity for organization and leadership. Lack of capital retarded enterprise, but there was ambition.

House-building, shipbuilding and railroad-building are industrial activities demanding competent workmen, as well as executive ability and financial genius in their management, to produce satisfactory results. All three deserve recognition as foundation-stones in the towering edifice of Milwaukee's Twentieth Century importance as a manufacturing center. They made a home market for the products of auxiliary industries, and these quickly grew up around them.

The erection of buildings attracted carpenters and masons as early as 1835, in which year a sawmill was in operation on the Milwaukee River. The construction of the schooner *Solomon Juneau* began in the following year, which witnessed the completion of the first county courthouse. Bricks for chimneys were made of a very excellent clay which was found within the boundaries of the settlement. Of this the earliest brick buildings were constructed, from whose pleasing color Milwaukee acquired the name of the Cream City. Sash doors and blinds were needed in ever-increasing quantity. Milwaukeeans embarked in the manufacture of sash, doors and blinds. Wagon making was another early industry, and carriages of superior quality were made here, by John Ogden, as soon as they came into demand. Houses required furniture. Very early, cabinet makers were turning out serviceable and artistic evidence that they were no bunglers in their department of production. As each activity developed it contributed to promote others.

Hope blazed brightly with the opening of the water power on the canal in 1842. Under the heading, "Manufacturing on Our Waterpower," the *Daily Wisconsin* of December 3, 1849, described in detail the edge-tools factory of Cross & Co., the wood-turning shops of Norwood and Reynolds, the sash, door and blind establishment of J. Le Pointe, the pail factory of Luscombe, Hewitt & Co., the foundry of A. J. Langworthy, the scale works of Selby & Knapp, the five flouring mills, the tannery of Trumbull & Hotchkiss, the woolen factory of Burke & Co., and observed: "All these multifarious occupations—these many workings of wood, iron, wool, leather and grain into new shapes, are crowded into a space of perhaps fifty rods in length, and it would be difficult to find anywhere else so great a variety of vocations, so much constant industry, in so small a compass. When one remembers it is less than nine years since the first movement was made there, the present large amount of business done and the skill displayed by the workers furnish a remarkable example of Western ability and enterprise."

Long before that time Zachariah Clayton had been turning out sash, doors and blinds at his factory on upper Wisconsin Street, and numerous other enterprising individuals had been carrying on manufacturing operations of different descriptions in other parts of the city. Nor was water the only motive power employed at an early date in Milwaukee. A horse could make wheels go round to operate machinery, and often was utilized for that purpose in connection with the infant industries. Horses helped to make brick. Horse power turned the lathes in the establishment of Victor Schulte, who was the architect as well as the builder of St. John's Cathedral. Benjamin Skidmore, later engaged in mercantile affairs, who died April 26, 1907, at the age of ninety-three, had the credit of being the first manufacturer to use steam-power in Milwaukee. He came in 1844, erecting a wood-turning factory on the present site of the Pabst Theater.

Other industries of importance than those which it had mentioned in the paragraph cited above, and indications of rising prosperity on the South Side, were referred to by the *Daily Wisconsin* in its issue of December 15, 1849:

"There are nine brickyards in the Fifth Ward, in which 6,700,000 bricks have been made during the past season. More than three miles of street grading have been finished. Much has been accomplished toward filling the marsh toward the Menomonee, building wharfage on the river, and effecting substantial improvement. The new tannery of Pfister & Co. is giving employment to thirty hands. Walton's iron foundry employs thirty-one hands, and will turn out $75,000 worth of work in the course of a year. The termination of the Janesville plank road at the warehouse of A. Sweet—the largest warehouse on the upper lakes—will make Milwaukee a great thoroughfare for traffic from the country. That there has been a large increase of population in the Fifth Ward during the year is evidenced by the erection of eighty new buildings. There are a German Catholic church, a Methodist church and a brick schoolhouse."

Brick-making was a pioneer industry in Milwaukee. There was disappointment at first at the color of the bricks, when it was found that the heat of the kiln turned the clay to a pale yellow instead of red, as in the case of bricks produced elsewhere. However, Milwaukee bricks proved excellent in quality, and eventually their color came to be esteemed as an advantage. Architects as far east as Toledo sent for them to use in trimming, with the view of securing artistic effect. When travelers praised the cheerful appearance of structures made of Milwaukee brick, the townsfolk not only became reconciled, but learned to regard the distinctive color with local pride.

The first Milwaukee bricks were made in September, 1835, by Nelson and Thomas Olin, Levi G. Loomis and George Reed, who at that time were in the employ of Solomon Juneau. These bricks were used by William Sivyer in the construction of a chimney for Mr. Juneau's house on [East] Michigan Street. In 1836 Benoni W. Finch began making bricks at what now is the intersection of Wisconsin Avenue and Thirteenth Street. The first brick house in Milwaukee was erected by William Sivyer on the rear of a lot on the west side of Jackson Street, just north of Mason Street, and used as a dwelling by his family. It was torn down in 1855. Mr. Finch was the owner of the second brick house, which stood on Clybourn Street between Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets.

Mr. Sivyer made bricks at the head of Oneida Street. Sidney S. and Samuel Childs made bricks at the corner of Sixth Avenue and Park Street, on the South Side. Early in the '40s John A. Messenger opened a brickyard on Chestnut Street west of Twelfth Street. It was not till 1844 that the Burnhams embarked in the industry in which their achievements were to throw those of others into the shade.

When Jonathan L. Burnham came to Milwaukee from Buffalo early in 1843 he was in the twenty-fifth year of his age. Born on his father's farm in Clinton County, New York, in 1818, he had attended school during the winter months till he was fourteen, after which he had served as a cook on an Erie canal boat and saved a little money. Besides the team of horses with which he traveled overland from Buffalo to Detroit, he had $300 of his own and another hundred borrowed from his brother. From Detroit he came by steamer to Milwaukee, investing his $400 in eighty acres of land on the South Side, and using his horse and wagon as a means of gaining a livelihood. He carried passengers and their belongings from the boats to the hotels. Sometimes he conveyed immigrant families with their household equipment from the piers into the back country, answering to his own satisfaction and their advantage questions which they asked him as to the best locations in which to settle with a view to farming. George Burnham, who was two years the senior of J. L., came to Milwaukee in September, 1843, and in the following spring the two went into business together as brickmakers. There were two or three small brickyards in operation in the vicinity at the time. The Burnhams had learned brickmaking from their father. They specialized in the business, and soon left competition far behind. At the beginning they leased from James H. Rogers a tract of land at the foot of Thirteenth Street, working there for a year and then entering into an agreement to purchase six acres near what is now Wisconsin Avenue, for which they were to pay $75 an acre. When the papers had been drawn up, the man who had agreed to sell to them desired to back out. All the Burnhams wanted was a stratum of clay containing the requisite constituents of good brick, and a compromise was effected, whereby they were given the use of the land for three years on condition that they should pay the taxes, and the title never passed into their

hands. Subsequently they bought forty-five acres near Fifteenth Street and Wisconsin Avenue for $50 an acre. The immense brickyards on the South Side afterward identified with their name were acquired in 1848—150 acres, for which $20 an acre was the price.

The Burnhams were ingenious and enterprising, not content with following beaten paths. While other brickmakers were tempering their clay by means of a wheel which was turned in a pit by horse power, and making their bricks by hand, the Burnhams, with the aid of an employe named Martin, devised a steam-propelled machine which not only ground and tempered the clay but also molded the bricks, materially reducing the cost of manufacture.

Whatever the Burnhams undertook in the way of construction was executed with competency and fidelity. An example of this was the edifice at the corner of West Water and Fowler streets long afterward known as the Manegold mill. Lewis J. Higby, who contracted with them for its erection, wanted it to be free from perishable material, and his desire was conformed with to the letter, for the walls were of solid brick, without a framework, and twenty-six inches thick. Many times was this building filled to the roof with wheat, without detaching so much as a piece of mortar. In 1856 the partnership was dissolved, each of the brothers continuing independently in the manufacture of brick.

When George Burnham died, in March, 1889, he was possessed of property said to be worth two million dollars, but he had not made all his money in the brick business. His alert intelligence was keen to note opportunities in various directions. His energy sometimes carried him far afield. He possessed excellent judgment and was careful in the management of his affairs. Mr. Burnham had a hand in public improvements that greatly contributed to the development of Milwaukee, and one of these was the construction of the Mukwonago plank road. Swampy land southwest of the city kept farmers from coming to town in wet weather until the Mukwonago plank road made the journey easy. The Mukwonago road was one of the first of its kind in the West, and served as an open door to Milwaukee for the farmers of Walworth and Racine counties. It was in

1849 that George Burnham organized the company which conferred this important benefit upon the city. He was associated with S. A. Harrison in the construction of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad as far as Brookfield Junction. He and Mr. Harrison bought the right to lay the Nicholson pavement in the State of Wisconsin. It was the favored pavement of its time, and was used on many streets in Milwaukee during the '70s.

With undertakings purely speculative George Burnham never had anything to do. He bought and sold with strict regard to legitimate market values, and never gambled. In the early days he dealt in cattle and hogs in the open market, also purchasing grain for storage. Real estate transactions were interesting to him, and when managerial talent was required to make them eventuate prosperously he was not without patience. Once he came into possession of the Axtell House as a result of the foreclosure of a mortgage, and remained its owner for a time. He erected at a cost of $100,000 the building at the corner of Reed and South Water streets whose first lessee and occupant was John Nazro. Rather late in life he formed a company for the purchase of 900 acres of coal-bearing land in Iowa, to develop which the Crooked Creek and the Webster City & Southwestern railways came into being, Mr. Burnham being one of the directors and vice president of the latter as well as a heavy stockholder. He was deeply interested in timber and mineral lands in northern Michigan and Wisconsin, and had investments in Texas iron lands as well as in silver mines in Utah and Mexico. He was a stockholder in the Milwaukee Harvester Works, and a director of the company. For many years he was an executive officer of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company. Five years before his death he bought a farm of 960 acres in Fond du Lac County, the possession of which afforded him a great deal of pleasure. In the midst of his enterprises, Mr. Burnham became a victim of malarial fever while on a business visit to Webster City, dying in Milwaukee at the age of seventy-three, survived by his wife, three sons and a daughter.

Long before speculative competition had enhanced property prices in the western portion of the South Side, J. L. Burnham increased his holding of real estate to one hundred acres, the tract extending westward from Eighth Avenue to Seventeenth (South

Thirteenth to South Twenty-second Street, in the nomenclature of 1930), and some of it during his lifetime appreciated to ten thousand dollars an acre. He erected buildings in other parts of the city, and also made outside investments which turned out well. He was one of the promoters of the Menomonee Valley improvement. Mr. Burnham became a Republican at the birth of the party, and always took an interest in politics, but preferred looking after his business to holding office, and was only once a candidate for election, at which time he was chosen to represent his district in the Assembly. His death occurred on the 24th of September, 1891, when he was survived by two sons, John F. and Clinton, and a married daughter. Mrs. Burnham, whom he married in 1855, died in 1863.

Later manufacturers of brick on a considerable scale included Dr. Enoch Chase, Bond & Hanchett, William Wirt Watkins, Martin Davelaar and others.

There were other clay industries in Milwaukee, not all of them using Milwaukee clay. On the south side of what used to be Johnson Street, now East Highland Avenue, the sign of the old Pierron pottery is still to be seen, but no longer visible on the river bank are huge heaps of clay brought by lake from Ohio to supply the busy potters. With the advantage of adjacency to the source of the raw material, potteries at Akron and other points in Ohio are able to produce more cheaply than competitors at the distance of Milwaukee, and their lower-priced output commands the market.

A notable Milwaukee enterprise for many years was the manufacture of cement. Changing conditions have taken it away. The raw material for Milwaukee cement was close at hand, in seemingly exhaustless beds of Niagara limestone underlying and abutting on the river in the vicinity of what is now Capitol Drive. In the 1870s and 1880s no hydraulic cement enjoyed a better reputation with engineers than that manufactured at Milwaukee. Used by experienced workmen it always yielded satisfactory results. "Portland" cement, so-called, possessed the advantage of necessitating less skill and care in use to insure its "settling," but Portland cement at that time was only to be had by importing it from England, and cost so much that no one thought of employing it except in small quantities and for special purposes. In course

of time, however, Americans mastered the secret of manufacturing "Portland" cement by mixing marl with baked and powdered limestone. Soon after this discovery the Akron Cement Company bought up cement manufacturing establishments in various parts of the United States, including the one at Milwaukee. When the merger had been effected operations were concentrated at points where marl as well as limestone was conveniently at hand, and this policy involved the closing of the plant at Milwaukee.

A manufactory of friction matches was in prosperous operation at Milwaukee at a time when these conveniences were a novelty in many parts of the United States. It was established by R. W. Pierce in 1844 and carried on by him till 1860, when he disposed of it to Samuel Ball, Frank Greenleaf and Priam B. Hill, who kept it going till after the war. Then the factory was sold to Edward Barber, Mr. Barber in turn disposing of it to Abner Kirby, and Mr. Kirby converting it into a starch factory, which he subsequently discontinued. As a match factory it was a successful institution in its prime. Mr. Pierce had learned to make matches in a factory belonging to his cousin, at Charlemont, Massachusetts. Coming to Milwaukee, he began operations on his own account, first in a little shop on Chestnut Street, near Fifth, and then on the north side of Walnut Street, near Sixth Street, where he bought two lots from Byron Kilbourn, paying $40 for one and $35 for the other. At the end of three years he had a dozen men in the shop and three teams on the road in Wisconsin and Northern Illinois. In ten years his factory force had doubled. When he sold out, Pierce's friction matches were used as far east as Detroit, as far west as there was any settlement, and as far south as Louisville, St. Louis and New Orleans. The factory gave employment to sixty men and boys and made good business for four traveling men who were constantly "on the go" soliciting orders. One of Mr. Pierce's reasons for retiring was the first appearance of competition, a rival factory having been established at Detroit. He accounted himself and was regarded by his fellow townsmen at the time as exceptionally fortunate in business, for, starting with only a few dollars, he had acquired the snug sum of sixty thousand. Later he became a partner of S. D. Luscombe in the lumber business, continuing to prosper, and living to an advanced age.

In 1893, discussing his experiences from the vantage-ground of retirement, he attributed his manufacturing success first to the fact that he made excellent matches, and second to his practice of "pushing his goods." When he started there were no railroads out of Milwaukee, and for a considerable period thereafter there were few available so far as he was concerned except the one to Prairie du Chien. As late as 1856 and 1857 he kept as many as fifteen or sixteen horses to drive the wagons he used distributing his product throughout the country. Wagon-loads of matches were sent to different points where peddler outfits took them for disposal to people in the villages and to farmers. Large quantities were sent by boat to Chicago. He was a pioneer in the employment of traveling men, and believed in the commercial drummer as a great help to business. One of his itinerant representatives was a church deacon, who remained with him as long as he was in the business. Of this efficient agent he said: "One of his expeditions I never shall forget. After the railroads came he took a carload of matches to Louisville and sold it out in a few days. He wanted another carload; but as it was getting late in the season, about November, I doubted that he could dispose of it. He insisted that he could, and went south with the carload. He sold some in Louisville and took the rest up the river as far as Cincinnati by boat. He found some difficulty in disposing of the last of his matches, and finally took six barrels of Bourbon whisky in exchange. When he came home and told me he had taken several barrels of Bourbon spirits in trade, I asked, 'What are Bourbon spirits?'

" 'They are something similar to liquor, and are extensively used for medicinal and industrial purposes,' he replied. The Deacon was a strict tetotaller.

" 'Do they drink it?' I asked, still in doubt as to what he had brought.

" 'Along the Ohio River,' he replied, 'they don't drink anything else.'

" 'Then I guess you have brought back Bourbon whisky,' I said, and so it proved. There were, as I have said, six barrels of it, which represented 56 cents a gallon, 50 cents having been paid for the whisky and six cents a gallon for freight. I didn't expect to make money on it, but I took a sample to Webster's wholesale

liquor house, where I sold the lot—240 gallons—at 56 cents a gallon. The next year Webster came up to my place and wanted to know if I had any more of that whisky. I told him that I didn't deal regularly in whisky, that my business was matches, and that I had no more liquor. He wanted to know if I could get him another supply like the first, and was anxious to find just where it had come from. He said it was the best whisky he ever had, and that all his customers wanted it, and that he had sold it for two dollars a gallon."

The anecdote is illustrative of the prevalence of barter due to the scarcity of reliable money in the era before the Civil war.

Mr. Pierce was an example of men who came to Milwaukee in the early days, accumulated means in lines of business open to everybody but unobserved until they had brought them into notice, relinquished their original undertakings for reasons sufficient to themselves and embarked in others in which they continued to prosper. Daniel Wells, Jr., Abner Kirby and J. B. Martin were other examples of versatility and general good fortune. But there were innumerable instances of initial success followed by serious reverses, attesting the well-known saying that it is easier to get riches than to keep them.

Adolph Meinecke is remembered as a man whose ingenious mind enabled him to descry opportunities of profit in directions unsuspected till he led the way. He not only won fortune for himself but opened opportunities for gainful occupation to others. For fifty-three years prior to his death in 1905 Mr. Meinecke was a respected resident of Milwaukee. He built up two successful business enterprises, demonstrating ability as a merchant and also as a manufacturer. He was a man of intellectual culture and social charm, and was alert to the duties of citizenship. The story of his life and adventures is as interesting as a romance.

Born in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, in 1830, he was the son of a physician, enjoying superior educational advantages and proving a faithful student. Among other things which he learned was the English language. While still a youth he read a book on America, and decided the United States would be a good place to come to. At the age of seventeen he came, but it was not till after he had reached the age of twenty-four that he found his way West.

"Before I came to Milwaukee," said Mr. Meinecke in 1903, "I spent seven years in New York, working for an importer who was accustomed in the course of an extensive business to buy salvage cargoes from the Bahama Islands. While I was in his employ he purchased a quantity of baled sponges, the first that had been brought from the Bahamas to the port of New York. More than fifty years ago I took samples of these sponges to Buffalo to sell. They were covered with scales, not having been well cleaned before they came. In order to improve their appearance, I ran strings through them, while traveling to my destination by way of the Erie canal, and let them drag through the water as the boat proceeded. In this matter I had followed the advice of a friend, who had suggested this would be the best way to get the sponges clean. The experiment was not a success, for the reason that the strings broke, and a considerable number of sponges went to the bottom of the canal."

Mr. Meinecke's employer, who evidently was a good fellow, probably enjoyed the humor of this mishap more than he deplored the loss of his sponges. Mr. Meinecke himself was never happier than when recounting an amusing narrative, even if the laugh it produced was at his own expense. He recurred with delight to the subject of his experiences in New York:

"I had $26 in my pocket when I landed, in June, 1848, and lent $25 of it to a good friend who never repaid me, but was lucky enough to get a position almost immediately with a German, who was engaged in importing. My salary for the first year was $2 per week and I boarded myself, sleeping in the store and cooking my own breakfast and supper. The next year my pay was raised to $3 per week and I put my first $5 in the savings bank. In 1851 my employer went to Europe, leaving me in charge of the business, at a salary of $4 per week."

A business trip brought the young man to Milwaukee in 1852, and he decided to settle here. The following year found him established in the retail toy business on East Water Street, his employer having lent him $6,000. In 1854 he married. There was competition, but his business grew; gradually he built up a wholesale trade and became an importer on his own account. In 1864 he began manufacturing willow baskets and bamboo furniture. Afterward he bought the old Horning planing mill on

Front Street, and in 1870 erected a factory which gave employment to 200 people. The business in both establishments continued to grow. For a quarter of a century he was the active manager. Then his health failed, but the management was taken over by Ferdinand, his eldest son who became a partner in 1878.

"After I began to manufacture willow ware," Mr. Meinecke observed, "the cultivation of willows was necessary, and I induced many farmers in this section of Wisconsin to grow them. Those who wished to raise a variety of crops found willows remunerative. Mr. Trowbridge, the Greenfield pioneer, whose strawberries and garden truck had been locally famous for years, was one of the first to interest himself in it. He raised and sold me hundreds of tons of willow wands. He was the first to fertilize the trees with blood from the slaughter houses. He employed immigrant women to go between the growing willows and pull up the grass by the roots. David Cabeen, of the town of Lake, on Howell Avenue, was another who sold us willows. As soon as we got them, we sent them to my forty-acre willow farm in the Ninth Ward, where hundreds of people sat around peeling them."

Mr. Meinecke having shown what could be done, many other small business plants of the same kind sprang up in Milwaukee and other parts of the State. In his recreative time, Mr. Meinecke was a student and a writer for magazines. He was one of the first supporters of the German-English Academy, and an enthusiastic contributor to the Engelmann Museum, afterward transferred to the city. He was one of the Wisconsin Commissioners to the World's Fair at Philadelphia in 1876. He sent to Germany American school desks. One of the unusual orders filled by the Meinecke establishment came from Captain Pabst. It was for ten thousand canes, which were distributed gratuitously among members of the Grand Army of the Republic attending the reunion at Milwaukee in 1889, to serve as souvenirs of their visit to the Pabst brewery.

When Charles Stolper, Sr., arrived in Milwaukee, about the middle of June, 1854, after a journey from Germany, he was a young man of twenty, with his way to make in a new country. Half a century later, he celebrated his birthday at the head of the Charles Stolper Cooperage Company, the largest beer barrel manufacturing concern in the West, and, with a single

exception, the largest in the United States. During the final thirty-five years of his life the establishment never had fewer than a hundred men on its pay-roll. In December, 1903, Mr. Stolper gave the following interesting account of his business career:

"I came to this country with my father's family, landing at Quebec, June 1, 1854. The voyage was in a sailing vessel and we were afloat nine weeks. From Quebec to Milwaukee, by lake and canal, took two weeks more. The others of our party went on a farm in the interior, but I decided to stay in the city, and soon found work in the employ of Emil Weis, to learn the cooper's trade. Six months later I entered the employ of Layton & Plankinton, packers, working for them as a cooper. John Plankinton was always a good friend to me, and we had many dealings. I made a start for myself in 1855, opening an independent cooper shop on Vliet between Eleventh and Twelfth streets. My capital was limited, and I found it hard to get along and pay the rent. In the fall of 1857 I bought a lot at 665 Third Street and built a cooper shop. It was on top of a high hill, and I found it necessary to build a road to the shop from Beers Street. I had the only house in the block, and there was no way of getting to the shop until I built the road. Pork barrels were the only kind made in my shop in those days, and my barrels were good ones. The capacity of the shop was about 2,500 packages a year, and the business soon got upon a paying basis. A little later I became interested in a number of small cooper shops in the city in addition to the main shop, and in 1862 began the manufacture of flour barrels as well as pork packages. My barrels went all over the country. Milwaukee by that time had become a great milling and pork-packing center, and large quantities of barrels were required. My contracts with the principal millers often taxed the capacity of my shop to the utmost. In 1868 I could turn out 400 flour barrels a day, in addition to as many pork barrels. I employed more than a hundred men. The barrels were all made by hand."

The business changed its character later, when the manufacture of flour and pork barrels was discontinued and that of beer barrels and kegs was begun. The hill on which the original shop stood had been graded down years before, and the shop extended from 661 to 667 Third Street. The excellence of the Stol-

per barrels gave them a high reputation in the brewing world, and they sold from Boston to the Pacific coast. In 1894 the Third Street shop was abandoned by the company, and it took possession of a new shop at 650-668 Fourth Street, equipped with machinery for making beer barrels. The capacity was 500 barrels a day, and the active management passed into the hands of Mr. Stolper's sons. Mr. Stolper was a member of Trinity Lutheran Church. He was also a member of the Chamber of Commerce and of numerous clubs and societies. He became a large real estate owner, and contributed in a noteworthy degree to the upbuilding of the part of the city in which he lived, the Northwest Side of that time.

The history of nearly all the successful manufacturing establishments of Milwaukee's early days was that of enterprises starting upon a tentative basis and developing, often very gradually, from small beginnings. Frequently, however, it happened that men who had carried on for a time in undertakings that held out hope of future growth, were brought to the necessity of winding up their affairs and entering new fields by reason of sudden emergencies requiring capital which they had not foreseen and for which they could not provide, because money was scarce and not easy to borrow. Numerous industries that proved profitable for a time succumbed to changing trade conditions. This was the case with paper making long ago and more recently with carriage making and harness making.

The first paper mill in Milwaukee was a brick structure at the foot of West Water Street, on the west side of the street. It was started prior to 1846 by Joseph Ludington and a partner—Ludington & Garland—and afterward sold to Noonan & McNab. Mr. Ludington remained in Milwaukee for several years after disposing of his interest in the mill, being associated with his relatives in their general store at Juneau's old stand on East Water Street. Subsequently he sought business opportunities in other fields. He died at St. Louis in 1894 at the age of ninety-three. When railroad building at Milwaukee began the site of the old mill became part of the yards of the Milwaukee & Mississippi, and Noonan & McNab erected a mill on the water power at Humboldt, north of the city. For years they supplied most of the paper used by newspaper men in every part of Wisconsin. Modern processes by which paper is made of straw and of wood

pulp did not come into use till about the time of the Civil war, in those days paper was made of rags. It was after the war had begun that Jermain & Brightman, publishers of the *Sentinel*, together with others, made competition for Noonan & McNab by erecting a large mill on the bank of the Milwaukee River not far from the end of Van Buren Street. By this time Appleton had entered into the business of making paper, and profits in the industry were not what they had been. The newer of the Milwaukee mills was discontinued after a boiler explosion accompanied with fatalities, which partially wrecked the building. The Noonan & McNab mill at Humboldt burned in July, 1869, and never was rebuilt. Subsequently the ruins of the other paper mill were acquired by August Gallun and made the nucleus of his extensive tannery. There was a wrapping paper factory on the Menomonee River a short distance west of the city early in the '70s, but compared with the paper mills which flourished in the Fox River Valley it was a small affair, and went out of existence after a few years.

Prior to 1860 Milwaukee was less conspicuous for manufacturing than for trade. She trafficked in the products of the farmers, whom she supplied with necessaries which to a large extent were the output of manufacturers at the East. Capital for local industrial development was the great desideratum of the early days. As years rolled by individuals with money to invest on their own account or to lend on promising security increased in number, and Milwaukee's manufacturing importance became established upon a substantial footing. By 1872 one-half of her working population was engaged in industrial pursuits, and the output of her factories had grown to nearly $20,000,000.

Andrew J. Aikens, in the review of the trade and industry of Milwaukee for the year 1856, which he prepared as secretary of the Board of Trade, predecessor of the Chamber of Commerce, had the following to say on the subject of "Manufactures:"

"We have found more difficulty in arriving at a just estimate of the value and extent of this branch of business than of any other. A large proportion of the manufacturers are unwilling to give the amount of the business or any other essential particulars concerning it.

"Under the heading of steam engines, boilers, machinery, etc., we find in the city some eighteen shops, employing from twelve to one hundred men each, and turning out an aggregate amount of $800,000 of work per annum. Fully one-half the present capital was added the past year, and no fewer than six of the establishments were new during 1856. Extensions and enlargements are contemplated for the present year to the amount of $300,000, besides one or two entire new establishments.

"There were in operation in the city during the year twenty-six breweries, manufacturing 75,000 barrels of ale and beer, the larger portion of which is lager beer. Probably 30,000 barrels were sent from the city. The entire capital employed in the business is probably little less than a million dollars. The number of men employed is about 500, at average wages of $8 per week. The increase of production over 1855 was nearly 50 per cent.

"Notwithstanding that the demand from abroad for the beautiful Milwaukee brick has been unabated, the consumption at home has been so great as to limit the quantity available for export. While we manufactured 35,000,000, we exported only about 1,000,000. There are eight brickyards in operation, employing about 300 men. It is contemplated to increase the manufacture the coming year. The pressed brick of Milwaukee is not exceeded in beauty or durability by any made in any other part of the world.

"Large outlay has been made upon the flouring mills of the city, necessitating their idleness for a considerable portion of the year. Aside from custom work, the total amount of flour manufactured in 1856 was 116,000 barrels.

"The beef pack has amounted to the same as in 1855, or about 10,000 barrels. During the past year the first cattle market ever opened in the city has been started by Layton & Plankinton. About 100 men are employed in the packing business, at $1.50 per day for the season.

"There has been a material increase in the manufacture of boots and shoes. The whole amount manufactured during the past year being valued at $350,000. Five hundred men were employed, at average wages of $7 per week.

"The manufacture of clothing was nearly double that of 1855, amounting for 1856 to nearly $600,000. More than 450 hands,

at wages of $7.50 per week, are employed by the wholesale houses of the city.

"A want spoken of in the last annual report has been supplied by the establishment of a lard oil manufactory.

"In shipbuilding the present winter has not witnessed much advancement. The amount of tonnage launched in the first few months of 1856 was 1,600—one propeller and five schooners. About the same tonnage will be launched in the coming season.

"Many other branches of industry could be spoken of would the limits of this report permit."

This was followed by a table indicating the value of the principal articles of manufacture produced in Milwaukee during 1856, as follows:

Iron manufactures of all kinds	$1,500,000
Flour	696,000
Ale and beer	750,000
Clothing	600,000
Rectified whisky and spirits	500,000
Pork and beef packing	400,000
Tanning and wool pulling	280,000
Boots and shoes	350,000
Brick	350,000
Cabinet furniture	225,000
Patented machines	200,000
Lumber planing	250,000
Sheet iron, tin and copper manufactures	250,000
Soap and candles	150,000
Bread and crackers	175,000
Harness and carriage trimmings	150,000
Barrels	120,000
Ship building	140,000

Job printing and millinery were put down for $75,000 each, and cigars and tobacco for $75,000, while sleighs were put down for $90,000, the following miscellaneous industries being credited for smaller amounts included in the aggregate of $8,057,000 as the value of the city's manufacturing output for the year: Burr millstones, book binding, brooms, billiard tables, confectionery,

camphene and burning fluid, cowbells, Daguerrean photographs, engraving and lithographing, guns and pistols, glue, gloves and mitts, horseshoeing and smithing, jewelry and silverware, maps and charts, pianofortes, paper, pipes, rope, root beer, railroad cars, stone and earthen ware, safes, stoves and hollow ware, saleratus, turning in wood and brass, vinegar, umbrellas, window shades, wool and yarn, wire screening. The total value of the city's manufacturing output had nearly doubled within two years.

That there was a check to the city's prosperity following the panic of 1857 and the collapse in railroad booming in the years immediately preceding the Civil war is evident from admissions contained in the annual statement of the Chamber of Commerce for 1861, and while Milwaukee more than held her own, she did not flourish like Chicago during the period of the war. Undeniably her interests at that time were injuriously affected by the diversion of traffic from the northern part of the State due to the Chicago & North-Western's route from Fond du Lac to Chicago at a distance from the lake shore which had boded no good to Milwaukee at the time it was planned. Later, when the Chicago & North-Western made efficient connections with Milwaukee, after Milwaukee people had taken the initiative in improving communications with the north, great gain resulted to the North-Western as well as to the general business interests of Milwaukee.

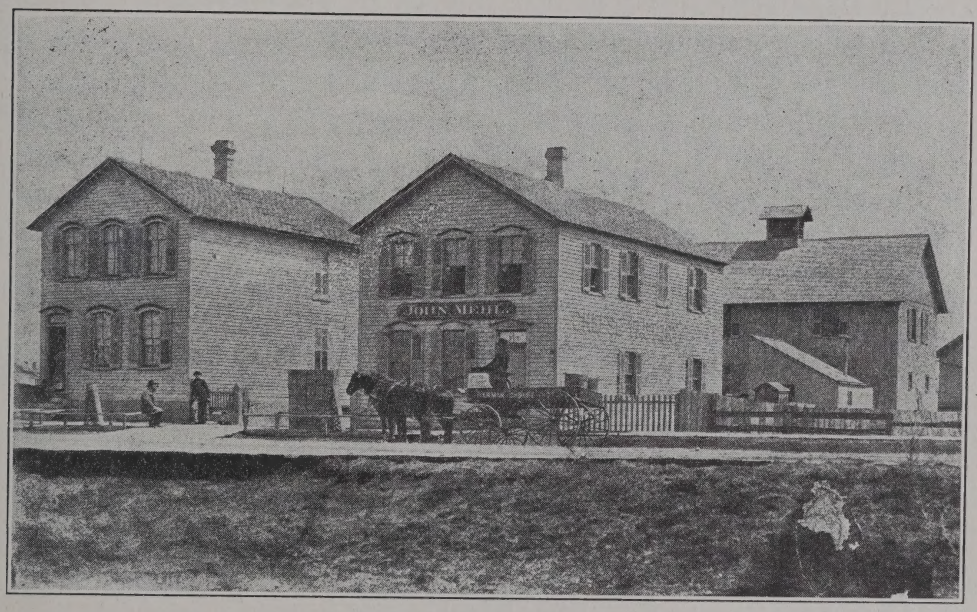
A number of factors operating for the creation of confidence in the future of Milwaukee had been accumulating in the interval between the '50s and the '70s. They co-ordinated eventually to contribute to the expansion of the city. One of the incidents of the Civil war had been the diversion of traffic from the southern route by way of the Mississippi and New Orleans to the rail-and-lake route, which, with Wisconsin's coincident rise to importance as a wheat-producer, made Milwaukee at the moment the greatest primary grain market in the world. This had attracted wide attention in transportation circles, and, in connection with the development of lumbering in Northern Wisconsin and Michigan, greatly added to Milwaukee's prosperity and prestige. Another thing had called attention to the city, and that was the establishment of the rolling mills at Bay View. The erection of the mills and the supply of their equipment had made work for many Milwaukee industrial establishments. The subsequent embarkation

of the city in the construction of sewers and a comprehensive water works system occasioned a further letting of contracts which inured to the benefit of large manufacturing concerns like the Reliance Works and also of smaller ones like the Eviston boiler factory, besides swelling the demand for manual labor.

Great was the impetus to retail business, for the reason that these activities put money into the hands of the people which rapidly found its way into general circulation. Improved trade strengthened cheerful expectations regarding the future of the city, thus leading to enlarged views regarding the value of real estate. Between the starting of the rolling mills and the beginning of the panic of 1873 an average enhancement of fully 100 per cent had taken place in the asking prices for realty in every section of Milwaukee. When the panic came it did not hit this city so hard as other localities in the country, especially in the East. The people generally were engaged in undertakings supported directly or indirectly by outlay of money from the public treasury. While Eastern factories shut down, work on Milwaukee's public improvements went on. The erection of a new courthouse was one of the considerable undertakings in progress at the time.

Broadly speaking, Milwaukee was not greatly affected by the panic of 1873, except in sympathy with the depression of the iron trade in general. There was, however, liquidation on the part of a few establishments which had overtraded. In 1875 began a period of stagnation which ended promptly on the resumption of specie payments at the beginning of 1879.

During all the period following the Civil war Milwaukee was in a position contrasting very favorably with what had been the situation prior to that turning point in the life of the nation. The general trend of transportation and financial evolution had been distinctly in its favor. Its business had developed. Its manufactures were not the feeble experiments they had been at the outset. Some of them were feeling their feet and stretching out. The men at their head not only possessed a larger degree of confidence in themselves than had been the case when the panic of 1857 had brought unrelieved dismay, but had succeeded in inspiring confidence in bankers and others with purse-strings at command. It was possible, which it had not been in the earlier



JOHN MEHL'S GERMAN CHEESE FACTORY, 1886

time, for Milwaukeeans engaged in manufacturing enterprises to command loans enabling them to carry on.

Reorganization of business on a modern scale affording opportunity for securing the economy possible with mass production had made some feeble beginnings during the years between 1860 and 1870. Between 1870 and 1880 this movement gathered strength. Between 1880 and 1890 it proceeded apace. While Milwaukee's ascendancy was lost in some directions it was increased in others, gaining enormously on the whole, and foreshadowing the eventual attainment of the outstanding position as an American industrial center which the city occupies today.

In 1870 Milwaukee ranked fourth in meat-packing. Flour was a leader among her manufactures till 1900, since which it has declined. Malt liquors rose to a remarkable height and then, after 1919, owing to prohibition, almost fell out of sight—and yet the city grew. There was only one census in which according to the official returns Milwaukee's largest industry was making beer, and that showing was partly due to methods of presenting the statistics, which from decade to decade since the beginning of attempts to collect information on manufactures have undergone alterations making accurate comparisons of the relative standing of separate groups of industries frequently difficult if not impossible. In 1889 Milwaukee stood second to Philadelphia as a tanning center, Philadelphia in that industry leading the United States. In 1909 Milwaukee was the foremost city for leather production. Since the World war the tanning industry has suffered a relative decline. In 1892 Milwaukee mills ground 2,117,000 barrels of flour; in 1919 only 584,883.

Of the rise and decline of the business of milling flour, which for many years was one of Milwaukee's leading industries, something has been said in the chapter headed "When Wheat Was King." For a time the milling of wheat was a leading industry in all Wisconsin, no other but the sawing of lumber approaching it in importance. In 1860 the grist mill product of Wisconsin sold for twelve times as much as any other commodity manufactured in the State except sawed lumber. Even as late as 1870 the proportions stood as eight to one, and a large amount of the flour was made in little mills located on water powers in the interior. Carrying rates had something to do with the situation, but per-

haps the most vital factor was the simplicity of the milling process in the early days. Any miller on a good water power could command the custom of the country round about for enough business to insure him a living. If he could reach a lake port at reasonable expense for transportation he was able to compete with other millers in supplying flour for the Eastern markets.

Even windmills had a chance. Old residents recall two that carried on during the early days within the municipal limits of Milwaukee—one in the neighborhood of Fifth and Poplar streets; the other in the block bounded by Washington, Mineral, Reed and Hanover streets, on the South Side. Long after they had been "scrapped" there continued in operation another windmill within the present limits of Milwaukee, though then far out of town—in the thrifty settlement at that time known as the village of Williamsburg, just beyond the junction of Third and Burleigh streets. The structure was erected in 1856 by John Grootemaat, who continued to operate it for nearly thirty years. It was of the type familiar in Holland, from which country Mr. Grootemaat had migrated to the United States in 1847. On the 8th of October, 1885, it was destroyed by a fire which originated in a near-by stable and communicated to surrounding buildings. Williamsburg stood on high ground, and its mill could be seen from the tops of most of the taller buildings in the city. Artists, in love with it, had carried its fame abroad. Will Graham, whose pictures in *Harper's Weekly* were greatly appreciated at the time, and who visited Milwaukee in the '80s, had heard of the Williamsburg windmill and planned a pilgrimage to the suburb with a view to sketching it for that "journal of civilization." Soon after the mill had become only a memory it was recalled by a water-color from the brush of Mrs. Jean Kavanagh which formed part of an exhibit at the Milwaukee Industrial Exposition.

As time went on the economic equality of small producers with large producers disappeared, and the little fellows found themselves obliged to retire from attempts at competition if not indeed to go out of business. Big millers in the cities developed many chances for cutting down costs. One advantage open to them was the cheapness with which they could manufacture flour barrels. They possessed a wider choice of grain for gristing and superior marketing facilities for their finished product. Country grist

millers during the decade of the '60s easily held their own; during the '70s they were relegated to custom grinding; during the '80s and '90s they were eliminated entirely. In their place developed the powerful merchant millers of the cities. Of all Wisconsin cities, Milwaukee was best fitted to be a flouring center, her railroads giving her easy access to the wheat fields of the interior, the dam and canal, originally intended for the beginning of a water transportation system, supplying power, and her position on Lake Michigan offering her a doorway to the markets of the world.

In 1866 occurred what at the moment appeared like a disaster to the millers on the Milwaukee water power, but their enterprise turned it into what in the long run proved to be an advantage. This was the freshet of that year which inflicted great damage upon the mills. The millers opined that the time had come for the introduction of steam in place of water power, for drought had sometimes interfered with their operations by reducing the flow of water in the canal to a slender stream insufficient for requirements when running to the full capacity of the machinery. By turning from water to steam for power, and by adopting the Hungarian roller system and other improved processes that came into vogue in the United States not long thereafter, the Milwaukee millers increased the city's ascendancy as a flour manufacturing center, holding high rank for many years, until the change in the location of the wheat fields placed them at a disadvantage against which no enterprise on their part could avail. In the '90s, when the flouring industry flourished in Milwaukee to its greatest extent, the city was one of the leading milling centers of the world.

It was with the mill on the canal built in 1844 by John Anderson and Dr. E. B. Wolcott, and starting modestly with two runs of stone, that the flour manufacturing industry at Milwaukee received its substantial start. This establishment was purchased in 1846 by Jacob Bertschy, who called it the Eagle Mill, and operated it till 1858, when it passed into the hands of his son-in-law, J. B. A. Kern, who used it till 1866, when he moved to his later well-known location on Canal Street at the foot of Vliet Street, writing his name in indelible ink into the history of flour manufacturing in Milwaukee. The first flour mill using steam

as motive power in this city was erected on South Water Street in 1847 by Edwin H. Goodrich and William C. Easton. The engine came from Illinois, and was a double cylinder, working upon half centers. The boilers were made by Nelson Soggs. Operated for several years with indifferent success, the mill began to be used as a storehouse as early as 1853, being employed for that purpose by Kellogg & Strong, in connection with the old Sweet elevator. After that John E. Eldred turned it into a shingle mill, and was succeeded in its occupancy by the Milwaukee Manufacturing Company, composed of Albert Conro and others, who manufactured patent butts and augurs. In 1880 it was moved to Virginia Street, where for many years it did duty as the Salentine flour and feed store.

A famous mill of the early days, which continued to function importantly in later times, was the Empire, built by John W. and M. B. Medberry and Jacob Hoover in 1846. Mr. Hoover disposed of his interest to the Medberrys in 1856, and they in turn sold out to Harrison & Chapin. Two years later M. B. Medberry repurchased a half-interest and a few years later came into ownership of an additional quarter-interest, the remainder being acquired by George C. Stevens, with whom he formed a partnership for the carrying on of the business. Mr. Stevens retired in 1879 and in 1880 the property was bought by Casper M. Sanger, Samuel Rosendale and S. H. Seamens. The mill at that time had a capacity of 4,500 barrels daily, and was carried on by S. H. Seamens & Co.

The Phoenix Mill, built on the canal in 1848 by Comstock and Chase, was purchased two years later by William Sanderson and Theodore Perry, who enlarged it. Later Mr. Perry sold his interest to Edward Sanderson, associated with Isaac Van Schaick, under the firm name of E. Sanderson & Co. The Phoenix flourished, helping considerably to swell the output in the palmy days of flour-making in Milwaukee.

The Reliance Mill was the structure on lower West Water Street erected in 1853 by the Burnhams for L. J. Higby and originally designed for a warehouse. In 1866 Chapin & Miles reconstructed it for use as a mill, and in 1869 it passed into the possession of James B. Martin, who at that time entered upon

his successful career as a miller. After the death of Mr. Martin in 1878 the mill was purchased and operated by the Manegolds.

The City Mill, on Canal Street, was built in 1844, undergoing several changes of ownership, and being converted to steam power in 1873 by W. C. Durant, its capacity at that time being about 250 barrels per day. The Cream City Mill, at the corner of East Water and Chicago streets, was erected by George D. Dousman for a warehouse in 1846. It became the property of Matthew Keenan, who in 1867 converted it to a mill, rebuilding it in 1877, when its capacity was 200 barrels a day.

Fred Bertschy built the Standard Mill on the east side of the river at the foot of Knapp Street in 1861, when it became a demonstration to Milwaukeeans of the success of steam power applied to the making of flour. A number of other flour mills were in operation at one time or another during the early days, but the most important have been enumerated.

In 1878 the Milwaukee Milling Company, managed by Ferdinand Schlesinger, erected a mill at the corner of Canal and Cherry streets at a cost of $80,000, and in 1879 Bernhard Stern built the New Era Mill, representing an investment of $125,000. Both these were modern in their equipment, the former partly and the latter wholly adapted to the use of the Hungarian system. The capacity of the former was 500 and of the latter 800 barrels per day. Mr. Stern continued to be one of the leaders in the milling business for many years, and finally, with his sons, went into the baking business on a large scale with modern and scientific equipment. The Berger-Crittenden Company—Alexander Berger and John H. Crittenden—carried on a milling business of considerable proportions for several years. They suffered the calamity of fire.

Other mills of modern type were successful for a time, and the decline of flour milling in Milwaukee came about through no lack of enterprise or ability on the part of the millers, but by reason of changing conditions—mainly the shift in the location of the wheat-fields.

Not long before his death in August, 1919, Frederick Layton gave the following account of the circumstances under which he began his career in Milwaukee: "My father and myself com-

menced business at 298 East Water Street in the fall of 1845. Our first sale of packed pork and beef we made on November 25 of that year to John Stronach, and it was shipped to Manistee, Michigan. The price of the pork was $10 and of the beef $6 per barrel. Lard then was 7 cents a pound. Money was very scarce in those days and living very cheap. For my board and lodging I paid only $2 a week at the Cross Keys Tavern, a well-known house for many years, at East Water and Detroit streets, kept by an Englishman named Stimson. We supplied hotels and boarding houses with meat and pork, beef and mutton at 4 cents a pound. In 1852 John Plankinton and myself formed a partnership for the packing of pork and beef. The firm was Layton & Plankinton. Our capital was $3,000, borrowed from Messrs. Marshall & Ilsley. We built our slaughter and packing houses in the Menomonee Valley." The resumption of Layton & Company's business as a separate establishment dated from 1863. The inaugurator of meat-packing on a grand scale in Milwaukee was John Plankinton, who carried on alone for a time before forming his partnership with Mr. Layton. After the withdrawal of Mr. Layton, Mr. Plankinton proceeded in conjunction with Philip D. Armour. Mr. Armour subsequently removed to Chicago, but the firm of Plankinton & Armour was not dissolved till 1884, when it was reorganized under the name of John Plankinton & Co., the new partner being Patrick Cudahy. On Mr. Plankinton's retirement from active business in 1888, the firm became Cudahy Bros., using the old plant till 1893, when it removed to Cudahy, a few miles south of Milwaukee. The long and honorable career of Frederick Layton in the packing business is, like that of John Plankinton, inseparably associated with the history of Milwaukee. Edward Roddis, Van Kirk & McGeoch and D. C. Abbey were Milwaukee packers at a time when the packing industry was outstanding. There were others from time to time, some of whom carried on upon a considerable scale. In the early days of the packing industry salt pork, bacon, hams, lard and sausage were its principal products. After that beef cut a more important figure in the category. For several years beginning with 1871 Milwaukee was fourth in rank among all the packing centers of the country. As late as 1880 there were seven large packing establishments in Milwaukee and their out-

put constituted 14 per cent in value of all the manufactured products of the city. Between 1895 and 1910 there were four different years in which the slaughter of hogs at Milwaukee (including Cudahy) exceeded a million. More recently Milwaukee's retention of its fame as a packing center has depended largely on the business transacted in the great plant at Cudahy. The item of sausage making, however, is one in which establishments located within the city limits have more than held their own against all competitors.

Practiced early on a small scale and with moderate financial success, tanning rose to commanding proportions in Milwaukee. Besides being important in itself, it promoted embarkation in other manufactures which used leather as their raw material, and added greatly to the wealth and progress of the city. The first Milwaukee tannery is said to have been that of Daniel Phelps, on the north side of Clybourn Street, at the foot of the ravine between Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets, which began operations on the 15th of January, 1842. In the pioneer City Directory, published five years from the date referred to, is the entry: "Phelps, Daniel, tanner, 85 Spring." The Spring Street address evidently was that of the business office in which Mr. Phelps disposed of his product. Not long after Mr. Phelps had set up on the West Side, Christoph Doerfler began tanning deerskins, his establishment being located on the South Side, near the intersection of Madison and Sanderson streets (close to what afterward was called Fifth Avenue and now is South Tenth Street). The Allens (George W., Rufus and William) came to Milwaukee in 1846 and established themselves in the leather business, but for several years carried on their tanning at Two Rivers. Frederick Vogel established a tannery in Milwaukee on the Menomonee River in 1847, and Guido Pfister opened the "Buffalo Leather Store" on Market Square in the same year. A decade later Messrs. Pfister and Vogel merged their interests in a partnership that led to the building up of the great Pfister & Vogel tanneries of later years. About 1849 R. Suhm & Co. (Roman Suhm, Herman Haertel and Eduard Kartschoke) began tanning leather at what then was the extreme south end of Clinton Street, on the Kinnickinnic River, at the same time opening a leather store on Third Street. Other enterprising young men who had

been in the employ of Pfister & Vogel went into the operation of tanneries on their own account, Herman Zoehrlaut at first establishing himself on the canal, north of Cherry Street, and later removing to the east side of the Milwaukee River, just south of Pleasant Street. Albert Trostel and August Gallun began as partners, building a tannery on the east side of the river near the foot of Jefferson Street. After many years together, the partners separated, each continuing independently in the enjoyment of increasing prosperity to the end of their respective lives, and leaving flourishing establishments to their heirs. Chris. Anstedt, G. B. Vollhardt, William and Gerhard Becker, Henry Booth, the Elkerts, the Conrad brothers, George Martin, and others are remembered among those who at different times were engaged successfully in various branches of the tanning industry in Milwaukee.

By 1890 Milwaukee's output of tanned leather had become larger than that of any other city in the world, its closest rival at that time being Chicago. Philadelphia was then in advance of all competitors in the production of morocco, patent leather and enameled leather; but in the production of plain tanned leather Milwaukee took and held the lead for many years, the total value of its annual output for 1890 reaching $8,430,000, while that of Chicago for the same year was $7,295,000, and that of Allegheny, Pennsylvania, the next in order, $3,418,000, Louisville, San Francisco, Newark and Buffalo being the only other places in America whose output exceeded $2,000,000. Milwaukee tanners went into the manufacture of fancy leathers, with encouraging success. In the decade between 1870 and 1880 some thirty tanneries were in operation in Milwaukee. There were not more than half that number ten years later, but these were doing four times the business of the thirty, indicating that competition had been at work and the fittest had survived. In 1909 the value of the product of Milwaukee tanneries had risen to $27,484,000, and in 1919 to $60,000,000, part of this increase being due to the unprecedentedly high price that leather commanded in consequence of the World war. Then came a sharp reaction. High prices for staple articles invariably lead to a search for substitutes. Not long after the close of the war tanneries upon which large sums had been expended in improve-

ments were standing partly idle, and huge stocks of finished leather remained on tanners' hands. The business has undergone a revolution in more directions than one. Processes have come into use which produce results more speedily than those that were formerly employed. Leather is not kept so long in the vats. In proportion to their capacity tanneries of the present era cover smaller ground areas than their predecessors. Having exhibited capability in adapting themselves to innovations in the past, it is to be expected that the tanners of Milwaukee will prove equal to their rivals in meeting the exigencies of the future.

Milwaukee manufactures using the products of the tanneries which have attracted wide attention include trunks and valises, gloves and mittens and boots and shoes. During the ten years between 1899 and 1909 the manufacture of boots and shoes increased to the extent of 200 per cent, its output for the latter year being valued at $7,800,000.

During the score of years immediately preceding the Civil war natives of Germany had been steadily rising in importance as a distinctive element in the community. Models of industry, order and sobriety as a class, most of them had brought with them the habit of drinking beer, and contented themselves with that milder beverage than the ale which had been the only brew procurable before their arrival. The German immigrants were not whisky-drinkers.

The first brewery in Milwaukee was the ale brewery of Richard Owens, William Pawlett and John Davis, which was in operation on the lake shore at the end of Huron Street as early as 1840. Another ale brewery was located a few years later on the West Side at Eighth and Prairie streets. For a time it belonged to Levi Blossom, who was only incidentally a brewer, and, when opportunity offered, disposed of it to others who carried on till 1864. "Sands' pale cream ale" was advertised in the newspapers long before Milwaukee brewers of lager beer utilized printers' ink with a view to expanding sales.

The first lager beer brewery in Milwaukee was a small establishment on the South Side erected for Herman Reuthlichberger (some have said his name was Reidelshoefer) in the spring of 1841. He was without means for the financing of the business at the start, and it passed out of his hands into those of John Meyer,

who disposed of it to Francis Neukirch, under whose management, succeeded by that of his son-in-law, Charles T. Melms, it flourished. The expansive and picturesque property, at the old First Avenue end of the Sixth Street bridge, was purchased by Philip Best & Company in 1869, and operated in connection with the Empire Brewery, which eventually became the Pabst Brewery.

Jacob Best chose a location on the Chestnut Street hill, and, in association with his sons, began to brew lager beer in 1842, the enterprise succeeding from the start, and passing first into the charge of his son Philip and later into that of the latter's sons-in-law, Capt. Frederick Pabst and Emil Schandein, Captain Pabst being especially prominent in directing the affairs of the main establishment and looking after the interests of the business out of town.

Charles Best, another of the sons of Jacob Best, started in 1848 what at first was known as the Plank Road Brewery, which seven years later became the property of Frederick Miller and afterward attained extensive proportions as the Miller Brewery.

Meanwhile, what is now the Blatz Brewery was begun on the East Side, by John Braun, who called it the Cedar Brewery, and whose address as given in the pioneer City Directory was "Market Street between Johnson and Division." Mr. Braun died. Valentine Blatz, who had been his "braumeister," bought the brewery and married his former employer's widow. He changed the name of the establishment to the City Brewery and showed a genius for business which distanced many of his early rivals.

The nucleus of what came to be the Schlitz Brewery was a small establishment on Chestnut Street between Fourth and Fifth streets inaugurated in 1849 by August Krug, who as early as 1850 constructed storage facilities on the hill at Walnut and Third streets, though the brewery was not moved to that location till 1870. Mr. Krug died in 1856. Joseph Schlitz, who had been bookkeeper for Mr. Krug, married his widow and built up the business. The original capacity of the storage vaults was 150 barrels, and the brewery at the time they were built sold about 250 barrels a year. Sales for 1865 aggregated 4,400 barrels; for 1871, 12,381 barrels; for 1873, 49,623 barrels. The Joseph Schlitz Brewing Company, with Joseph Schlitz as president, was

organized in 1874. August Uihlein was secretary and Henry Uihlein superintendent. The death of Joseph Schlitz occurred May 7, 1875. He was one of several well-known Milwaukeeans who went down with the steamship *Schiller*, bound for Hamburg, which struck upon a group of rocks at the entrance to the English Channel. Prior to his departure on the fatal voyage, which was undertaken for the purpose of visiting his brother at Mayence, Mr. Schlitz had made a will providing that in case of his death the business of the brewery should be continued under the name of the Joseph Schlitz Brewing Company and the management of August, Henry, Edward and Alfred Uihlein, who had been associated with him, and who possessed his entire confidence. These directions were strictly observed, and the enterprise went forward, with its official register as follows: President, Henry Uihlein; secretary, August Uihlein; superintendent, Alfred Uihlein; manager of the Chicago department, Edward Uihlein. Following is the sales record of the brewery for the five consecutive years ending with 1880: 1876, 78,205 barrels; 1877, 102,538 barrels; 1878, 110,000 barrels; 1879, 160,000 barrels; 1880, 210,000 barrels.

The three great breweries in Milwaukee in 1880 were the Philip Best, afterward known as the Pabst; the Joseph Schlitz, and the Valentine Blatz. The first of these had increased its annual output from 3,677 barrels in 1842 to 275,000 barrels in 1880. The second, as has been seen, had arrived in 1880 at an annual output of 210,000 barrels. The sales of the Blatz in 1880 amounted to 125,000 barrels. In subsequent years these three establishments increased their lead.

Several other breweries in operation at that time had attained important proportions. There were, for instance, the Falk establishment, whose sales in 1880 were 60,000 barrels; the Miller Brewery, which sold 30,000 barrels; the Obermann Brewery, which disposed of 15,000 barrels; the establishment of the Milwaukee Brewing Association, whose output had risen to 12,000 barrels. The bottling of lager beer by this time had come to be recognized as a branch of the industry which offered alluring prospects of expansion. The larger breweries were supplanting the little fellows.

Early breweries in Milwaukee had been numerous but small. No fewer than 26 were in operation in 1856, but their total output was less than that of the smallest brewery in the city in 1916. In 1862 there were 22; in 1866, 19; in 1879, 13, and in 1919 but 9. Three at the latter date were among the largest in the world. These maintained their own malting plants, in addition to which there were eight commercial malting plants in the city, the making and shipping of malt being in itself a large industry. In the year 1916 13,000,000 bushels of malt were shipped from Milwaukee. In that year Milwaukee used 16,000,000 bushels of barley, which was nearly equal to the entire barley crop of Wisconsin.

At the time of its introduction in Milwaukee lager beer was a novelty. For many years it was produced merely for consumption in the immediate vicinity, and residents of European origin, chiefly Germans, were depended upon as the source of consumptive demand. Gradually—very gradually—others than Germans acquired a taste for it, the fashion of beer-drinking in numerous instances eventually displacing that of indulgence in nips of whisky, brandy or rum. The American practice of "treating" complicated the drinking situation in Milwaukee. Germans preferred a custom stigmatized by their critics as "Dutch treat," under which each individual ordered and paid for what he desired. "Treaters" considered "treating" indicative of splendid generosity, ignoring its tendency to lead to imbibation beyond the bounds of prudence. But even where "treating" was the rule, beer was a "temperance drink," compared with beverages of higher potency. This came to be signally demonstrated after the outbreak of the Civil war, when the Government placed a heavy tax on spirituous liquors. Prior to that time whisky had been plenty at 15 cents a gallon. Saturday nights and other wage-paying occasions had been times of incautious indulgence. At 15 cents a drink whisky ceased to be the temptation to the multitude which it had been at 15 cents a gallon. A noteworthy disappearance of drunkenness from the streets of Milwaukee followed the general adoption of beer as a substitute for whisky.

Notwithstanding the importance of Milwaukee as a brewing center, and despite the phenomenal rapidity with which the output of the breweries increased during the period between the close of the Civil war and the enactment of prohibitory legislation by

the nation, there was only one year in all the city's history when brewing figured as Milwaukee's major industry, and that was 1889. More beer was made in later years, but the growth of other industries in those years was greater than that of the brewing industry. The following table exhibits the annual production of beer at Milwaukee at intervals between 1866 and 1918:

	Barrels.		Barrels.
1866	69,000	1910	3,700,000
1880	762,000	1912	4,182,000
1890	1,928,000	1916	4,029,000
1900	2,500,000	1918	2,217,000

In the variety of Milwaukee's industries no less than in the magnitude which many of the individual enterprises have attained lies one of the reasons for the city's prosperity as an industrial center. Often it happens in other manufacturing cities where less diversity in this respect has been attained that economic distress affecting the community results from checks to production not general in character but necessitating the laying off of employes who, finding no alternate opening for their services at hand, are obliged to take their families with them and remove to distant localities in search of work. Innumerable have been the instances in Milwaukee in which labor out of demand in one direction has found nearby opportunity beckoning in another. Promoting the economic prosperity of the city's working population as a class, this fortunate condition has won recognition as an important factor in the city's industrial stability.

Notable among Milwaukeeans who made fortunes in the soap business was Caleb Johnson, who died on the 8th of August, 1924. He was the son of B. J. Johnson, noted as a soap and candle manufacturer in the early days, and began his career in his father's establishment when it was at 267 East Water Street, a site later occupied by the Dohmen Drug Company. When Caleb died the business had been incorporated under the name of the Palmolive Company, of which he was president, and had immensely expanded. In addition to a large plant at Fowler and Fourth streets, it had nineteen distributing warehouses in other cities, a manufacturing plant for the west coast in Oregon, and a

Canadian factory at Toronto, having also projected an Eastern factory in New Jersey. Its soap was known and used throughout the world. Young Johnson's business when he went to work for his father was to put soap into wrappers. Even then he began to have ideas about what could be done in the selling department of the business by liberal but judicious resort to advertising. His father was enterprising, but not in the same way. The father purchased the soap plant of the Plankinton & Armour Company, which was located at 78-80 West Water Street. Caleb Johnson had social interests which made him widely acquainted. He was at one time commodore of the Milwaukee Yacht Club. He was a member of the Athletic Club, and also belonged to the Milwaukee Country Club and the Blue Mound Country Club. Two years before his death he removed from Milwaukee to live with his married daughter, Mrs. C. E. Van Vleck, at East Hampton, Long Island.

Bernard Leidersdorf built up a huge business as a manufacturer of tobacco. He came to this country from Hanover, Germany, in 1858, with slender means which he augmented by small ventures in retailing. Coming to Milwaukee he established himself in the wholesale tobacco trade, with a warehouse at the corner of Reed and Lake streets. In 1864 he opened a factory at Buffalo and East Water streets, which prospered. When it was destroyed in the great fire of 1892 he removed to the Burnham Block, at Reed and South Water streets. The great manufacturing jobbing business of which he was the head was built up by his own exertions. In 1903 he sold it to the American Tobacco Company. Mr. Leidersdorf was intelligently interested in public affairs. He was a member of the South Side Civic Club, the Deutscher Club, president of the Milwaukee Musical Society, and a Royal Arch Mason. He was a member of the Milwaukee Debt Commission, and a delegate to the National Republican Convention of 1900. Kind of heart, his ways of benevolence were many. Innate modesty characterized all he did in charity. The Leidersdorf residence on National Avenue near Eleventh, covering an entire block, was one of the beauty spots of Milwaukee, and contained many objects of art. He died September 12, 1912, at the age of seventy-five.

The candy business, which has grown to impressive proportions in recent years, had numerous popular representatives in the early days, though in the beginning its endeavors were almost wholly confined to supplying the local demand. Boll Brothers was one of the firms of manufacturing confectioners in 1861, at which time George Ziegler entered its employ. Previously he had been united in marriage with Miss Barbara Boll, a sister of the members of the firm. In 1865 he was admitted to partnership, and eventually, the other partners retiring, he was left in complete control. In 1878 the business was incorporated with Mr. Ziegler as president. At the beginning of the present century the concern had grown to be the largest in its line west of Philadelphia. Fernekes is another name remembered in connection with the manufacture of candy in the early days. Jacob Fernekes & Brother opened a plant in 1855 which was one of the establishments consumed in the Third Ward fire. Resuming business as soon as rebuilding could be effected it continued till 1912. Jacob Fernekes died in 1915, at the age of eighty-three. The name is legion of excellent candy-makers in Milwaukee whose products have been in wide demand by lovers of sweetness.

One of the largest cracker bakeries in the country was built up in this city more than a generation ago by Robert A. Johnston, who had begun his career with the bakery established by his father, Alexander Johnston. His flourishing plant was purchased by the American Biscuit Company, and he departed on a voyage to Europe. On his return he established another successful business, which he left to his heirs when he died in 1907. Mr. Johnston made a number of liberal gifts to charity and education, including $110,000 to Marquette University. Michael Carpenter will be remembered as another of Milwaukee's bakers who developed production from a small scale to a large one and made a fortune. Numerous others in the baking industry have prospered greatly. William F. Luick has achieved enviable prominence by his success as a manufacturer of ice cream.

Overshadowing every other element in the magnitude of its operations, the money invested in its plants, the number of persons it affords employment, the amount which it disburses in salaries and wages, and the direct and indirect contribution which

it makes to the prosperity of Milwaukee as a manufacturing center, is the iron and steel industry.

Names early identified with iron working and still recalled with respect include those of Andrew J. Langworthy, whose foundry and machine shop on the canal water power was established in the '40s and carried on for many years; Turton & Sercomb, whose Eagle Foundry at 296 to 304 West Water Street flourished till after the death of the senior proprietor early in the '60s; John Cummings and John C. Goodrich, whose Badger Iron Works were on the East Side at the corner of Main and Chicago streets; Walton & Goodnow, whose foundry was at Florida and Clinton streets, and the Reliance Iron Works of Decker & Seville, at 290 West Water Street, an establishment destined to undergo vicissitudes involving changes of ownership and location followed by marked expansion and ultimate phenomenal prosperity. The following recollections of the commercial and industrial status of Milwaukee at the time of its entrance upon cityhood and for ten years thereafter were contributed by James Seville to the records of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County on the occasion of his address before the members of that organization in 1897.

"In the year 1846 Chicago and Milwaukee were considered nearly equal in population, with Milwaukee and the State of Wisconsin likely to take the lead, for the reason that the means of travel were only by the lakes. Wisconsin, having excellent repute abroad, gained in numbers rapidly. In the meantime, however, the Michigan Central Railroad was pushing its line west, with Chicago as the objective point, and in 1848 reached New Buffalo, on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, directly opposite Chicago. This established a daily line. It was soon seen that the travel around the lakes began to slacken, and Milwaukee began to drop off in the number of its newcomers. Still, its commerce did not decay nor its immigration seriously diminish till later on.

"Permit me to give somewhat in detail a view of one of the main interests of Milwaukee which bade fair at that time to make the city of great importance in the manufacture of iron. On my arrival here I found A. J. Langworthy, Turton & Sercomb and Nelson McCracken, whose establishments were all supplying the various mills being built in the State with machinery for grinding

wheat and sawing lumber, and were receiving patronage from all other enterprises requiring machinery. The firm of Ludington & Co. acted as agents for the mill furnishing establishment of J. T. Noyes of Buffalo, New York.

"Looking the situation over, and visiting Chicago, and making a trip from there to Galena and back to Milwaukee by stage on the old Frink & Walker line of stage coaches, gave me some idea of the extent of country tributary to Milwaukee. Entering into the employ of Turton & Sercomb, opportunities were further given to me to look into and study Milwaukee and its surroundings as a place of investment for the then present and the future. In the early part of 1847 I got together a few tamarack poles from a swamp in the Second Ward, and some boards from Mabbett & Breed's lumber yard, and proceeded at once to commence the erection of a shop for the manufacture of French burr millstones, and to handle all kinds of grist and sawmill supplies. This was all done, a building completed and a supply of materials obtained from New York actually landed on the ground, before anyone in the city knew of what was afoot. Inquiries failed to reveal the object of putting up the building, and the reason for this was simply that in those days it would not have been a prudent act to have revealed the object in view, as the whole community was alive and on the alert for any opportunity for making money, and those in business were in constant dread of competition. This condition can be accounted for by the fact that all new enterprises were supposed to have their own capital, for if they had not the chances were small for accommodation at the banks, because all the capital the banks had was required by those handling the products of the country at large. The commercial interests were the paramount objects in view by the banks then in existence, and anyone having sufficient 'nerve' to go into manufacturing must do it on his own resources or 'bust.'

"Immediately after millstones were being made, preparations were begun for the erection of buildings for the manufacture of machinery for all classes of industry which might be in need of it. In due course of time suitable facilities had been provided, and the Reliance Works of Decker & Seville unfurled their banner to the breeze and became one of Milwaukee's institutions. One event in connection with this concern is worthy of note, and

that is the construction of the machinery for the very first successful steam grist mill built in the State of Wisconsin, which mill was located at Berlin, on the Fox River. At that time the problem of successfully making flour by steam had not been solved in any part of the United States. But after this, and after the exhibition of the Corliss engine at the Philadelphia Exposition and the adoption of one of its principal points, the same as promulgated by the Reliance Works, the manufacture of flour by steam became a grand success. Milwaukee ought to have credit for the introduction of the principle in mechanics which the Corliss engine demonstrated with the result of bringing it into general use. The Reliance Works were located on West Water Street at its junction with Second Street, opposite the old Fountain House, and through the revulsion of the panic of 1857 and the breaking out of the Rebellion, the establishment passed into the hands of E. P. Allis & Co.

"Almost simultaneously with the starting of the Reliance Works came into existence the Menomonee Locomotive Manufacturing Company, succeeding W. B. Walton; the establishment of Menzel & Stone, and that of William Goodnow, all of them first-class foundry and machine shops. But of these three concerns only one remains, and that is the Filer & Stowell Manufacturing Company. The Menomonee Locomotive Manufacturing Company was located in the swamp about two blocks south of the Menomonee Bridge, about opposite the large brick building afterward put up by the Burnham brothers for John Nazro as a hardware store. L. L. Lee was the far-seeing, active and energetic manager of the Menomonee Locomotive Works. No sooner had the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad Company got under way than he made ready to supply it with all the locomotives it might need. A more industrious, self-confident and energetic man the city never had, and no one worked harder to build up Milwaukee than he. He succeeded in getting out one or more locomotives and other supplies for the road, all of which were acceptable; but Mr. Lee found that the railroad company had no money, and that the banks had none for manufacturers, and the Menomonee Locomotive Manufacturing Company had none; so Mr. Lee had to suspend, all the possessions of the company vanished, and soon after this Mr. Lee died, and the company became

a thing of the past, by many entirely forgotten. Menzel & Stone also closed up their business, both of the partners leaving the city."

As intimated by Mr. Seville, creditors of Decker & Seville were obliged to take over the Reliance Works when that firm became insolvent during the panic of 1857. Among them were C. D. Nash, Edward P. Allis and John P. McGregor, who continued the business in a quiet way till 1860, when Messrs. Nash and McGregor disposed of their interests to Mr. Allis, under whose management the enterprise continued till the end of his active and useful life in the spring of 1889.

The Northwestern Iron Company, incorporated in 1853, which operated mines at Iron Ridge, Dodge County, from that time till the exhaustion of the deposit about a quarter of a century ago, was a Milwaukee enterprise, its business office being in this city, and its officers Milwaukee men: President, Capt. Irving M. Bean; vice president, Samuel Marshall; secretary, James Clinton Spencer; treasurer, Charles F. Ilsley.

The first railroad locomotive in the United States built west of Cleveland was made in Milwaukee for the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railway Company at the works of W. B. Walton & Co., at the southwest corner of Reed and South Water streets. It was named the Menomonee, and was designed and constructed under the superintendence of James Waters. When it was finished, on the 15th of October in the year named, John Miller solved the difficult problem of getting it across the river from the Walton machine shop to the tracks of the railroad company, which at that time were exclusively on the West Side. The engine weighed twenty-six tons, and that was a heavy weight for the float bridge across the Menomonee River. With the help of a large gang of willing workers, provided with blocks and tackle, the task was effected without sinking the bridge and losing the locomotive in the river. Walton changed the name of his foundry to the Menomonee Locomotive Work and turned out another completed locomotive, the Whitewater, in January, 1853. George Richardson, afterward proprietor of the Riverside Printing Company, and now, as for many years past, the librarian of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, was one of the sturdy young men who marshaled by John Miller succeeded in transferring the Menomo-

JOHN PLANKINTON STATUE IN PLANKINTON ARCADE

The smiling gentleman is Jeremiah Quin, Mr. Plankinton's trusted factotum, who was President of the Old Settlers in 1904

nee from the Walton shop to the tracks on Fowler Street—sole survivor of all who participated in the achievement—and it is to an account of the transaction written by him for the club that history is indebted for these particulars of a noteworthy event in the industrial history of Milwaukee.

For many years the shops of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway were the largest industrial establishment in Milwaukee. Their location at first was on the Milwaukee River near the Humboldt Avenue end of Racine Street bridge. Later they were removed to the Menomonee Valley. They afforded employment to a small army of skilled mechanics. Now and then they supplied valuable recruits for the world of activities outside. One of these was Jeremiah Quin, called upon in the '60s to become a candidate for the office of comptroller, and elected. After his term as a city official he became confidential man for John Plankinton, to whose faithful service he devoted the remainder of his life. Another was James MacAlister, who studied law, became a lecturer on science and art, and superintendent of the public schools of the city, and finally was called to Philadelphia, where, after serving as superintendent of schools, he was made director of the Childs and Drexel Institute of Technology, one of the pioneer institutions of its character in the United States. Robert Shiells, afterward a successful banker at Neenah, was one of the employes in the railway shops when he was a young man.

One of the first Milwaukee establishments engaged in manufactures of iron which acquired financial backing on a scale that enabled it to enter into successful competition with powerful rivals at a distance was the Reliance Works, under the sagacious management of Edward P. Allis. In respect of native ability and preparatory training as well as of character and ambition Mr. Allis possessed remarkable advantages at the outset of his undertaking to build up in Milwaukee one of the greatest machinery manufacturing establishments in the world. Born at Cazenovia, New York, in 1824, and graduated from Union College in 1845, it had been his intention to enter the profession of the law. Like many of the young men of that time, however, he listened to the call of the West, and the following year found him established in Milwaukee as a partner of William Allen in the leather business. Under the name of Allis & Allen this firm was one of the

leading establishments on East Water Street until 1854, not only carrying on a merchandising business in its staple commodity, but also operating a large tannery located at Two Rivers. In 1854 Mr. Allis retired from this partnership and engaged in real estate and brokerage operations in association with John P. McGregor. When he purchased the Reliance Iron Works he was neither a mechanic nor an engineer, but he possessed a well-trained mind, he was a great executive and a far-sighted man of business. During the period covered by his career the iron business of the country was subject to fluctuations requiring very careful management of even the most prosperous establishments to avoid disaster. The Reliance Works experienced intervals of depression, but their management was always enterprising. In 1861 the establishment in reality was a machine shop, its work embracing no line of systematic manufacture, and confined for the most part to making repairs and performing odd jobs. Its employes numbered twenty and its income was only $31,000. In 1867 the number of employes was seventy-five and the value of their annual output $150,000. In 1869 Mr. Allis purchased the Bay State Iron Works of Watson & Goodnow, at the corner of Lake and Barclay streets, which he operated as a branch. By 1872 the number of his employes had risen to 350, and the value of their annual output to more than a million dollars. In 1888, the year before he died, Mr. Allis had fifteen hundred employes, whose aggregate compensation exceeded a million dollars a year. A man of refined taste and broad culture, Mr. Allis was a student all his life, combining to a remarkable degree the qualities of the scholar with those of the man of business. His breadth of sympathy was unusual, enabling him to command the loyalty of men who worked for him at times when others encountered trouble with employes. He was original and independent, often reaching conclusions at variance with those which were generally entertained. This was illustrated in 1877, when his views on the money question induced him to accept the nomination of the Greenback party for the governorship, though on other issues he had consistently acted with the Republicans. While flour milling was dependent on water power, he became identified with the introduction of the Leffel water wheel. He was a pioneer in the building of roller mills, which, supplanting the old millstones,

came into general use in this country. In the winter of 1877 he built for C. C. Washburn, at Minneapolis, the first all-roller flour mill in America. As a manufacturer of improved machinery his name came to be known throughout the world.

Another noted name in connection with the history of the Reliance Works is that of Edwin Reynolds. Mr. Reynolds was born at Mansfield, Connecticut, and began his mechanical career as apprentice to a small machinist in his native town. For many years he was engaged in building sawmills and drainage pumps, not only in New England, but as far afield as Mississippi. Returning to Connecticut at the opening of the Civil war, he was active there and in New York. Shortly after its close he went to Providence, Rhode Island, entering the great shops of the Corliss Steam Engine Company. There he was when, in 1877, Mr. Allis invited him to come to Milwaukee. Here his first task was to expand the equipment of the Allis plant, which till then had been inadequate for the performance of work otherwise within its scope. Under his direction it became the most important establishment of its kind in the country, designing and building great engines which astonished machinists and engineers elsewhere. One of his undertakings successfully executed at this time was the construction of a twelve-hundred-horse-power engine for the Metropolitan Railway of New York. This was nearly double the working power of any of his preceding engines, but Mr. Reynolds designed and built it, as well as another which was its fellow, and later secured four other commissions from the same corporation for similar work. He designed and built the main engine used in the electrical building at the Chicago World's Fair which furnished the lighting and much of the operating power for the entire grounds. He had been concerned in the construction of the great Corliss engine at the Centennial at Philadelphia, which had been the marvel of its day. The underground railways of London, England, and various other stupendous engineering undertakings in different parts of the world were designed and constructed by Mr. Reynolds. When as the result of a merger the Reliance Works passed into the control of the Allis-Chalmers Company, and removal to West Allis was decided upon, Mr. Reynolds prepared the plans for the enlarged plant at the new location, finally breaking down under stress of overwork, but

retaining his position of consulting engineer. He died February 19, 1909.

John M. Stowell is remembered as a man of heart and culture, a leader in Milwaukee's manufacturing development and the city's one-time mayor. Born in 1824 on a farm in Western New York, the son of a farmer who was also a carpenter, he learned as a boy to use his hands as well as his head. Before attaining his majority he taught school. He worked his way through college at Marietta, Ohio, had experience as a book agent which inclined him to embark as a publisher, and in 1848 conducted with a fair measure of remuneration a monthly literary magazine at St. Louis. His magazine office was burned out, and, lacking capital to start afresh, he found employment as a machinist, rising rapidly from a poor position at small pay to the management of the business, and obtaining an insight into manufacturing operations which laid the foundation of his subsequent material success. This came tardily, however, and after repeated discouragements. Twice again he saw his possessions swept away by fire, and once he was whirled from his feet by a commercial panic. He came to Milwaukee in 1856. In the early '60s, during one of his reverses, he resumed the pen and earned a meager subsistence as city editor of a daily newspaper. It was not until 1867, when he was forty-three years of age, that he got upon firm ground financially. The business he then established grew to be one of the leading industrial institutions of the city, and he was its animating spirit until his voluntary retirement on account of advancing years. He was conspicuously identified with other business undertakings, nearly all of which were crowned with success.

The shop at the corner of Reed and South Water streets in which upon his arrival in Milwaukee Mr. Stowell set up as a machinist was a mere cubby-hole, with ground dimensions of 16x30 feet. He was without means and burdened with debt. Just as fortune seemed about to smile upon him, his shop and most of the equipment and tools which he had gradually accumulated in it were destroyed by fire; but his courage was not impaired. It was in 1867 that he entered into partnership with Mr. Filer. The Cream City Iron Works, as the establishment was called, flourished, one of its profitable activities being the manu-

facture of patented specialties for sawmills. It gained wide recognition as a reliable source of supply for milling machinery in general and underwent constant enlargement till in 1880 it possessed capacity for an output of the value of a million dollars a year. At that time the business began to be conducted in the name of the Filer & Stowell Company, in which Mr. Stowell was the principal stockholder.

Though one of the largest employers in the city, Mr. Stowell became in a sense a leader of workingmen. He maintained that labor equally with capital was entitled to the privilege of organizing—that unions had rights within the law. Never a politician nor an officeseeker, he took a good citizen's active part in public affairs and sometimes was called upon to hold public office. He was a member of the Lower House of the Legislature in 1862, an alderman of Milwaukee in 1863, and mayor of the city in 1882-4. He was an old school Democrat, but his nomination for the mayoralty came from the Milwaukee Trades Assembly, the first labor organization which ever conducted a successful political campaign in this city. He gave Milwaukee a level-headed, conscientious, independent, capable administration, spending in the mayor's office every day as many hours as if he were attending to his private business; listening courteously to all comers, and using his own best judgment; making his appointments on the sole basis of merit; exasperating politicians, but winning the commendation of good citizens irrespective of party. The most spectacular feature of his administration was his stand against the concert saloons. They had become a demoralizing element in the life of the city. He closed them up. It took a strong man to do that. Mayor Stowell was a strong man. His characteristics were singular in their combination, including perspicacity, firmness and gentleness. He was a man without fear, and with a kindly heart.

After his death, which occurred in August, 1907, when he had attained the advanced age of eighty-five, the industry he had founded continued, under the management of his successors, T. J. Neacy and Walter Read, maintaining its repute as an important factor in the industrial development of Milwaukee.

For some time prior to 1867 foundries and machine shops in Milwaukee underwent development at a rapid rate, their chief

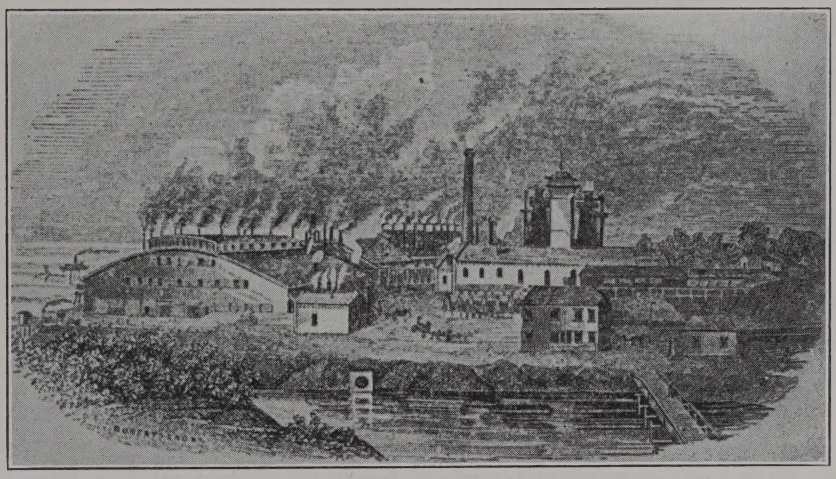
products being locomotive parts, stoves, hollow ware and miscellaneous castings, so far as the foundries were concerned, while the machine shops were turning out steam engines, boilers, machinery, gearing for flour mills and sawmills and making repairs of railroad rolling stock. In 1867 the seventeen establishments in Milwaukee devoted exclusively to iron manufactures were credited with an output valued at $1,500,000. A notable impulse to iron manufacturing interests in Milwaukee, which was communicated to business in many other directions, was resultant upon the establishment of the Milwaukee Rolling Mill Company on the south shore of Milwaukee Bay, in 1867. Charter members and principal stockholders in the corporation were E. B. Ward, Alexander Mitchell, Russell Sage, F. R. James, W. F. Gurnee and Selah Chamberlain, Captain Ward being a resident of Detroit and prominent as a lake vessel owner, and the others conspicuously identified with the direction of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, of which Mr. Mitchell, the Milwaukeean of the group, was president. The president of the board of directors when the works were built was Capt. Stephen Clement. One of the members at the outset was John H. Van Dyke, and the secretary of the corporation was J. J. Hagerman, who also officiated for a time as superintendent. In the reorganization which followed the death of Captain Ward, in January, 1875, O. W. Potter, S. P. Burt, John H. Tweedy and Charles F. Ilsley were chosen directors, with executive officers as follows: J. J. Hagerman, president; John H. Van Dyke, secretary; Alexander Mitchell, treasurer.

The enterprise was begun at a period of ups and downs in the iron and steel business, when fortunes were made and lost by fluctuations of greater range and suddenness than have been experienced in later years. Opening prosperously, and rapidly expanding its equipment and extending the range of its products, the enterprise experienced reverses following the panic of 1873. The first rail was rolled in April, 1868, the first furnace put in blast in April, 1870. Puddling mills were added, and arrangements perfected for the enlargement of the rail output to a total of 30,000 tons per annum. An important addition to the initial facilities of the plant was a merchant mill, erected at a cost of a quarter of a million dollars. Business depression, however,

proved to be too serious to be overcome, and in 1876 a situation was reached which necessitated an assignment, followed for a time by the cessation of operation. In 1877 a lease of the property was effected and operations resumed under the direction of J. J. Hagerman, who continued in charge until March, 1878, when the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company came into possession by virtue of an order of the court. Under this ownership, and subsequently that of the Illinois Steel Company, the mills underwent fluctuations of prosperity and adversity corresponding with vicissitudes of the labor situation and of general business conditions in the country at large, but on the whole continued in a flourishing condition, affording employment to a large number of men, and disbursing at regular intervals for labor and materials money which found its way into a variety of channels to the great advantage of the community. It was not till the end of 1929, sixty-two years after it had come into existence, that the great industrial plant at Bay View was finally closed down, and at this time the cessation of its activities had been reached by gradations so prolonged as to involve no serious shock to those immediately concerned or to business in general.

Captain Clement, who had been a lake navigator in his early years, was president of the Milwaukee Iron Company in 1868, and took a prominent part in the management of the mills at the time of their establishment and for several years thereafter. He was treasurer of the North Chicago Rolling Mills Company when that corporation took over the property, and later, when it passed into the control of the Illinois Steel Company, he was treasurer of the Steel Company and manager of the mills at Bay View. Captain Clement was a large stockholder in the Norrie Mine, famous for the quality of its ore and for the profits it yielded to its owners. Long a resident of Milwaukee, he lived to the age of eighty-one, dying in August, 1894, at the summer residence of his son-in-law, L. J. Petit, at Oconomowoc.

J. J. Hagerman, born at Port Hope, Canada, in 1837, grew to young manhood in St. Clair County, Michigan, gaining acquaintance with the practical problems of machinery and engineering under the tutelage of his father, who carried on as a miller. He enjoyed the benefit of a scientific course at the University of Michigan, earning money to pay for it by serving



MILWAUKEE IRON COMPANY'S ROLLING MILLS, 1874

ROLLING MILLS, FROM JONES' ISLAND, LATE '80s

as clerk on steamboats of the Ward fleet during vacation times. It was as the personal representative of Captain Ward that he came to Milwaukee. His able exertions in connection with the establishment of the plant at Bay View were an important contribution to its initial success. After the property passed into other hands, he, in association with John H. Van Dyke, Albert Conro and others, organized the Menominee Mining Company, of which he was elected president. The prosperity of the Menominee Mining Company was phenomenal. Subsequently Mr. Hagerman was identified with large and prosperous developmental projects in Colorado.

One characteristic of Milwaukee's metal-working industry is the number and variety of establishments it comprises which began on an unambitious scale, their founders feeling their way for a time and managing, in the Scottish phrase, to be "contented wi' little" till they could be "canty wi' mair." Another is the degree to which genius of different descriptions—genius for mechanics or for solution of financiering problems incident to the conduct of a growing business enterprise—has proved an essential factor in the achievement of success.

Hoffman, Billings & Co., brass and iron founders, carried on for many years with great prosperity a business which was the outgrowth of a small establishment begun by J. C. Hoffman in 1855. In 1856 William Bayley and William Greenslade entered into a partnership for the manufacture of architectural ironwork, which continued for nearly twenty years, being brought to a close by Mr. Greenslade's death. The firm enjoyed a high standing, and after its dissolution its prestige was continued by successors. Hornbach & Wagner was another early firm of competent ironworkers in Milwaukee.

Later came Gardner Campbell & Co., of the Centennial Iron and Bell Foundry. James Sheriffs and his sons were proprietors of a well-known foundry, famous among vessel men by reason of its patented output known as the "Sheriffs wheel."

In 1878 W. H. Osborne, in conjunction with F. W. Sivyer, established the Wisconsin Malleable Iron Company, of which Mr. Osborne was the first president. The business was a success from the start and attained large proportions. May, Swallow & Co. were proprietors of the Milwaukee Car Wheel Works. The Brand

Stove Works became a leading establishment in its line, though only one of several which carried on a flourishing business in that branch of manufacture at Milwaukee. In this connection the names of Dutcher, Vose & Adams and Fuller & Warren will be recalled.

Alonzo Pawling, born in Chicago in 1857, came to Milwaukee early in the '80s, and, after a short time during which he had occupied a salaried position, opened a small machine shop which grew to be one of the great manufacturing establishments of the city. For many years he and Henry Harnischfeger specialized in the manufacture of cranes, which acquired a reputation extending far beyond the borders of Wisconsin. When the Cramp shipyards at Philadelphia were at the height of their fame, at the beginning of the present century, a feature of their then unrivaled equipment which never failed to attract admiring attention from visitors was the system of electric cranes by which pieces of armor-plate weighing as much as nine tons could be picked up like slices of cheese and carried to the vessels undergoing construction of which they were to form a part, where they were held in place till the process of riveting was accomplished. When curious spectators asked questions concerning this interesting machinery they were informed that it came from Pawling & Harnischfeger, at Milwaukee. Failing health led to the retirement of Mr. Pawling in 1912, and he never re-entered active business. His death occurred in 1914. But under the name of the Harnischfeger Corporation, the establishment he helped to originate continues to flourish. Mr. Harnischfeger, who was a wonderfully gifted genius in mechanics, died suddenly on the 15th of November, 1930. He was seventy-five years of age.

Theodore G. Vilter, who died September 19, 1919, had built up the Vilter Manufacturing Company, which specialized in chemical refrigerating and ice machinery, becoming one of the largest establishments of its character in existence. W. D. Gray, another Milwaukeean, was the inventor of a noiseless belt roller mill which attracted attention far and wide, besides which he was the patentee of a score or more of other novel and useful machines used in milling. His death occurred in 1920. In 1872 Ferdinand Kieckhefer opened a small retail hardware store in Milwaukee. Eight years later, in company with his brother Wil-

liam, he embarked in the manufacture of tinware, using improved machinery, and soon found himself at the head of one of the model establishments of its kind. In 1889 his business was merged with that of the National Enameling Company, which he was called to New York to manage.

In January, 1880, William Geuder and Charles August Paeschke founded the Geuder & Paeschke Manufacturing Company, of which Mr. Paeschke, who had been secretary and treasurer from the start, became president on the death of Mr. Geuder in 1903. Today, with Mr. Paeschke at its head, the plant of the Geuder, Paeschke & Frey Company is twelfth in assessed value of all the manufacturing establishments in the city, with sometimes as many as fifteen hundred employes on its pay-roll, manufacturing pieced, stamped and japanned tinware, black and galvanized sheet steel ware and enameled ware of various descriptions.

Bruno V. Nordberg's was a brilliant and inspiring career. Born in Finland, and equipped with a superb technical education at the University of Helsingfors, from which he was graduated in 1878, he came to America in 1880, after his father, who was a ship captain, had talked him out of his early ambition to follow the sea. Sailing remained the recreation of his leisure, and in his later years he owned a private yacht. On one occasion he built a cup-defender which competed with the fastest craft of Canadian make. When he arrived in Milwaukee he could not speak English, but his university education gave him advantages. He was content to go slowly at the beginning of preparations for the possibilities in a land of freedom and boundless opportunity. It was in a humble capacity that he set to work for the E. P. Allis Company, in whose employ he spent ten years. Before long he was entrusted with the erection of modern machinery. He showed ability in designing. A great pump for the Milwaukee water works was built from his plans. He also designed a centrifugal pump which his employers were under contract to supply for the sewage reduction works at Jones Island. In 1890 he organized the Nordberg Manufacturing Company, which proved successful from the start. It concentrated for a time on automatic governors. Then it branched into the manufacture of pumps and valve engines, receiving an important order from the Pabst Brew-

ing Company. When Mr. Nordberg died, in 1924, at the age of sixty-seven, he was the holder of patents to the number of more than thirty on mechanical devices and chemical processes which were of great value to American industry. One of these had been obliged to wait for recognition—the Nordberg regenerator, which enabled the use of heat in steam engines to a far greater extent than had been possible till it led the way. He had continued to devote attention to steam economy, with gratifying practical results, during a period of many years. A compression unit which he installed in the Michigan mines of the Champion Mining Company ranked at the time of its appearance as the most efficient in the world. Meeting particular conditions and needs with specially designed machinery embodying in many instances novel principles became a task in which his genius gained recognition abroad as well as at home. He built the largest mine hoisting unit in the world for the Champion Mines; the largest Diesel engine in use in the United States; the largest compressor in the world. In an Ohio plant he installed a uniflow engine whose magnitude dwarfed all predecessors. The air pressure system which he designed and built for the Anaconda Copper Company's Montana mines took hydraulic power at Great Falls and converted it into electricity which was transferred 250 miles to Butte, where it developed air pressure utilized in the operation of hoists. Mr. Nordberg's serenity of demeanor was a characteristic greatly appreciated by the men in his employ. Familiar with every detail of the work in which his establishment was engaged, he knew when to make allowances for unavoidable difficulties. On one occasion an accident at the plant resulted in the destruction of instruments valued at thousands of dollars. Men on the job anticipated an "explosion." When the disaster was reported Mr. Nordberg calmly remarked, "Let's find out why they broke." In 1923 the University of Michigan conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Engineering.

Many of the individual factors concerned in bringing about the rise of Milwaukee as a manufacturing center have been versatile geniuses who shifted their activities from one branch of production to another. Sons in innumerable instances, instead of continuing in the occupations of their fathers, have branched out in new directions for themselves. Thus the Falks disposed of their patrimonial brewery, and embarked in the manufacture of iron and steel, in which they have risen to places at the top.

Thus Charles P. Bacon turned from the wholesale drug business to the knit goods industry, of which he was one of the leaders at its inception in Milwaukee on a modern scale. Frank R. Bacon's father, E. P. Bacon, began as a railway man and rose to eminence in the grain business. Frank R. Bacon is guardian of the destinies of the Cutler-Hammer Manufacturing Company. Citations might be multiplied ad infinitum, but this would be superfluous. On the other hand, Milwaukee affords numerous examples of business establishments still floating on the high tide of prosperity which have been carried on for two or three generations by successive members of the families by which they were founded in the early days.

Men whose humble occupation was shoeing horses and fitting tires to wagons were the pioneer representatives of the iron and steel industry in Milwaukee. D. W. Patterson, first blacksmith in this locality after Jean Baptiste Mirandeau, grew discontented with compulsory idleness while there was little work for him in his normal vocation; so he took up a claim in the outskirts and became a farmer. Another early blacksmith, Charles J. Smith, remained here long enough for his name and occupation to be listed in McCabe's pioneer Directory, and then, with his family, removed to a rural location where moderate prosperity rewarded his exertions. In later years he returned to Milwaukee and with his sons laid the foundations of a small manufacturing business employing iron and steel, which entered upon a career of steady expansion from the first. It seemed hereditary in descendants of Charles J. Smith to take prompt advantage of developmental opportunities as they arose and also from time to time to devise startling improvements which no one had thought of before. Today the plant of the A. O. Smith Company—L. R. Smith, grandson of the pioneer Charles J. Smith, president and manager —is listed with America's industrial wonders. Thus has the memory of a worthy toiler of Milwaukee's villagehood come to be identified with leadership of industrial innovations which are among the outstanding phenomena of Twentieth Century progress.

So numerous have been the individuals who have made worthy contributions to the rise and expansion of Milwaukee's industries that it is impossible in this sketch of the subject to bring in more

than a few by name. Every name which has been mentioned will suggest others. The gratitude of the community, which directly and indirectly has profited by their labors, belongs to all, in varying degrees proportioned to their respective achievements.

The 1930 tax assessment roll shows fifty-eight properties within the municipal limits of Milwaukee valued at more than a million dollars each, manufacturing establishments near the top of this list including the A. O. Smith Corporation, $9,450,000; International Harvester Company, $6,085,000; Pfister & Vogel Leather Company, $4,125,000; Phoenix Hosiery Company, $4,071,000; Milwaukee Coke & Gas Company, $3,450,000; Cutler-Hammer Company, $3,098,000; Harley-Davidson Motor Company, $2,848,000; Holeproof Hosiery Company, $2,597,000; Pabst Corporation, $2,570,000; Seaman Body Corporation, $2,444,000; Falk Corporation, $2,256,000; Geuder, Paeschke & Frey Company, $1,861,000; A. O. Trostel & Sons Company, $1,847,000; Nordberg Manufacturing Company, $1,837,000; Nash Motors Company, $1,815,000; National Brake and Electric Company, $1,800,330; Hummel & Downing Company, $1,791,000; National Enameling and Stamping Company, $1,663,000; A. F. Gallun & Sons, $1,473,000; Koehring Company, $1,333,000; Joseph Schlitz Beverage Company, $1,301,000; Harsh-Chapline Shoe Company, $1,234,000; Palmolive Company, $1,222,000; Monarch Manufacturing Company, $1,177,000; Briggs & Stratton Company, $1,062,000; Ford Motor Company, $1,017,000.

At the present time Milwaukee leads the country in the manufacture of steam shovels, dredges and excavators, cranes and hoists, concrete mixers and road pavers, motorcycles, refrigerating machinery, electrical controls, silk hosiery, work shoes, wheelbarrows, cement machinery, gasoline cracking stills, automobile frames and large-diameter gas and oil pipe. Milwaukee has produced the largest ore-crusher, the largest hydro-electric unit, the largest electric heat treating furnaces, the largest mining hoists, concrete mixers, water turbines, the largest grey iron castings and the largest gas and Diesel engines in the United States. The city is the headquarters for one of the largest tinware and enameling plants in the world, and the largest tanneries for upper side leather and calfskins are located here. Milwaukee leads in the production of leather gloves and mittens and flour milling machinery. It makes more outboard motors than any other city

in the world. It ranks third in the manufacture of boots and shoes, flavoring extracts and syrups, knit goods, motor vehicle bodies and parts, paper goods, sausage, signs and advertising novelties. It is a large producer of pork and beef, and produces more veal than any other packing center in the United States.

While thirteenth in population among the cities of the United States, Milwaukee stands ninth in the value of its manufactured products. This being a controversial subject, it may be well to support the assertion by the latest figures furnished by the Department of Commerce Census Bureau, which are for the year 1927, as follows, and there is room for the assumption that if any change has taken place during the interim it has been such as to make a still more favorable showing for Milwaukee:

New York	$5,722,071,259
Chicago	3,478,753,628
Philadelphia	1,861,501,951
Detroit	1,736,933,236
Cleveland	1,040,753,742
St. Louis	937,416,402
Baltimore	692,574,915
Buffalo	649,301,599
MILWAUKEE	627,415,824
Boston	617,972,951
Los Angeles	610,166,093
Akron	567,482,407
Pittsburgh	508,578,845
Newark	482,739,348
Cincinnati	437,953,805

The number of manufacturing establishments in Milwaukee whose products reached the aggregate value of $627,415,824 noted above was 2,040. In the two years between 1925 and 1927 the gain in the aggregate of manufactured products of Milwaukee was 15.8 per cent., compared with an average gain of 3.4 per cent. for all the cities in the United States. The value of manufactured products turned out in the Milwaukee metropolitan district in 1927—this includes West Allis, South Milwaukee and Cudahy, as well as North Milwaukee (which latter has since become part of the city by annexation)—was $887,642,325.

Subject index at end of Vol. II

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